The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain

Volume Two, Part Two
The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor
1700–1765

Diana Hadley, Thomas H. Naylor & Mardith K. Schuetz-Miller, eds.

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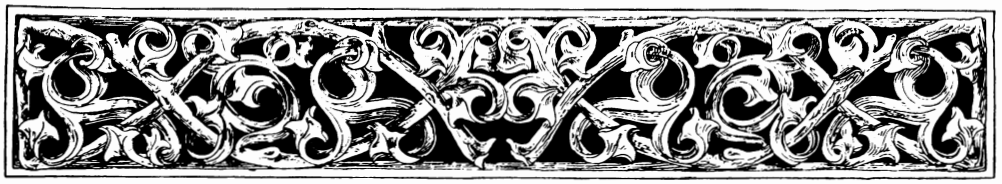

The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain

A Documentary History

Volume Two, Part Two
The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor,
1700–1765

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Partway through this project, DRSW lost Thomas H. Naylor, originally the principal editor of this volume. Naylor had an intimate knowledge of New Spain's northern frontier. Blessed with a truly remarkable memory, Naylor could recall small details of documents he had read years before, the archive in which they resided, and even their provenience. An indefatigable field researcher, he spent months exploring the locations where, centuries ago, the events described in the documents he was editing had taken place. His familiarity with the northern frontier extended to its smallest physiographic features. Naylor could identify a mountain range or find a small spring in the middle of a vast Chihuahuan desert with little hesitation. On one field research expedition for this volume in 1987, several staff members accompanied Naylor on a drive across the Bolsón de Mapimí, the northern Mexican desert that Spaniards feared more than any other. Still accessed by only the most primitive of dirt roads, the Bolsón presented our little expedition with none of the problems that had prevented Spaniards from settling there. Tom Naylor was tragically killed in a horse accident in the spring of 1990, and did not live to see this volume to completion. It is appropriate that Diana Hadley and Mardith Schuetz-Miller, who were among his close friends, were able to complete the work he began.

Many individuals have spent long hours working on the preparation of this volume. Daniel Matson was the oldest of the old-timers at DRSW, still translating documents at the age of eighty-six. Dan provided a preliminary translation for virtually every document in this volume. The staff at DRSW always consulted Dan whenever they encountered a seventeenth-century scribe with poor orthography or an ink blot obliterating a crucial word, or an obsolete phrase no one else could translate. Dan finally retired during the summer of 1995, after his portion of the work on this volume was completed.

More than anyone else, three members of the office staff have worked on all phases of the documents in this volume. Osvaldo Barreneche transcribed many documents and consulted with translators on all difficult passages. With subtle skill, Dale S. Brenneman prepared the final translations for all three sections of the book. Philip E. Coyle worked on many translations and on several introductions. Their work has been so valuable that they are recognized as assistant editors. Zarina Estrada, Rosa García Barragán, Lupita Martínez, and Carmen Villa Prezelski prepared and verified the transcriptions. Jorge Acero, Jennifer Gilbert, Luz María Hernández, Lauren McElroy, John Ochs, Catherine Tucker, Gloria Ciria Valdez, and Emily Wilson worked on both translations and transcriptions. Catherine Tucker deserves special recognition for her general assistance on the Texas section. Adam Savin prepared the glossary. Michael Brescia hand-copied all the unpublished information on maps housed in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla. Victoria Juárez de Savin proofread many portions of the manuscript and performed the laborious task of preparing the finalized version of the manuscript for publication. Fritz Jandrey produced innumerable computer searches, recovering information that was previously obscure but can now easily be accessed through the DRSW Master Index of Spanish documents. Rubén Flores Díaz kept the computers running smoothly and prevented many software mishaps that otherwise would have stalled progress in the DRSW office. We extend a special thanks to Joanne O'Hare, acquiring editor at the University of Arizona Press, and to Alan Schroder, manuscript editor at the press.

The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain

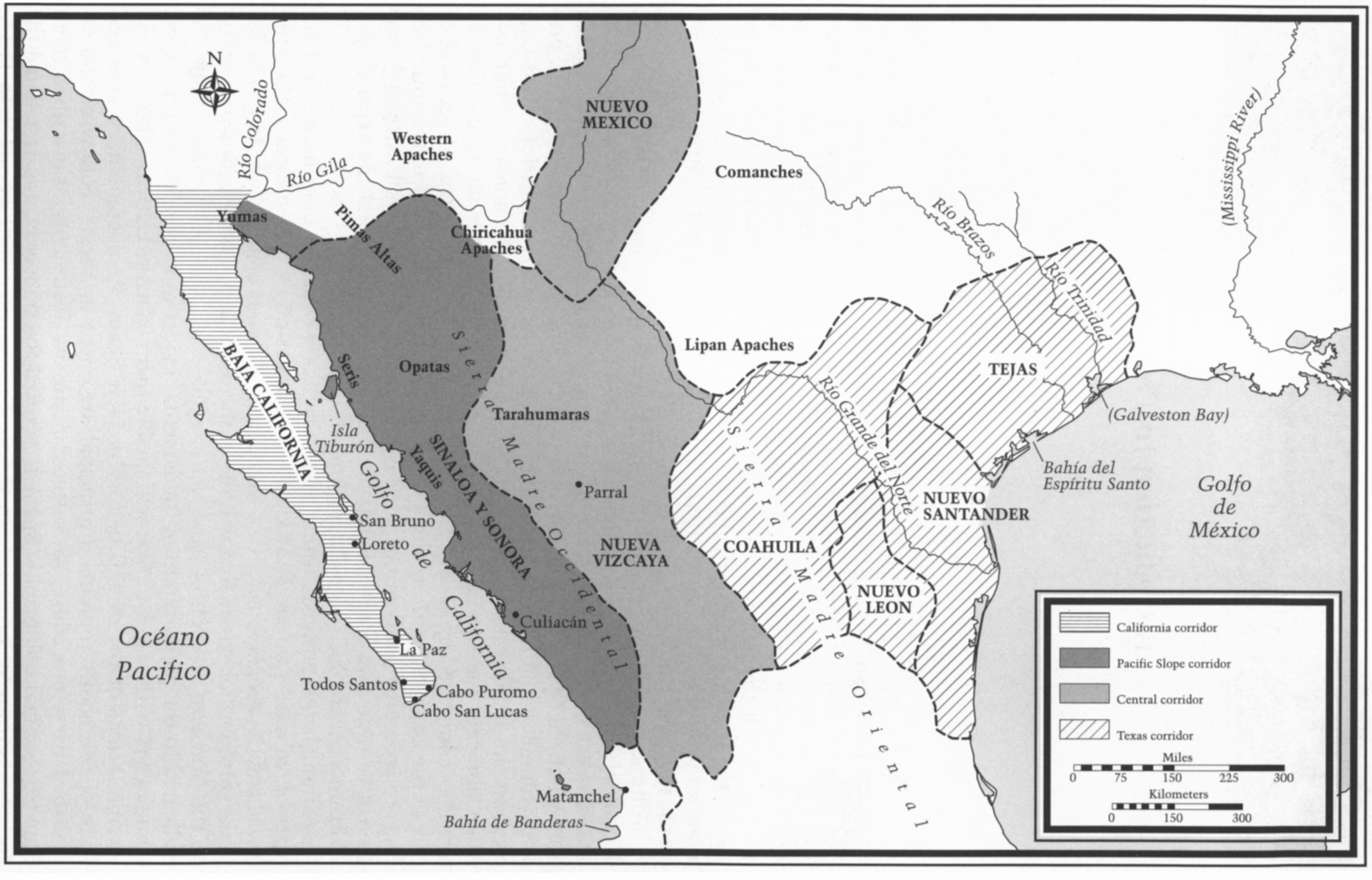
Volume Two, Part Two
The Central Corridor and the Texas Corridor,
1700–1765

Introduction to This Volume

The documents contained in *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*, Volume Two, Part Two represent a continuation in the set of publications prepared by Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), an editing project for Spanish colonial documents based at the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona. Volume Two is the fourth installment in DRSW's multivolume collection of documentary histories devoted to the institutional and military history of the Spanish Empire on the northern frontier of New Spain.

Volume Two was originally intended to consist of a single book presenting documents pertinent to the early-eighteenth-century history of New Spain. The abundance of documentary material, however, along with the vast geographic area into which the Spanish Empire expanded during this period, dictated that the present volume would have to be divided into two separate publications. Part One presents the documents relating to the western portion of the northern frontier—Baja California and Sonora-Sinaloa—while Part Two extends the study into the territory comprised by Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, and Texas. As an integral part of the DRSW collection, much of the information contained in the introductions to preceding publications is relevant to this volume as well. Although Part Two of Volume Two is intended to stand alone, it complements and expands into additional geographic range the documents included in Part One.

Although the purpose, intent, and organization of the information in both parts of Volume Two are similar, a brief discussion of the editorial policy followed and the geographical area covered in Part Two is appropriate. As is detailed in the introduction to the first volume in the collection, *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1570–1700*, the DRSW editing project is dedicated to the presentation of fundamental evidence to provide historians and ethnologists with raw data that will enable them to make critical appraisals and interpretations of the overall history of New Spain. As documentary histories, none of the books contains a principal argument or thesis. Following the established DRSW procedure, we selected pertinent documents, transcribed them from the original holographic Spanish, verified the transcriptions, translated the documents from the original Spanish into English, then verified each translation



Northern New Spain

against the original document and transcription. The standard DRSW editorial practice is to modernize obsolete Spanish spellings and to render the Spanish into reasonably fluent, readable English, while at the same time retaining accuracy in translation and the particular tone of the Spanish original. Annotation is intentionally limited. Introductions are brief and are intended to provide the reader with basic background information and an historical context for the document that follows.

As we began to organize Part Two of Volume Two in the *Presidio and Militia* Series, we quickly realized that inclusion of even the documents most crucial to the presidial and military history of such a vast area would be impossible. We therefore created a set of selection criteria for documents relating to the eastern part of the northern frontier. Our goal was to select sets of documents that provide readers with a representative sample of the great variety of documentary material available in archival sources. In making the selection, we have attempted to include documents that reveal the disparate points of view of the major interest groups on the northern frontier as they relate to the presidio and its evolution as an institution. We have attempted to include documents that describe the condition, maintenance, staffing, activities, and scope of operations of the presidios, as well as documents that, because they are of a type that appears very frequently in the record, reflect the overriding concerns of presidial commanders and frontier administrators.

The book is divided into three sections covering two main geographical areas. The first group of documents concerns Nueva Vizcaya, the heartland of the central corridor, and the second group its northern extension beyond the Río Grande into New Mexico. During the early eighteenth century, much of the territory of the corridor was contained within one gigantic province, Nueva Vizcaya. At the beginning of the century, the province included territory now located in the contemporary Mexican states of Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas, and portions of Durango. As the century proceeded, Nueva Vizcaya was dissected and its territory diminished. Still, this province, which was immensely rich in mineral resources and populated with indigenous groups who could provide an important labor pool for the mines, provided the springboard for expansion northward and eastward. Imperial officials recognized the need to protect the major trade routes that passed through the province and, therefore, the central corridor itself became a focus of Spanish policy. Expansion into even more remote areas of the frontier necessarily followed the empire's lines of communication, trade, and supply, all of which traversed some portion of Nueva Vizcaya.

The documents relating to the New Mexico area of the central corridor are grouped in a separate section for two primary reasons. First, New Mexico's historical experience following the Pueblo Revolt diverged significantly from that of other portions of the central corridor. Second, physical distance, large numbers of native peoples, limited resources, and imperial neglect all combined to isolate this province from the rest of the northern frontier.

The third group of documents concerns the vast new territory of Texas. Although initially valued by the Spanish administration as a strategic buffer against French expansion, Texas contained little of the mineral wealth and indigenous populations that made the central corridor so important to Spain. Maintaining minimal defensive outposts and a missionary presence in the remote and recently

occupied province was challenge enough. As native alliances solidified, the focus of Spanish policy in Texas underwent a gradual shift from concern with potential external threats to internal defense. The documents reveal this shift in focus, expressing some of the major concerns of various interest groups in Texas.

All documents are presented in chronological order. Although the subtitle of this volume indicates that the period covered is 1700 to 1765, this is only an approximation; to preserve continuity in the sets of documents, several documents date from the late seventeenth century, and the latest document was written in 1761. Since conquest and reconquest of the areas north and east of Nueva Vizcaya actually began prior to the turn of the century, the material included reflects the initial period of expansion. The reconquest of New Mexico, which had been lost to the Spanish Empire following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, began in 1692, with military forces assembling on Vizcayan territory. Similarly, the initial explorations into Texas, which came in response to rumors of French presence on the fringes of Spanish territory, began during the late seventeenth century. Again, the troops assembled in Nueva Vizcaya. Because the reconquest of New Mexico has been thoroughly covered in the many publications of the Vargas Project of the University of New Mexico, none of the early information has been repeated here. We have, however, included several seventeenth-century documents concerning the initial expansion into Texas. These documents are crucial because they establish the motivation for subsequent expeditions.

In selecting the documents for these three sections, we have attempted to recognize the importance of geography and distance in the creation of regional divisions. At the same time, the selection attempts to present the diverse viewpoints of the major players on this vast frontier—the military officers, administrative officials, missionaries, large landowners, merchants, Spanish *vecinos*, and even indigenous peoples. The majority of documents in the collection were written by government officials and express official government policy or attempts to influence and change government policy. The opinions least expressed are those of local indigenous peoples, who could express themselves only indirectly through the filter of colonial government administrators and military officers. Yet by reading between the lines, it is still occasionally possible to hear faint echoes of their voices.

The conversion of these disparate frontier viewpoints into government policy was as questionable as the implementation of any existing policy deemed inappropriate at the local level. Although some documents describe attempts to implement existing policy or to influence the creation of new policy, the majority of them reflect spontaneous, reactive responses to the constantly shifting political and military situations on this dynamic, expanding frontier in which changing groups of players struggled for power and ascendancy. Because this collection is a documentary history, we have made no attempt to critique Spanish colonial policy, but rather we present the complaints and requests that reappear in many documents. They represent the viewpoints of the variety of interest groups on this dynamic frontier in which alliances were constantly shifting.

Collectively, the documents reveal a continual concern for the role and efficacy of the presidio as a protective garrison. Many documents express local resistance to the reforms implemented by the Reglamento of 1729 and to the substitution of light, mobile cavalry units—known as *compañías volantes*, "flying

companies"—for stationary presidial garrisons. Other documents indicate the way in which presidial relocations followed the movement and expansion of frontier extractive industries—chief among which was mining—followed by pastoralism. In the documents, the effectiveness of local militias and Indian auxiliaries is debated, and the military's failure to cooperate with settlers and traveling merchants is frequently lamented. The documents indicate that strategy was determined as the need arose, in an atmosphere of intense competition and lack of cooperation among institutions. Military attempts to advance appear disorganized or spontaneous at best. Efforts toward innovation frequently met with rejection on the official level but occasionally were implemented locally and without official sanction. Fierce debates arose among mutually uncooperative institutions, interest groups, and individuals concerning their legitimate authority and jurisdiction. The church and the military excoriated each other for failure to treat native peoples as each institution deemed appropriate. Beyond the scope of this documentary collection is the question of the contribution of the presidio to an integrated social structure on the frontier. Some presidios—those at Santa Fe or Monclova are obvious examples—broke ground for the evolution of important frontier cities, while others have devolved into crumbling adobe ruins.

The collective picture that emerges from these documents is one of a harsh but richly complex frontier life, with a multitude of cultural clashes expressed in brutal Indian depredations matched by equally brutal Spanish military responses. We see that the presidio could function on occasion as a genuine instrument of Spanish policy, on other occasions as an instrument of local residents. In some cases even the indigenous populations were able to use the institution to their advantage, although their success was temporary at best. As a frontier institution, the presidio achieved whatever questionable success it had because it was malleable, responsive to local dictates, and frequently able to act as an independent agent distant from the constraints of Spanish bureaucracy.

The Central Corridor

Its Heartland

The central corridor during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Introduction

The Central Corridor during the Eighteenth Century

Vast stretches of grassland plateau; forbidding, waterless, desert basins; and rugged, broken mountain ranges make up the confusion of geographic features of New Spain's northern frontier. The main part of the area we call the central corridor in this documentary history was the heartland of the northern frontier. At its center was the vast province the Spanish named the Reino de Nueva Vizcaya. Until 1734, the province included Sonora and Sinaloa. The remaining portion of the province, consisting of the present Mexican states of Chihuahua, Durango, Coahuila, and the western portion of Tamaulipas, along with the former Reino de Nuevo León, now the Mexican state of that name, are discussed in this section. Nuevo México, the portion of the central corridor north of the Río Grande del Norte that is now part of the United States, is treated in a separate section.

Although many of the lowland areas are arid, with xerophytic flora, the higher elevations of both the major *cordilleras* have large fir-pine forests. Between these extremes are desert grasslands and thorn-scrub, oak grasslands, and fertile oases along the riparian corridors. Although aridity characterizes the climate of much of the region, the diversity of topography creates many microclimates, and rainfall can be torrential. The Sierra Madre Occidental, with its many impenetrable *barrancas* and *quebradas*, forms the western border of the region. The eastern slopes of these mountains are characterized by relatively gradual descent into the Mesa del Norte, a vast upland plateau with often lush grasslands comprising the landscape that appeared most inhabitable to European eyes. North and east of the central plains are a series of deserts, desert basins, and smaller stretches of grassland. East of these, the Sierra Madre Oriental in Tamaulipas and Nuevo León forms the eastern boundary of the central corridor.

The major physiographic features of Nueva Vizcaya have a northwest-to-southeast orientation, with most of the river drainages on the eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental flowing in this direction before making a northward turn toward the Río Grande. The great majority of rivers, however, never reach the ocean but deposit their waters in a series of interior basins, or *bolsones*. In Coahuila, for example, only two major rivers, the Río Conchos—the largest tributary to reach the Río Grande—and the Río Salado—whose eastward-flowing

tributaries, the Sabinas and Nadadores, have carved deep canyons in the Sierra Madre Oriental—empty into the Río Grande del Norte. In contrast, in Nuevo León, numerous streams drain into the San Juan River, a tributary of the Río Grande.[1]

At contact, the Native American populations, separated by rugged terrain and each adapted to a microenvironment, were as diverse as the land they inhabited. Many of the desert groups were hunter-gatherers who lived in temporary *rancherías*, moving with the season. While the mountain-dwelling Tarahumara and Tepehuán practiced agriculture and lived in permanent settlements, they also practiced transhumance, moving to lower elevations during the winter. In the extreme north, on the borders of present Chihuahua and New Mexico, were Athapaskan-speaking peoples, Gileño and Chiricahua Apaches. Near Janos, in the northern part of present-day Chihuahua, were the Jano, probably Athapaskan speakers as well, although their language became extinct before it was studied. In Chihuahua and Durango were the Acaxee, Xixime, Concho, Chiso, Jumano, Suma, Chínipa, Tarahumara, Jova, and Toboso peoples, all speakers of Taracahitan languages. In the southernmost portion of the region, the Guachichil, Laguneros, and Zacatecos were of Uto-Aztecan stock. Only the Tepehuán spoke a Piman language. Among these major groups lived numerous unknown smaller groups, speaking languages that we have never had the opportunity to classify.

Mansos lived between Janos and El Paso del Norte, where Jumano territory began, with Jumanos occupying both banks of the Río Grande. South of the middle reaches of the Río Grande del Norte were the Conchos and the Chisos. On both sides of the lower portions of the Río Grande were a multitude of small groups of Coahuiltecan-speaking Indians, notable among them the Cotoname and the Cabezas. Tobosos and other ranchería peoples inhabited the extremely arid Bolsón de Mapimí, an area the Spaniards considered uninhabitable. The Salinero and Lagunero lived in what is now northeastern Durango, the Acaxee and Xixime in western Durango. The Tarahumara and Tepehuán lived in terrain so rugged that the steep cliffs and deep canyons isolated individual groups from other groups of their own people. In Nuevo León members of the Bocalo, or Negrito, nation resided near Río Blanco, the Guachichiles on the west and the Pames in the south. In the extreme south of Nuevo Santander were the Huasteca, and north of them peoples whom the Spanish referred to as Chichimecs. The listing given here is limited to the best known of the central corridor's former native groups. Spaniards referred to these Indian groups as *naciones* (nations), recognizing their distinctiveness from one another and their desire to remain independent of the Spanish Empire.[2]

From the time of first contact and the earliest explorations, this area served as a corridor for the northward expansion of the Spanish Empire. Many expeditions departed from Nueva Galicia and moved northward, following valleys between the Sierra Madre Occidental and the Sierra Madre Oriental, staying close to rivers

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1. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, pp. 161–64.

2. Ibid., 168–72; William B. Griffen, *Culture Change and Shifting Populations in Central Northern Mexico*.

wherever possible. During the sixteenth century, Spaniards designated the area the Reino de Nueva Vizcaya, referring to it as a kingdom rather than a province in recognition of its enormous extent. The limits of the kingdom were unknown, the ill-defined province unexplored and only vaguely understood. Initially the region served as a corridor for exploration of the territory contained in Nueva Vizcaya. In later years, Nueva Vizcaya itself, through all its expansions and contractions, provided the corridor for exploration northward into New Mexico and Texas. Spanish exploration fanned out from the heartland, moving northward from Nueva Vizcaya into New Mexico in the late sixteenth century and into Texas in the early seventeenth century, eastward into sections of the kingdom known as Coahuila and Nuevo León in the seventeenth century.

As in other parts of the Spanish Empire, mineral exploration provided the impetus for settlement. Early silver strikes at Cuncamé, Indé, and Mapimí were eclipsed by the enormous strike at Parral in 1631. Parral was replaced in turn by Chihuahua, which became the major mining center of the eighteenth century. Although Durango was the designated capital of the vast kingdom, governors and administrators frequently chose to live at Parral which, as the center of regional economic life, offered greater comforts.

As Spanish settlement increased, administrators recognized the need to carve the vastness of Nueva Vizcaya into smaller units. North of Nuevo León, Coahuila, which had been part of the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya through most of the seventeenth century, was the first dissection, separated from both Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León in 1675. Coahuila's first governor was Alonso de León. The capital of the province was at Monclova, location of the mines of Almadén and of Nuevo León's first presidio. Until the Aguayo expedition of 1722, Texas was part of Coahuila. After that time, a military governor, appointed by the viceroy, administered the Nuevo Reino de las Filipinas, or Nuevas Filipinas, as Texas was then known. Another portion of Coahuila was carved off in 1748–49, when José de Escandón initiated La Colonia de Nuevo Santander, which had a military government from the time of its first settlement. Escandón led a group of colonists into the eastern portions of Coahuila below the Río Grande, reoccupied several abandoned mission sites in the Sierra Madre Oriental with European colonists, and succeeded in establishing twenty mestizo settlements in as many years. The extractions of Texas and Nuevo Santander greatly reduced the size of the province, but in 1787, Coahuila received some compensation for this loss of territory when the jurisdiction of Parras y Saltillo was transferred from Nueva Vizcaya to Coahuila. A royal *cédula* of March 1732 removed the western portions of the vast kingdom, and the following year the Pacific coastland and the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental became a separate province known as Sonora y Sinaloa. By the late-eighteenth century, Nueva Vizcaya contained Parras, Saltillo, and the present states of Chihuahua and Durango.[3]

Two portions of the central corridor, Nuevo León and Nuevo México, were never officially part of Nueva Vizcaya. The earliest explorers of Nuevo León were

3. More details on the administrative history of Nueva Vizcaya can be found in Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya, Heartland of the Spanish Frontier.*

Basques, who later settled the area around Saltillo. Luis de Carvajal, who had obtained a contract from the king to explore and settle the region, arrived in 1581. Carvajal's arrest by the Inquisition interrupted settlement until 1596, when Diego de Montemayor returned to Nuevo León with new colonists. North of Nueva Vizcaya, the Reino de Nuevo México, established in 1598, extended northward without any defined limit. Although El Paso del Norte was initially in the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya, the rest of the boundary with Nuevo México was vague. After the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the boundary was set below the hacienda of El Carrizal, south of El Paso. During the mid-eighteenth century the boundary extended from below Carrizal due west to the Santa María River and east to Las Boquillas on the Río Grande, leaving the missions of La Junta in Nueva Vizcaya. However, in 1773 when El Carrizal became a presidio, its territory shifted to Nueva Vizcaya.[4]

As in other parts of the Spanish Empire, settlement either followed the purse or was determined by reactive policies set in Spain. Some portions of the central corridor, like Nuevo Santander, underwent an orderly, directed colonization with established villages and colonists imported from other areas. Spanish officials conceived of the establishment of Nuevo Santander as an attempt to prevent English penetration of the unpopulated gulf coast during the War of Jenkin's Ear. Yet the first impetus to settlement was mineral exploration, which resulted in a series of disorderly frontier mining camps, subject to cycles of boom and bust. As soon as mines began producing, settlements followed, and as long as the mines were active the *reales de minas* evolved into flourishing communities. Spanish settlement patterns fluctuated with the profitability of the mines. Formerly flourishing mining centers were promptly depopulated as miners moved on to newer mines with greater demands for labor.

Even the temporary presence of Spaniards brought about the collapse of delicate subsistence patterns of both hunter-gatherers and part-time farming peoples. Spaniards, who referred to the sociopolitical units of the native peoples as rancherías or naciones, recognized that each nación had its own well-defined territory. When Spanish settlers intruded into these territories, they disrupted long-established subsistence patterns, then pursued a policy of settling nomadic, or partially nomadic, tribes in *reducciones*. These supervised villages, which Spanish officials in cooperation with religious orders organized and maintained for Indians, accelerated conflict between native peoples.

Control of Indian groups became the compelling concern of Spanish military and civilian administrators during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of the major Indian uprisings in the main portion of the central corridor took place during the seventeenth century. Notable among them were a series of revolts by the Xixime and Acaxee between 1599 and 1603, and again in 1610, the Tepehuán rebellion of 1616 to 1618, a combined Tepehuán and Tarahumara rebellion in 1621, the Toboso Revolt of the 1620s, and two more Tarahumara rebellions in the 1640s and 1650s.

Pressured by Spanish intrusions and the continuous relocation of native

4. See Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, chapter 6.

groups, Indian unrest culminated in the Great Northern Revolt, which lasted intermittently from 1680 to 1700 and involved dozens of separate groups of Native Americans. During this twenty-year period initiated by the Pueblo Revolt in Nuevo México, the northern portion of the central corridor became a *tierra de guerra*. No part of it was immune from conflict. The Concho, Chiso, Suma, Manso, Jano, Toboso, and Julime nations followed the Pueblo nations of New Mexico in rebelling against Spanish domination. Among these, the Concho and Julime rebellion in 1684, and the Tarahumara rebellion, which lasted from 1690 to 1698, were particularly devastating to the inroads Spaniards had made during the preceding century. These rebellions, however, set the stage for a new Spanish policy regarding Indian treatment and a new policy regarding frontier defense.[5]

The new military philosophy of the Enlightenment, as expressed in the Bourbon reforms, did not officially make its way to New Spain's northern frontier until the second quarter of the eighteenth century with Pedro de Rivera's famous inspection tour. Yet as early as 1700, Spanish military policymakers began expressing concepts that they would later attempt to implement as part of the Bourbon reform of New Spain. The Council of the Indies considered that an inadequate presidial system was the major factor responsible for the Pueblo Revolt. Viceroys concurred with this opinion and together they ordered that presidios be expanded and supplemented by a series of *compañías volantes*. These "flying companies" of highly mobile mounted troops would have the flexibility to respond quickly and efficiently as events required. The policymakers called for an increase in offensive warfare, the regularization of the employment of Indian auxiliary troops, and the instigation of civilian militias. They wished to reorganize the haphazard, spontaneous defense system of the seventeenth century and replace it with a more "enlightened" military and administrative policy focused on centralization and efficiency. Control was to be generated from a single source, the viceroy in Mexico City. Officials hoped to eliminate the disorderly local financing, the reactive campaigns, and the absence of organized strategy characteristic of the preceding century with a better-planned, generalized system of formal defense. The concept of an orderly chain of strategically located defensive fortresses along the northern frontier was beginning to be formulated at this time.

The period covered by this documentary history begins at the end of the seventeenth century. By that time, the southern portion of the central corridor was undergoing a process of consolidation and expansion. Most of the area's major Euroamerican population centers were located in Durango and Nuevo León. In this part of the central corridor, the majority of native groups had resigned themselves to existence in reducciones and mission settlements, where civil and ecclesiastical officials attempted to impose a Spanish Christian way of life on them. In the northern portions of the corridor, however, frontier conditions prevailed and violent contact between various native groups and between Native Americans and Spaniards was still the norm. During the eighteenth century many small tribes in the northern central corridor disappeared, some through slaving or warfare di-

5. These rebellions are discussed in detail in Gerhard, Griffin, and Vito Alessio Robles, *Coahuila y Texas en la época colonial.*

rected against them, the majority as a result of European diseases. Various Indian groups took advantage of opportunities as they arose. They changed locations, invaded the territories of neighboring groups, and reoccupied former territory as Spaniards occasionally abandoned mining settlements when the minerals played out. At the same time, Spaniards consolidated their gains, then moved from one mining settlement to the next. The dynamic, unstable nature of the frontier is apparent from the documents included in this section.

At the end of the seventeenth century, two significant external incursions began to affect Spanish life in the central corridor. With the explorations of Sieur René Robert Cavalier de La Salle in 1685, the French invaded territory that Spaniards wished to claim for themselves. French penetration into Louisiana, Texas, the Illinois country, and subsequently into the Great Plains, propelled the Spaniards into a series of explorations. The fear of French competition affected Spanish actions until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. French presence, particularly the policy of distributing weapons to Indian allies, influenced the relations of Plains Indian groups. During the early 1700s, well-armed, well-mounted Plains tribes, particularly the Comanches, Wichitas, and Kiowas, expanded into the territory of eastern Apache groups. Displaced Apaches—Jicarillos, Faraones, and Mescaleros—moved southward. They increased raids on New Mexican settlements and eventually crossed the Río Grande, penetrating into northern Nueva Vizcaya. By the 1740s, they had replaced the Tobosos and allied desert tribes of the Bolsón de Mapimí as the chief enemies of the Spaniards. By the 1750s the situation had reached crisis proportions. Apaches forced a Spanish retreat along the northern frontier. These two external pressures, the presence of the French and the incursions of Apaches, dominated Spanish military policymaking.[6]

Considering distance and the reality of conditions on the frontier, the consistent implementation of Spanish policy may have been an impossible goal. Despite attempts in Spain and Mexico City to regularize the military system of the frontier, in the northern portion of the central corridor military practices remained spontaneous and reactive at best, disorderly and inefficient at worst. The difficulty of communication created a situation in which centralized authority had little effective control. Royal decrees from Spain, which addressed individual military issues as they arose, failed to implement the intended reforms. During the first half of the eighteenth century, Spanish officials failed to accomplish any real standardization of presidios or effective control over military personnel. A system in which an orderly chain of command devolved from Spain to Mexico City to provincial governor or captain general to presidio commander never fully developed, and attempts to coordinate campaigns and regulate authority largely failed.

Presidios themselves continued to be established and suppressed as required by Indian hostilities. Two major factors determined the founding, location, and duration of presidios. Officials selected sites for presidios in strategic locations, places where repeated Indian depredations created the need for a military garri-

6. See Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, for a full discussion of the effects of the westward expansion of the French on Spaniards and native peoples.

son, or in locations with large or vulnerable populations of Spaniards or *mestizos*. Active mining frequently brought about the establishment of a presidio.

The documents selected for the central corridor portion of this volume attempt to address the major military issues of the first half of the eighteenth century on this remote northern frontier, as well as the perspectives of the major groups of Spaniards present in the central corridor: military officials, *hacendados*, *vecinos* (settlers), and the clergy. Only rarely did Spanish documents present the voice of Native Americans, but one such document is included here. The first document in this section, "Establishment of the Mapimí Presidio, 1711," describes the difficulty of assembling troops for the reestablishment of a presidio. "Attack on the Hacienda of La Zarca, 1715," which follows, is a type of document that appears frequently in the official record, the spontaneous response to an Indian attack on an isolated Spanish settlement. These first two documents present the attitudes of military officials. "Attack on La Zarca" also gives indirect voice to local Native American prisoners, filtered through Spanish interrogators.

The second chapter, "Ladrón de Guevara's Report Concerning the Kingdom of Nuevo León, 1739" is a summary of the settlements and conditions in Nuevo León during the first quarter of the century. Ladrón writes from the perspective of a Spanish settler, a landowner but not one of the great hacendados of the region. He is resentful of interference by inefficient and corrupt crown officials, and exasperated by the meddlesome protectiveness of missionaries. The series of documents in chapter three describes the fate of the attempt by the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, one of the largest landowners in all of New Spain, to maintain a private army at the presidio of El Pasaje in the center of his great estates in northern Durango. Although not written by the conde himself, these documents reveal his concerns, particularly his attempts to expand personal power by providing protection for his *latifundia* without prior authorization from the local government. The fourth chapter, "Father Menchero's Plan to Reestablish Missions and Presidios on the Río Grande, 1747," is written from the point of view of a dedicated cleric. It provides perspective on the interaction of church and state in achieving lasting settlements in the remoter parts of the frontier. The final document, Joseph Berroterán's monumental report on the condition of Nueva Vizcaya in 1748, is an overview of the province at midcentury. It details the observations of a long-time local resident. Berroterán is an experienced frontiersman and a presidial commander who spent thirty-five years in one location. His perspective is the best we can provide to reveal the attitudes of the average vecino of the central corridor. His report is the last major document describing the central corridor prior to the inspection reports of the Marqués de Rubí and his engineer, Nicolás de Lafora.

I

Defense of the Central Corridor

(1711-1715)

The Spanish Empire lurched northward from the basin of Mexico in fits and starts. Chasing dreams of giant races of men living in golden cities, conquistadors and soldiers ranged far beyond the boundaries of Spanish civilization. Occasionally these dreams materialized in the form of rich veins of silver and gold that gave practical expression to fantasies of colossal wealth and social stature on the far northern frontier. Along the eastern edge of the Sierra Madre, for example, Zacatecas, Parral, and Chihuahua each in turn yielded vast quantities of precious metals that attracted settlers beyond the well-defended frontiers of the Spanish Empire. These discoveries created large personal fortunes and made significant contributions to the royal treasury, but they also caused logistical problems that threatened the stability of Spanish frontier society itself.

Establishment of the Mapimí Presidio, 1711

The following document expresses the viceregal response to one moment of uneven Spanish frontier expansion. In the first years of the eighteenth century silver was discovered at Santa Eulalia, at the site of present-day Chihuahua, Mexico. By 1708 the mining claim of discovery was incorporated as a real de minas administered by an alcalde mayor, *and within a few years the new mining region had surpassed Parral as the most important settlement in Nueva Vizcaya. Settlers moved northward from Parral, leaving the* haciendas *that provisioned Parral and the roads that were the lifeline to the northern frontier relatively undefended. Indian hostilities in Chihuahua and Sonora intensified in response to pressures brought on by the new frontier settlement, and the focus of Spanish military power moved to defend the lucrative mines. For raiding native groups of the central plateau, however, the depopulation of the region south of Parral caused by the opening of the mines at Chihuahua presented an opportunity.*

Despite partial victories won by the Spaniards over the "Chichimecas" north of the basin of Mexico, many foraging and raiding indigenous groups managed to continue their resistance to Spanish society in their native lands. These Indian groups used the Bolsón de Mapimí, a huge, dry sink that lay between the Spanish provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and Nuevo México, as a staging area for attacks against Spanish-controlled settlements and as a region of refuge against Spanish reprisal. Spanish military forces were unable to sustain prolonged campaigns into the bolsón because the horses of their cavalry soon ran short of water and pasture. A common strategy of the unconquered Indians of the central plateau was to retreat into the most desolate areas of the bolsón and subsequently ambush the weakened soldiers and their animals. The torture suffered by soldiers at the hands of their captors became legendary on the northern frontier. The raiding of frontier settlements followed by retreat into the impregnability of the Bolsón de Mapimí, then, became the basis of an enduring livelihood for several distinct indigenous groups.

From the perspective of the Enlightenment military philosophies of the Bourbon king Felipe V and his viceroy, the Native Americans' strategic brutality was initially thought to be best countered by systematic reform and reorganization of the presidial system. The presidio of Mapimí, which bordered the extreme southern edge of the Bolsón de Mapimí, was created as a result of these reforms. As was the case with so many later Bourbon reforms to the presidial system on the northern frontier, however, this reorganization did not solve the problems that Indian raiding caused for Spanish society. It merely shored up the defenses of certain regions while leaving others vulnerable and relatively unprotected. In the series of documents that follows the captain of the presidio of Conchos refuses to send his share of presidial soldiers to the presidio at Mapimí, because their absence would have left the Conchos area without protection.

Like the captain of Mapimí, local landowners were skeptical of the presidial reforms. By the 1720s, they had convinced the viceroy that only much more dra-

matic measures would permanently pacify the region. Their reasoning was bolstered by a military presence incapable of effectively policing the dispersed and vulnerable settlements of the northern frontier. Expensive and drawn-out wars against hostile Indians fought simultaneously in separate areas depleted the manpower and military resources available to frontier presidial commanders. Once it became clear to royal officials that presidial reforms could not prevent indigenous raiding from the Bolsón de Mapimí, and once the hacienda owners of the region offered their own money to defeat the native peoples of the region, royal policy shifted toward wholesale deportation and enslavement of hostile natives. With this change in policy, the Spanish government managed to carry out the effective genocide of several distinct ethnic groups, entirely eliminating those groups that had most successfully obstructed Spanish territorial control and compromised Spanish notions of civilized frontier life. Unfortunately for the stability of the empire, however, the systematic destruction of the native populations of the Bolsón de Mapimí opened the way for their replacement by the Apache, who proved to be an even more tenacious foe.

Captain Matías de León[1] requests thirty-four [soldiers] for the defense of Mapimí,[2] 1711.

Governor and Captain General:[3]

With all due formality, I, Captain Matías de León y Herrera, resident of this mining town, hereby present the commission of captain, commander, and *caudillo* of the soldiers who are to assist in the resettlement of the mining town in question, Santiago de Mapimí, which commission was given to me by the most excellent Duque de Linares,[4] viceroy of New Spain. Upon display to your lordship, it is to be returned to me for use. As is clear from the dispatch by which your lordship has been notified, his excellency has ordered that, as the per-

1. Matías de León y Herrera was born in Medina de Río Seco, Spain. Following his temporary military service in resettling the mining town of Santiago de Mapimí, León de Herrera continued to act as caudillo and protector of the settlement until his death in 1715.

2. The *alcaldía* of Mapimí, on the western edge of the Bolsón de Mapimí, is located in the northeastern portion of the present state of Durango. It was founded during Francisco de Ibarra's explorations (1562–1575) as part of Nueva Vizcaya. Mapimí was a fairly significant strategic site on the northern frontier, both for its production of litharge and hearth lead, which were important components for smelting operations at Parral, and for its location as an outpost providing protection against raiding Indian groups. Like the other presidios along the eastern edge of the Sierra Madre Occidental, Mapimí was subject to frequent attack. Prior to the reconquest planned in these documents, Indian attacks had forced the desertion, or partial desertion, of Mapimí for several periods. It was entirely or partially abandoned between the years 1616 and 1617, 1654 and 1661, 1683 and 1687, and 1703 and 1711.

3. Addressed to Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, governor of Nueva Vizcaya.

4. Duque de Linares here refers to Francisco de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, viceroy of New Spain from 1711 to 1716.

son in charge of the resettlement, I am to be given thirty-four soldiers of my choosing from the presidios and companies mentioned therein for that resettlement. However, because I am weary of so much traveling and it will be a hardship to do this and to apply to the presidios with your lordship's orders, I therefore leave the matter to your lordship's discretion, so that with your mature judgment, and as someone who knows these soldiers, you might select those who seem most capable from among the presidios and companies mentioned. Those whom your lordship selects I select also, since some of those I know may be dead or removed [from service]. In order to carry out this resettlement, the necessary orders should be issued for [the soldiers] to come to the royal presidio of Cerro Gordo[5] where the families are gathered, as your lordship is aware from the certifications I have presented. I beg your lordship to return the captain's commission to me once it has been presented to you, and to provide everything I request. I await your lordship's graciousness and promise not to be perverse and to do whatever is necessary.

Matías de León y Herrera

Parral,[6] October 17, 1711

I have been presented with the commission of the captain and caudillo for the thirty-four soldiers allotted for the resettlement of the mining town of Santiago de Mapimí, which document is to be recorded in the register of soldiers and returned to him for use. Further, in the dispatch by which the most excellent viceroy of New Spain has notified me it is ordered that the said thirty-four soldiers are to be given to [the captain] and are to be selected from the presidios and campaign companies mentioned in the dispatch. [The captain] leaves [the selection of] the soldiers to my discretion. In order to direct [the selection] with the great proficiency that a matter of this importance demands, I hereby command that orders be issued for the captains of the presidios of Conchos,[7] Cerro Gordo,

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5. Spanish settlement at Cerro Gordo increased after the 1613 discovery of silver at Parral. As a result of growth in nearby mining settlements, cattle grazing on Cerro Gordo's abundant pasturelands flourished. In 1646, two years after Salineros and other Uto-Aztecan-speaking forager-raiders revolted in 1644, the Spanish government established the Cerro Gordo presidio. Abolished in 1751, the presidio was replaced by a cavalry troop in 1767. In 1773, the cavalry troop was moved to the Río Grande.

6. Prospecting and cattle raising began in the vicinity of Parral as early as the 1560s, although the settlement's principal importance for Spaniards derived from the 1631 discovery of large deposits of silver ore. This discovery led to a rush to settle and work the area, and Parral was capital of Nueva Vizcaya from the time of the silver rush until 1739. After 1700, silver discoveries farther north drained residents away from Parral, and by 1750, many of Parral's mines were no longer productive. By the 1820s, its economy had returned to grazing and hacienda agriculture, and the one-time capital of Parral was reclassified as a pueblo.

7. In 1604, Franciscans founded the first mission along the Conchos River at San Francisco de Conchos. In 1645, Concho Indians destroyed the original mission and expelled the mis-

El Gallo,[8] El Pasaje,[9] Santa Catarina,[10] and the campaign company of this mining town to send to me, immediately and without delay, lists of the soldiers that comprise their companies, stating their ranks and length of service in their posts. By reviewing these [lists] I will know the assignment [of posts] as it stands and may proceed with everything else that the said dispatch provides. Official testimony is to be taken of this letter and whatever other measures I might execute, which will demonstrate to his excellency that his orders are being carried out.

Thus has Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa[11]—the captain of armored cavalry, knight of the Order of Santiago, official accounting minister of the royal treasury and treasurer of the city of Mexico, and governor and captain general of this realm and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya on behalf of our lord the king—ordered and signed.

Antonio de Deza y Ulloa

Before me,

Mateo de Cuén, Royal Secretary

Parral, October 17, 1711

Lord Governor and Captain General:

I received your lordship's [letter] dated the fifteenth of this month. Your lordship's order to me, to have the ten soldiers at that mining town on the twenty-

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sionaries. Although the missionaries returned during the 1670s, they suffered continued attacks until the presidio of Conchos was established in 1687. The presidio remained in operation until 1751, when it fell victim to Bourbon military reforms and Apache depredations.

8. San Pedro del Gallo, located southwest of Mapimí and north of the Río de las Nazas, was established as a pueblo within the alcaldía of Mapimí several years prior to the establishment of a presidio at that location in about 1687. This presidio, like the others in the region, remained in operation until 1751. By 1771, a local settler administered justice at El Gallo.

9. El Pasaje, also founded in about 1687, was intended to stem the depredations of the Toboso Indians, who had depopulated the region around the pueblo and alcaldía of Cuencamé. This presidio was later maintained privately by local Spanish and mestizo ranchers and farmers, in an attempt to combat Apaches who had moved into the area by the 1740s. Despite Indian attacks, the region enjoyed increasing economic prosperity until the late 1700s.

10. Santa Catarina was one of two large settlements within the alcaldía of Papasquiaro, the other being Santiago Papasquiaro. By 1620, as a response to the Tepehuán rebellion of 1616–1618, Spaniards had established a presidio downstream from Santa Catarina along the Río Tepehuanes. The presidial troop was abolished in 1711, although a civilian militia continued to operate in its place.

11. Antonio de Deza y Ulloa was born in Huejotzingo, Puebla, in 1658, and died in Mexico City in 1728. He was governor of the province of Mexico in 1696, and served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1709 to 1712. He founded the real de minas of San Francisco de

eighth of the present month, was understood, and I shall see to it as your lordship commands. With respect to the mandate your lordship tells me is to be sent to this presidio—that by order of his excellency ten soldiers are to be selected for the resettlement of Mapimí and that to do this you need a list of the soldiers who are here, with the time each one has been enlisted clearly stated—I am suspending this for the present because I have received a letter and order from Colonel Don José Mazoni, *visitador* of the presidios of this realm, in which he gives me the order that your lordship will see in the attached copy, which is signed with my name. I am keeping the original for my own protection. Nevertheless, I shall send you the names of the soldiers here, as your lordship commands. As for the Indian, Salvador Martínez, I have him well secured, and I shall likewise send him to that camp as your lordship orders. I am charged with giving the information to General Don Rafael, so that he may be aware of what your lordship has decided. May our Lord keep you in good health and protect you for the many years we need you for the defense of the realm.

Presidio of Conchos. October 19, 1711. Lord governor, your humble servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Antonio Rodela

Parral, [October] 20, 1711

In zealously attempting to carry out exactly what has been ordered by the most excellent Duque de Linares, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, concerning the resettlement of the mining town of Mapimí, I advised the lieutenant of the royal presidio of San Francisco de Conchos to send the list of soldiers of that presidio as I have provided in an *auto* on the seventeenth of this month. He responded to me, as written in this letter, with a copy of the order that he reportedly has, that he will not provide the ten soldiers from that presidio for the aforementioned resettlement. I hereby order all this to be placed with the *autos* relating to the matter, and that Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera be made aware of it.

Thus has the governor and captain general of this realm, Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, knight of the Order of Santiago, ordered and placed his rubric.

Before me,

Mateo de Cuén, Royal Secretary

I, the secretary, immediately gave the decreed notice to Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera in person. Once aware of its gist, he said that he understood. The captain asks to be given an affidavit of the visitador's letter, a copy of which Lieutenant Rodela has sent to the governor, as well as [the letter] that [the lieutenant]

Cuéllar at the site that became the city of Chihuahua. From 1712 until his death he was in charge of the Real Hacienda in Mexico City.

has likewise written to his lordship, excusing himself from delivering the ten soldiers that he was ordered to provide from his presidio in accordance with his excellency's dispatch, for the reasons expressed in [those letters]. He also asks to be given an affidavit of the rest of the notices that pertain to the ten soldiers of the Conchos presidio, for whatever purposes might be appropriate. When the governor and captain general of this realm saw his reply,[12] he ordered that the captain be given the requested affidavit of the letter from the visitador and [the letter] that the lieutenant of the Conchos presidio wrote to his lordship, which I gave him.

Thus his lordship [Don Matías] ordered and placed his rubric and signed the content, to which I attest. So be it.

Matías de León y Herrera

Before me,

Mateo de Cuén, Royal Secretary

My Lord:

By the authority given him by his excellency to establish a presidio at Santiago de Mapimí, Don Matías de León y Herrera ordered that the presidio be manned with soldiers from the presidios in these realms and, therefore, that ten be taken from the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos. However, his excellency afterwards received [a letter from] the captain of that presidio, Don José de Beasoain,[13] who represented the difficulties and the loss to royal service of these men in the event that León's order were put into effect. [His excellency] commanded that everything be submitted to Don Francisco de Valenzuela, auditor general of war. In accordance with the auditor's opinion, his excellency orders me by a dispatch dated August 12, 1711, which is in my possession, that as visitador of these presidios I am to look into and resolve this matter in the manner that seems to me to best suit the royal service, regardless of the orders already issued. Because of the many duties I am performing on this journey in his majesty's service, I will not be able to get to the presidio of Conchos very soon. To prevent any problem from arising in the interim, I order that your honor permit no soldier to be taken from the presidio of Conchos to that of Mapimí before I go to inspect it. In the event that the soldiers have already been taken, your honor is to make sure by means of the present [letter], which Don Matías de León y Herrera is to have, that he knows of his excellency's latest decision that [the soldiers] should return immediately to their post. Moreover, your honor will advise me as soon as possible as to what has been done. May God keep your honor for many years.

Zacatecas, August 23, 1711. I kiss the hand of your honor. Your servant,

Colonel Don José Mazoni

Don Antonio Rodela, lieutenant of the presidio of Conchos.

Antonio Rodela

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12. The text does not specify whom "his reply" refers to, although it is presumably Rodela.

13. By 1716, Don José de Beasoain was coowner with Don Alonso Escudero of a mine at San Francisco de Cuéllar.

Lord Governor and Captain General:

I, Captain Matías de León y Herrera, resident of this mining town, appear before your lordship and state the following: I have requested an affidavit of the letter written by the visitador of the royal presidios to Lieutenant Antonio Rodela of the royal presidio of Conchos, in which he says he has an order from his excellency to the effect that, until he inspects that presidio, the ten soldiers his excellency ordered to be delivered to me shall not be taken from there. Because the visitador may be delayed both in his inspection and in his journey to that presidio, I am suffering many hindrances, delays, and losses, as well as increased expenses for the continued support and transportation of the settlers for the resettlement of the mining town of Mapimí. In order to have them ready for this purpose, your lordship should please order that the remaining twenty-four soldiers from the other presidios be delivered to me as soon as possible at [the presidio] of Cerro Gordo. It is from there that I am ready with all the settlers to make my *entrada* to the mining town of Mapimí, fulfilling his excellency's order and accomplishing the resettlement. If this is not done at once, without the slightest delay, some of the settlers may leave, and as a result the mining town will not be resettled nor can his excellency's orders be carried out, events that are very important to the service of both majesties. Consequently, I request and implore your lordship to order that this be done in compliance with his excellency's dispatch and as is necessary.

Matías de León y Herrera

Parral, October 21, 1711

Per the [letter] presented and in consideration of what it relates, I am ready for my part to do what this message requests and to order that the twenty-four soldiers be assembled in the presidio of Cerro Gordo as soon as I receive the lists I have requested from the captains of the presidios from which his excellency orders that the soldiers be selected. The visitador's letter to the lieutenant of Conchos, quoted in the affidavit given [to León y Herrera], reads: ". . . as visitador of these presidios I am to look into and resolve this matter in the manner that seems to me to best suit the royal service, regardless of the orders already issued." It seems to me that with the completion of this process pending, Captain Don Matías de León should not proceed on any course until he receives orders from the visitador as to what he should do. [However,] there is in me nothing more than blind and prompt obedience to superior orders such as his excellency's, and Don Matías has left the choice of the soldiers to my judgment, as is clear from his request. With a mind toward the greatest success, I will see to it that the twenty-four soldiers are among the most experienced that I can identify. Thus has the captain of armored horses, Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this realm, provided and signed.

Reply sent. So be it.

Antonio de Deza y Ulloa

Before me,

Mateo de Cuén, Royal Secretary

List of the campaign soldiers and their years of service:

Captain Vicente de Amparón has served 28 years.
Alférez Nicolás de la Peña has served 23 years.
Sergeant Agustín de Talavera has served 18 years.
Alférez Andrés de Mendoza, retired, re-enlisted for 3 years and some months.
Matías Navarro has served 20 years, and has been a corporal for 15.
Juan Velázquez has served 20 years.
Manuel Beltrán, acting squad corporal, has served 18 years.
Antonio de Torres has served 17 years, 6 as substitute corporal.
Santiago Carrillo, acting squad corporal, has served 13 years.
Pascual de Bribiescas has served 13 years.
Antonio de Talavera has served 12 years.
Miguel Jiménez has served 12 years.
Ignacio Cortés has served 11 years.
Joseph Vello has served his majesty for 10 years.
Nicolás Ponce has served 10 years.
Pedro Rivas has served 10 years.
Andrés de Padilla has served 9 years.
Juan de Acosta has served 8 years.
Pedro de Lapiayn has served 8 years.
Marcos Francisco has served 7 years.
Salvador de Acosta has served 6 years.
Joseph Hernández has served 5 years.
Nicolás de Santibáñez has served 5 years.
Juan de Torres has served 5 years.
Cristóbal Durán has served 4 years.
Tomás de Navarrete has served 3 years.
Ignacio de Silas has served 2 years.
Tomás de Ortega has served 2 years.
Juan Delgado has served 2 years.
Cristóbal Rodríguez has served 1 year.
Santiago Zubriel has served 1 year.
Diego de Bustillos, 1 year.
Francisco García Corral, 3 months.
Francisco de Vargas, 3 months.

All these soldiers are the ones who are assigned to the campaign company posted at this mining town, of which I am presently captain. In compliance with your lordship's *auto* of the seventeenth of this month, which was made known to me, I present this list in this mining town of Parral on October 19, 1711.

Francisco García de Escañuela

Lord Governor and Captain General:

My lord, on this date at dawn I received your lordship's [letter] of the eighteenth of this month, along with the order of the previous day. Both are sent be-

cause of the order that your lordship received relating to the resettlement of Santiago de Mapimí, for which purpose thirty-four soldiers, as specified by his excellency, are to be provided to Captain Don Matías de León. The posts are to be filled by your lordship, for such an important matter requires knowledge and maturity [of judgment]. In turn, your lordship commands each captain, immediately upon receiving [your command], to send a list of the soldiers that make up his company, indicating the time that each one has served and his rank, so that with this information the assignment can take place as directed. In fulfillment of this order, I proceeded to draw up without delay a list of those [soldiers] assigned to this presidio, with their current positions as recorded in the roster. It is included with this [letter] so that after reviewing it your lordship may take the required action.

The letter and the order from your lordship relating to this matter are being sent on to the presidio of El Gallo, to be delivered to its captain. May the Divine Majesty grant your lordship many years of happy success.

Cerro Gordo, October 20, 1711. My lord governor and captain general, your humble and faithful servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Joseph Fernández de Córdova[14]

Lord Governor and Captain General Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa:

In compliance with the order I have just received from the lord governor and captain general of this realm, following is a list of the thirty-three soldiers assigned to this royal presidio of San Miguel del Cerro Gordo:

Alférez Antonio Núñez came from El Gallo to this presidio on March 16, 1696.
Sergeant Diego de Estrada, March 16, 1699
Squad Corporal Bernardo Delgado, September 21, 1710
Corporal Juan de Mendoza, March 16, 1696
Corporal Francisco López, July 16, 1690
Juan Jáquez, November 16, 1692
Santiago de Aragón, March 16, 1696
Antonio de Lugo, July 16, 1705
Juan Esteban de Sosa, September 21, 1708
Bartolomé López, March 16, 1706
Joseph Méndez, November 16, 1701
Felipe Santiago, May 21, 1709
Juan de Cárdenas, July 16, 1699
Felipe de Cárdenas, February 22, 1706
Juan de Villa, September 21, 1708
Juan Antonio Villa, May 21, 1711

14. Juan Fernández de Córdova was born in 1653 in La Rambla, Córdoba, Spain. He served as alférez, lieutenant, and captain in Flanders from 1678 to 1693, after which he returned to Spain and served as *maestro de campo* in Barcelona. By 1703 he had moved to New Spain. He served as maestro de campo and governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1703 until 1708.

Diego de Ortega, April 25, 1706
Juan Chacón, March 16, 1703
Juan Ponce. I received [his name] on the list, with no record of when he enlisted.
Blas de Luna, March 16, 1704
Diego de Acosta, September 21, 1709
Bernabé de Estrada, May 21, 1708
Nicolás de Luna came from El Pasaje; he enlisted on March 16, 1696.
Antonio Ramírez, January 28, 1708
Gregorio Núñez, February 2, 1707
Francisco Sánchez Bustamante, September 21, 1711
Juan Gómez, January 21, 1710
Cristóbal Farías, January 21, 1711
Diego de Zigala, January 21, 1711
Gerónimo de Cosío, January 21, 1711
Manuel González, September 21, 1709
Bernardo Núñez, September 22, 1707
Ignacio de Uriñes, May 21, 1711

Don Joseph Fernández de Córdova

Following is a general list of this company of Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Pasaje, which I, General Don Martín de Alday,[15] captain-for-life of this presidio on behalf of his majesty, ordered drawn up in response to the order I received today, October 22, 1711, issued by the captain of armored cavalry, Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, knight of the Order of Santiago, official accounting minister of the royal treasury and treasurer of the city of Mexico, and governor and captain general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya for his majesty. The list is as follows:

Squad Corporal Baltazar de Sepúlveda enlisted on June 3, 1686.
Squad Corporal Juan Núñez enlisted on January 27, 1687.
Antonio de Espinosa enlisted on February 9, 1688.
Corporal Diego Moreno enlisted on June 23, 1688.
Diego Martínez enlisted on June 10, 1690.
Diego de Valdez enlisted on October 10, 1690.

15. Martín de Alday was born in 1657 in Escorriaga, Guipúzcoa, Spain. After serving as a corporal with the Spanish fleet in the West Indies, he traveled to the northern frontier of New Spain and, in 1683, was a lieutenant at the Conchos presidio. In 1688, he joined Jironza Petris de Cruzat's abortive attempt to reconquer New Mexico. He later became alcalde mayor of Cosihuiriáchic in the Sierra Madre Occidental and in that capacity waged war on the Tarahumara in 1694. Between 1696 and 1698 he was alcalde mayor of Nueva Vizcaya, and during that time he continued his campaigns against the Tarahumara. His career included positions as a captain in Nueva Vizcaya from 1704 to 1720, governor and captain general of Nueva Vizcaya from 1720 to 1723, and commander general of the presidio of El Pasaje from 1723 to 1725.

Francisco de Argarate enlisted on October 10, 1694.
Juan de Miranda enlisted on June 10, 1697.
Juan de Grajeda enlisted on June 10, 1698.
Pedro González enlisted on October 10, 1698.
Manuel de Llanos enlisted on October 10, 1699.
Francisco Viscarra enlisted on June 10, 1701.
Jacinto de Sepúlveda enlisted on February 10, 1702.
Alférez Francisco Vásquez enlisted on June 10, 1703.
Joseph de Talamantes enlisted on June 10, 1703.
Alejo de Bribiescas enlisted on October 10, 1704.
Manuel Ruiz enlisted on February 10, 1705.
Joseph Martínez enlisted on June 10, 1705.
Diego Martínez enlisted on June 10, 1705.
Francisco Fajardo enlisted on June 10, 1705.
Antonio Guzmán enlisted on October 10, 1705.
Nicolás de Urbina enlisted on October 10, 1705.
Joseph Onofre de la Riva enlisted on October 10, 1705.
Nicolás de Nava enlisted on October 10, 1705.
Bartolomé Morrillo enlisted on June 10, 1705.
Julián González enlisted on June 11, 1706.
Nicolás Hernández enlisted on February 10, 1707.
Luis Antonio de la Riva enlisted on June 10, 1707.
Marcos López enlisted on June 10, 1707.
Juan de Villa enlisted on October 10, 1707.
Bartolomé Quezada enlisted October 10, 1708.
Sergeant Manuel Jiménez Corchón enlisted on October 10, 1708.
Lucas de Medina enlisted on October 10, 1708.
Francisco Javier Galindo enlisted on February 10, 1709.
Lieutenant Antonio de Ayala enlisted on February 10, 1709.
Juan Jiménez Corchón enlisted on June 28, 1709.
Ascencio González enlisted on February 10, 1710.
Diego de Pantoja enlisted on June 10, 1710.
Don Patricio de Quiroga y Valdez enlisted on June 10, 1710.
Cristóbal Morillo enlisted on February 10, 1711.
Francisco Javier de Castro enlisted on February 10, 1711.
Francisco Muñoz enlisted on February 10, 1711.
Nicolás Gómez enlisted on February 10, 1711.
Luis Fernández de Lugo enlisted on June 10, 1711.
Joseph de la Riva enlisted on June 10, 1711.

Martín de Alday

[Following is] a list of the soldiers in the company of this royal presidio of San Pedro del Gallo, which I, Captain Juan Andrés de Alday, captain-for-life of this royal presidio on behalf of our lord the king, ordered drawn up from the royal register. [This is done] upon the orders of the captain of armored cavalry, Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, knight of the order of Santiago, royal accounting minister of the

treasury of the city of Mexico, and governor and captain general of this realm for our lord the king. Those [names] that follow are from the royal register at this presidio, which is from General Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos,[16] who took possession here on July 8, 1694.

Squad Corporal Antonio González, 1694
Sergeant Bartolomé de Acosta, the same year
Sergeant Ignacio del Corral, the same year
Squad Corporal Bernardo de Galavíz, the same year
Pedro Juárez, the same year
Lázaro de Aguirre, the same year
Cristóbal de Mendoza, the same year
Simón de la Riva, 1697
Agustín Guacín, 1697
Joseph de Alvarado, 1700
Nicolás de Minjares, 1700
Joseph de Vargas, 1701
Manuel de Luna, 1702
Sergeant Francisco Gómez de Soria, 1702
Joseph González, 1703
Antonio González Rey, 1704
Pedro de la Riva, 1705
Francisco Bojórquez, 1705
Tomás Gómez Gallardo, 1706
Ignacio Marín, 1707
Fugitive—Andrés de Peralta, 1707
Cristóbal de Frías, 1707
Alférez Don Joseph Romualdo de Alday, 1708
Juan Antonio Sánchez, 1708
Joseph de la Riva, 1708
Luis de Menchaca, 1708
Santiago Martín, 1708
Juan de Sierra, 1708
Joaquín Ventura de Longara, 1708
Manuel Olguín, 1709
Luis de Eras, 1709
Raimundo del Río, 1709
Fugitive—Cristóbal de Acevedo, 1709
Fugitive—Juan de Acevedo, 1709
Manuel Pérez, 1709
Pedro de Clemente, 1710
Juan Clemente, 1710
Joaquín Sánchez, 1710

16. The year after taking office as captain of the presidio of San Pedro del Gallo, Don Domingo Terán de los Ríos died while on campaign against Apaches near the Chiricahua Mountains in present-day Arizona.

Manuel de Acosta, 1710
Cristóbal de Villaseñor, 1710
Salvador de Jesús, 1711
Juan López, 1711
Cristóbal Martín, 1711
Pedro de Acosta, 1711
Juan Pérez de Ibaburu, 1711

Having received the governor and captain general's dispatch on October 21, 1711, I drew up the list on this the same date, and I send it with the Cerro Gordo cordon. In evidence whereof I have signed on the aforementioned day, month, and year.

Juan Andrés de Alday

I, Don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, captain of armored cavalry, knight of the Order of Santiago, royal accounting minister of the treasury of the city of Mexico, and governor and captain general for his majesty of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya, [state the following]:

The most excellent Duque de Linares, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, in a message dated June 16 of this present year, orders that thirty-four soldiers from the presidios specified in the dispatch and the campaign company of this mining town be given to Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera to assist under his command in the resettlement of the mining town of Santiago de Mapimí. The soldiers are to be selected and chosen by Captain Don Matías de León who, in a petition he presented to me, said that he was tired and worn out by long trips, and that it would be a hardship for him to travel to the presidios with my dispatches to collect the soldiers. He left it to my discretion to select them according to my judgment. In order to do so with the speed that I ardently desire for the resettlement of the mining town, I sent out an order requesting the captains [to submit] lists of their presidial soldiers, so that by reviewing their ranks and length of service, as stated in the dispatch, the most experienced [soldiers] might be selected. With this in mind, I have examined the list of the presidio of San Pedro del Gallo, and I hereby order Captain Don Juan Andrés de Alday of that presidio to turn over to Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera six soldiers from his command to go with the [latter] captain for the resettlement. This is the number of soldiers his excellency has ordered transferred. The [soldiers] selected are as follows:

Sergeant Ignacio del Corral
Squad Corporal Bernardo de Galavíz
Pedro Juárez
Lázaro de Aguirre
Cristóbal de Mendoza, and
Simón de la Riva

These [men] are to assist in the aforementioned resettlement under the command of Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera for the time stated in the dis-

patch. Once this has been done, the above-mentioned captain will inform me, so that I may in turn inform the viceroy.

Parral, October 28, 1711.

Antonio de Deza y Ulloa

(These soldiers are to be sent at once to Cerro Gordo.)

By order of his lordship,

Mateo de Cuén, Royal Secretary

In the presidio of San Pedro del Gallo, on October 31, 1711, I, Captain Juan Andrés de Alday, captain-for-life of this presidio, received the enclosed order from the governor and captain general of this realm. As soon as I had seen it, I summoned the six soldiers mentioned in the dispatch in order to send them immediately to the presidio of San Miguel de Cerro Gordo, to join the company of Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera for the resettlement of Santiago de Mapimí. As I was ready to send them, I received a letter from the said Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera in which he told me to turn the six soldiers over to Don Alonso de Iparraguirre, his lieutenant; I turned over to him [the lieutenant] the six soldiers referred to in the dispatch. In evidence whereof I have signed with my secretary of war on the above-mentioned day, month, and year.

Juan Andrés de Alday

By order of the captain,

Joaquín Ventura de Longara, Secretary of War

On the aforesaid day, immediately [upon receiving the order], I summoned the six soldiers specified and inspected their arms and horses in the presence of Don Alonso de Iparraguirre, lieutenant of Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera. The six are named as follows:

Sergeant Ignacio del Corral: eight horses, harquebus, sword, doublet, powder, and shot

Squad Corporal Bernardo de Galavíz: eight horses, harquebus, sword, leather jacket, powder, and shot

Pedro Juárez: eight horses, leather jacket, sword, harquebus, powder, and shot

Lázaro de Aguirre: eight horses, leather jacket, harquebus, powder, and shot

Cristóbal de Mendoza: five horses, leather jacket, sword, harquebus, powder, and shot

Simón de la Riva: seven horses, leather jacket, sword, harquebus, powder, and shot

These soldiers passed muster, and the captain's lieutenant, Don Alonso de Iparraguirre, will give me a receipt at the foot of this [document], to protect my

rights in this matter. In evidence whereof, I have signed with my secretary of war on the above day, month, and year.

Juan Andrés de Alday

By order of the captain,

Joaquín Ventura de Longara, Secretary of War

I received everything contained in the above dispatch.

Alonso de Iparraguirre[17]

Archivo de Hidalgo del Parral, 1711.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Pide treinta y cuatro para el resguardo de Mapimí el capitán Matías de León. 1711.

Gobernador y capitán general:

El capitán Matías de León y Herrera, residente en este real: digo que con la debida solemnidad hago presentación de la patente de capitán, cabo y caudillo que el excelentísimo señor Duque de Linares, virrey de la Nueva España, me dió de los soldados que han de asistir al repueble del dicho real de Santiago de Mapimí, para que, constándole a vuestra señoría, me la devuelva para su uso. Y como repoblador de dicho real, digo que como consta del despacho que se ha noticiado a vuestra señoría, se sirve su excelencia de mandar, que de los presidios y compañías que allí se mencionan, se me den treinta y cuatro soldados para dicho repueble, los que yo eligiere. Y porque para hacerlo y ocurrir a los presidios, con los despachos de vuestra señoría, me siento cansado de tanto caminar y se me seguirá molestia, lo dejo a la disposición de vuestra señoría para que con su maduro acuerdo y como quien tiene el conocimiento de estos soldados, señale de los dichos presidios y compañías, los que le pareciere más aptos. Que los que vuestra señoría señalare, esos mismos señalo yo, pues de los que yo conozco, algunos pueden faltar por muertos o anulados. Y para que vengan a ejecutar dicho repueble, librar los despachos que fueren necesarios para su venida que ha de ser al real presidio del Cerro Gordo, donde se juntan las familias que le consta a vuestra señoría por las certificaciones que tengo presentadas. A vuestra señoría suplico que habiendo por presentada la dicha patente de capitán, me la devuelva y provea en todo según pido, como lo espero de la grandeza de vuestra señoría y juro no ser de malicia y en lo necesario.

Matías de León y Herrera.

Parral y octubre 17 de 1711 años.

Por presentada con la patente de capitán y caudillo de los treinta y cuatro soldados que se consignan para el repueble del real de Santiago de Mapimí, la cual se

17. Alonso de Iparraguirre was born in Guipúzcoa, Spain. When he died in 1718, he was serving as commander of the presidio of Mapimí.

asiente en el libro de soldados y se le devuelva para su uso. Y en atención a que en el despacho que se me ha hecho notorio del excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España, se manda se le den al presentante los dichos treinta y cuatro soldados, los que eligiere de los presidios y compañías de campaña mencionados en dicho despacho, los cuales el contenido deja a mi elección. Mando que para pautarlo con el mayor acierto que pide materia de esta gravedad, se despache orden para que los capitanes de los presidios de Conchos, Cerro Gordo, El Gallo, El Pasaje, Santa Catarina y compañía de campaña de este real, luego y sin dilación alguna, me remitan pie de lista de los soldados de que se componen sus compañías, con la expresión del tiempo y grados con que han servido sus plazas, para con vista de ellas saber la consignación como está prevenida y proceder a lo demás que se previene en dicho despacho. Sacándose testimonio de este escrito y de las demás diligencias que por mí se ejecutaren, para con ello dar cuenta a su excelencia del efectivo cumplimiento de su despacho.

El señor capitán de caballos corazas don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, caballero del Orden de Santiago, contador juez oficial real de la real hacienda y caja de la ciudad de México, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de la Nueva Vizcaya por el rey, nuestro señor, así lo proveyó y firmó.

Antonio de Deza y Ulloa.

Ante mí,

Mateo de Cuén. Secretario Real.

Parral y octubre 17 de 1711 años.

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

Recibí la de vuestra señoría, su fecha 15 del corriente y quedó entendido el que vuestra señoría me manda, estén [en] ese real los diez soldados el día 28 del presente; lo cual ejecutaré según y como vuestra señoría me manda. Y en lo que mira al mandamiento que me dice vuestra señoría está para despachar a este presidio para que se saquen diez soldados de orden de su excelencia para el repueble de Mapimí, y que para ello necesita vuestra señoría le remita la lista de los soldados que quedan, con claridad del tiempo que cada uno ha que sentó plaza, lo cual suspendo por ahora por hallarme con carta-orden del señor coronel don José Mazoni, visitador de los presidios de este reino, en que me ordena lo que vuestra señoría verá por la copia que remito adjunta, firmada de mi nombre, quedando en mi poder la original para mi resguardo. No obstante, remitiré a vuestra señoría la nómina de los soldados que quedan en la forma que vuestra señoría me ordena. Y por lo que toca al indio Salvador Martínez, téngolo bien asegurado y en la misma forma lo remitiré a ese real como su señoría manda. Y quedo con el cuidado de darle la noticia al general don Rafael para que quede entendido de lo determinado por su señoría, a quien pido a Nuestro Señor lo mantenga en cabal salud y le guarde los muchos años que habemos menester para amparo del reino.

Presidio de Conchos y octubre 19 de 1711. Señor gobernador, besa la mano de su señoría, su menor servidor.

Antonio Rodela.

Parral y [ilegible] 20 de 1711 años.
En atención a que procurando mi celo ejecutar con toda exacción [exactitud] lo mandado por el excelentísimo duque de Linares, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de la Nueva España sobre el repueble del real de Mapimí, previne al teniente del real presidio de San Francisco de Conchos le remitiese el pie de lista de los soldados de aquel presidio como lo tengo prevenido por auto de 17 del corriente. Y me responde lo que consta de esta carta con el tanto de la orden que refiere tiene, para no dar los diez soldados de aquel presidio para el referido repueble. Mando se ponga todo con los autos de la materia y se le haga saber al dicho capitán don Matías de León y Herrera.

El señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino, don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, caballero del Orden de Santiago, así lo proveyó y rubricó.

Ante mí,

Mateo de Cuén. Secretario real.

Incontinente, yo el secretario, hice la notificación que se manda al capitán don Matías de León y Herrera en su persona, que entendido de su tenor dijo que lo oye y que en atención a la carta del señor visitador, cuyo tanto remite al señor gobernador el teniente Rodela, y la que así mismo escribe el susodicho a su señoría, excusándose a la entrega de los diez soldados que se le mandan dar de su presidio en conformidad del despacho de su excelencia por las razones que en ellas se expresa, pide se le dé testimonio de dichas cartas con las demás diligencias hechas en orden a los referidos diez soldados del dicho presidio de Conchos para los efectos que le convengan. Cuya respuesta vista por el señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino, mandó se le dé el testimonio que pide de la carta del señor visitador y de la que el teniente del presidio de Conchos escribió a su señoría, de la cual se le dé en lo pertinente.

Y así lo proveyó y rubricó su señoría, y el contenido lo firmó, de que doy fe = Entre renglones = Don Matías = Vale.

Matías de León y Herrera.

Ante mí,

Mateo de Cuén. Secretario real.

Señor mío:

Por representación de don Matías de León y Herrera, dada a su excelencia de formar un presidio en Santiago de Mapimí, se sirvió de ordenar que se hiciese con los soldados de los presidios de estos reinos, y así que se sacasen diez del presidio de San Francisco de Conchos. Habiendo después recibido a su excelencia, el capitán don José de Beasoain, que lo es de ese presidio, representando los inconvenientes y falta al real servicio de dichos soldados en caso que se efectuara dicha orden, mandó que todo se participara a don Francisco de Valenzuela, auditor general de la guerra. Con cuyo parecer conformándose su excelencia, me manda con despacho de 12 de agosto de 1711 que está en mi poder, que como visitador de estos presidios vea y resuelva lo que más me parece que convenga al real servicio;

no obstante las órdenes dadas sobre este particular. Y porque por muchas diligencias que voy haciendo por el servicio de su majestad en este viaje, no podré llegar tan prontamente a ese presidio de Conchos y que en ínterin no sobrevenga algún inconveniente, mando a vuestra merced que no permita se saque algún soldado de dicho presidio de Conchos para el de Mapimí, hasta que yo no vaya a reconocerlo. Y si acaso dichos soldados se hayan sacado, vuestra merced solicite en virtud de la presente que hará tener a don Matías de León y Herrera, a fin que sepa la última determinación de su excelencia que luego vuelvan a su puesto. Y vuestra merced me dará aviso cuanto antes de lo que habrá ejecutado. Dios guarde a vuestra merced muchos años.

Zacatecas y agosto 23 de 1711 años. Beso la mano de vuestra merced. Su servidor,

El coronel don José Mazoni.

Señor don Antonio Rodela, teniente del presidio de Conchos.

Antonio Rodela.

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

El capitán Matías de León y Herrera, residente en este real, ante vuestra señoría parezco y digo: que sin embargo del testimonio que tengo pedido de la carta del señor visitador de los reales presidios de este reino escrita al teniente Antonio Rodela, que lo es del real presidio de Conchos, en que le dice tiene despacho de su excelencia para que hasta la vista de aquel presidio no se saquen los diez soldados que por el despacho de su excelencia se me mandan entregar y porque de retenerse dicho señor visitador, así en dicho reconocimiento, como en su transporte a dicho presidio, se me siguen muchos daños, atrasos y menoscabos como también recrecidos gastos en la manutención de los pobladores y su conducción al repueble del real de Mapimí. Por tenerlos prontos para dicho efecto se ha de servir vuestra señoría de mandar que los veinticuatro soldados restantes de los demás presidios se me entreguen en el del Cerro Gordo con la prontitud posible, desde donde estoy próximo a hacer mi entrada con todos los pobladores al real de Mapimí y dar cumplimiento al despacho de dicho señor excelentísimo y hacer el dicho repueble. Pues de no ejecutarlo así, luego y sin la menor dilación, puede resultar el que se me desagreguen algunos de dichos pobladores, de que se seguirá el que no se ejecute el repueble de dicho real ni se pueda dar cumplimiento a lo que su excelencia manda y tanto importa al servicio de ambas majestades. Por lo cual a vuestra señoría pido y suplico se sirva de mandarlo ejecutar así en cumplimiento de dicho despacho de su excelencia y en lo necesario.

Matías de León y Herrera.

Parral y octubre 21 de 1711 años.

Por presentada y en atención a lo que esta parte expresa, estoy pronto por mi parte a ejecutar lo que esta parte pide, y mandar se congreguen en el presidio del Cerro Gordo los veinticuatro soldados luego que reciba los pies de lista que tengo pedidos a los capitanes de los presidios, de donde manda su excelencia se señalen. Y

desde que en el testimonio que se le ha dado, consta en él, referirse en la carta del señor visitador que envió al teniente de Conchos: Que como visitador de estos presidios vea y resuelva lo que más me parece que convenga al real servicio; no obstante las órdenes dadas sobre este particular. Sin cuya ejecución me parece no debiera el dicho capitán don Matías de León pasar a ninguna providencia hasta que por el señor visitador se le ordenase lo que debía ejecutar. Y porque en mí no hay más que una ciega y pronta obediencia a mandatos tan superiores como los de su excelencia y haber dejado a mi cuidado, el susodicho don Matías, la elección de los soldados como consta de su pedimento. Y con el deseo al mayor acierto, procuraré que los veinticuatro soldados sean de los más veteranos que mis experiencias pudiere reconocer; y así lo proveyó y firmó el señor capitán de caballos corazas don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino.

Enviado respuesta. Vale.

Antonio de Deza y Ulloa.

Ante mí,

Mateo de Cuén. Secretario real.

Lista de los soldados de campaña y del tiempo que ha que lo son:

el capitán Vicente de Amparón ha servido 28 años
el alférez Nicolás de la Peña ha servido 23 años
el sargento Agustín de Talavera ha servido 18 años
el alférez Andrés de Mendoza, reformado, la asentó por segunda a 3 años y meses
Matías Navarro ha servido 20 años y ha suplido los 15 de cabo
Juan Velázquez ha servido 20 años
Manuel Beltrán, actual cabo de escuadra, ha servido 18 años
Antonio de Torres ha servido 17 años, los 6 de cabo supla
Santiago Carrillo, actual cabo de escuadra, ha servido 13 años
Pascual de Bribiescas ha servido 13 años
Antonio de Talavera ha servido 12 años
Miguel Jiménez ha servido 12 años
Ignacio Cortés ha servido 11 años
Joseph Vello ha servido a su majestad 10 años
Nicolás Ponce ha servido 10 años
Pedro Rivas ha servido 10 años
Andrés de Padilla ha servido 9 años
Juan de Acosta ha servido 8 años
Pedro de Lapiayn ha servido 8 años
Marcos Francisco ha servido 7 años
Salvador de Acosta ha servido 6 años
Joseph Hernández ha servido 5 años
Nicolás de Santibáñez ha servido 5 años
Juan de Torres ha servido 5 años
Cristóbal Durán ha servido 4 años
Tomás de Navarrete ha servido 3 años
Ignacio de Silas ha servido 2 años

Tomás de Ortega ha servido 2 años
Juan Delgado ha servido 2 años
Cristóbal Rodríguez ha servido un año
Santiago Zubriel ha servido un año
Diego de Bustillos, un año
Francisco García Corral, 3 meses
Francisco de Vargas, 3 meses

Todos los cuales soldados son los que tiene de dotación la escuadra de la compañía de campaña que asiste en este real, de que soy actual capitán. Y en conformidad del auto de vuestra señoría, de 17 del corriente, que se me ha hecho notorio, doy este pie de lista en este real del Parral en 19 de octubre de 1711 años.

Francisco García de Escañuela.

Señor gobernador y capitán general.

Muy señor mío, hoy día de la fecha al amanecer recibí la de vuestra señoría de 18 del corriente con la orden del día antes. Que una y otra se dirige por la orden con que vuestra señoría se halla por el repueble de Santiago de Mapimí y a que se den para él, al capitán don Matías de León, treinta y cuatro soldados mencionados por su excelencia, las situaciones, y prevenido a su cumplimiento por vuestra señoría, que semejante materia es necesario el conocimiento y madurez, que se requiere. A que por su orden manda vuestra señoría a cada uno de los capitanes, que luego recibida, remitan pie de lista de los soldados de que se componen las compañías, con la expresión del tiempo y grado en que cada uno ha servido y sirve, para en su vista pasar a la consignación referida en conformidad de lo dispuesto. En cuyo cumplimiento, sin dilación pase a la ejecución de la saca del libro, pie de lista y plazas corrientes de las de la dotación de este real presidio como de sus asientos se apercibe, la cual es la adjunta con ésta, para que en su vista vuestra señoría dé la providencia que apercibe.

Pasando al presidio del Gallo a la entrega a su capitán la dicha carta y la orden de vuestra señoría sobre esta materia. La Divina Majestad guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años con felices aciertos.

Cerro Gordo y octubre 20 del 1711 años. Señor gobernador y capitán general, muy señor mío. Besa la mano de vuestra señoría. Su reverendo y seguro servidor.

Joseph Fernández de Córdova.

El señor gobernador y capitán general, don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa:

Pie de lista de siguientes soldados de los treinta y tres de la dotación de este real presidio de San Miguel del Cerro Gordo. Y como se sigue en cumplimiento de la orden del señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino que acabo de recibir.

El alférez Antonio Núñez, vino de El Gallo a este presidio, su asiento en 16 de marzo de 1696 años.
El sargento Diego de Estrada en 16 de marzo de 1699.
El cabo de escuadra Bernardo Delgado en 21 de septiembre de 1710.

El cabo Juan de Mendoza en 16 de marzo de 1696.
El cabo Francisco López en 16 de julio de 1690.
Juan Jáquez en 16 de noviembre de 1692 años.
Santiago de Aragón en 16 de marzo de 1696.
Antonio de Lugo en 16 de julio de 1705 años.
Juan Esteban de Sosa en 21 de septiembre de 1708.
Bartolomé López en 16 de marzo de 1706.
Joseph Méndez en 16 de noviembre de 1701.
Felipe Santiago en 21 de mayo de 1709.
Juan de Cárdenas en 16 de julio de 1699.
Felipe de Cárdenas en 22 de febrero de 1706.
Juan de Villa en 21 de septiembre de 1708.
Juan Antonio Villa en 21 de mayo de 1711.
Diego de Ortega en 25 de abril de 1706.
Juan Chacón en 16 de marzo de 1703.
Juan Ponce, lo recibí en lista y no consta de él, asiento el suyo.
Blas de Luna en 16 de marzo de 1704.
Diego de Acosta en 21 de septiembre de 1709.
Bernabé de Estrada en 21 de mayo de 1708.
Nicolás de Luna vino del Pasaje, su asiento en 16 de marzo de 1696.
Antonio Ramírez en 28 de enero de 1708.
Gregorio Núñez en 2 de febrero de 1707.
Francisco Sánchez Bustamante en 21 de septiembre de 1711.
Juan Gómez en 21 de enero de 1710 años.
Cristóbal Farías en 21 de enero de 1711.
Diego de Zigala en 21 de enero de 1711.
Gerónimo de Cosío en 21 de enero de 1711.
Manuel González en 21 de septiembre de 1709.
Bernardo Núñez en 22 de septiembre de 1707.
Ignacio de Uriñes en 21 de mayo de 1711.

Don Joseph Fernández de Córdova

Lista general de esta compañía de Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Pasaje que yo, el general don Martín de Alday, capitán vitalicio de este dicho presidio por su majestad, mandé sacar por orden que recibí hoy, 22 de octubre de 1711 años, expedida por el señor capitán de caballos corazas, don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, caballero del Orden de Santiago, contador juez oficial real de la real hacienda y caja de la ciudad de México, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad, son como se siguen:

El cabo de escuadra Baltazar de Sepúlveda, sentó plaza de soldado en 3 de junio de 1686 años.
El cabo de escuadra Juan Núñez sentó plaza de soldado el día 27 de enero de 1687 años.
Antonio de Espinosa sentó plaza de soldado el día 9 de febrero de 1688 años.
El cabo Diego Moreno sentó plaza de soldado el día 23 de junio del 1688 años.

Diego Martínez sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1690 años.
Diego de Valdez sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1690 años.
Francisco de Argarate sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1694 años.
Juan de Miranda sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1697 años.
Juan de Grajeda sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1698 años.
Pedro González sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1698 años.
Manuel de Llanos sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1699 años.
Francisco Viscarra sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1701 años.
Jacinto de Sepúlveda sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1702 años.
El alférez Francisco Vásquez sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio del 1703 años.
Joseph de Talamantes sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1703 años.
Alejo de Bribiescas sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1704 años.
Manuel Ruiz sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1705 años.
Joseph Martínez sentó plaza el día 10 de junio de 1705 años.
Diego Martínez sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1705 años.
Francisco Fajardo sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1705 años.
Antonio Guzmán sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1705 años.
Nicolás de Urbina sentó plaza el día 10 de octubre de 1705 años.
Joseph Onofre de la Riva sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1705 años.
Nicolás de Nava sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1705 años.
Bartolomé Morrillo sentó plaza el día 10 de junio de 1705 años.
Julián González sentó plaza de soldado el día 11 de junio de 1706 años.
Nicolás Hernández sentó plaza el día 10 de febrero de 1707 años.
Luis Antonio de la Riva sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1707 años.
Marcos López sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1707 años.
Juan de Villa sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1707 años.
Bartolomé Quezada sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1708 años.
El sargento Manuel Jiménez Corchón sentó plaza el día 10 de octubre de 1708 años.
Lucas de Medina sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de octubre de 1708 años.
Francisco Javier Galindo sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1709 años.
El teniente Antonio de Ayala sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1709 años.
Juan Jiménez Corchón sentó plaza de soldado el día 28 de junio de 1709 años.
Ascencio González sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1710 años.
Diego de Pantoja sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1710 años.
Don Patricio de Quiroga y Valdez sentó plaza el día 10 de junio de 1710 años.
Cristóbal Morillo sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1711 años.
Francisco Javier de Castro sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1711 años.
Francisco Muñoz sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1711 años.
Nicolás Gómez sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de febrero de 1711 años.
Luis Fernández de Lugo sentó plaza el día 10 de junio de 1711 años.
Joseph de la Riva sentó plaza de soldado el día 10 de junio de 1711 años.

Martín de Alday.

Lista de los soldados de la compañía de este real presidio de San Pedro del Gallo, yo, el capitán Juan Andrés de Alday, que lo soy vitalicio de este real presidio por el rey, nuestro señor, mandé sacar del libro real por orden del señor capitán de caballos corazas, don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, caballero del Orden de Santiago, contador, juez oficial real de la caja de la ciudad de México, gobernador y capitán general de este reino por el rey nuestro señor. Y son los que siguen: Del libro real que se halla en este presidio es del general don Domingo Terán de los Ríos que tomó posesión el día 8 de julio de 1694.

El cabo de escuadra Antonio González, el año de 1694.
El sargento Bartolomé de Acosta, el dicho año.
El sargento Ignacio del Corral, el dicho año.
El cabo de escuadra Bernardo de Galavíz el dicho año.
Pedro Juárez, el dicho año.
Lázaro de Aguirre, el dicho año.
Cristóbal de Mendoza, el dicho año.
Simón de la Riva de 1697
Agustín Gaucín, el de 1697
Joseph de Alvarado, el de 1700
Nicolás de Minjares, el de 1700
Joseph de Vargas, el de 1701
Manuel de Luna, el de 1702
El sargento Francisco Gómez de Soria, el de 1702
Joseph González, el de 1703
Antonio González Rey, el de 1704
Pedro de la Riva, el de 1705
Francisco Bojórquez, el de 1705
Tomás Gómez Gallardo, el de 1706
Ignacio Marín, el de 1707
Fugitivo—Andrés de Peralta, el de 1707
Cristóbal de Frías, el de 1707
El alférez don Joseph Romualdo de Alday, el de 1708
Juan Antonio Sánchez, el de 1708
Joseph de la Riva, el de 1708
Luis de Menchaca, el de 1708
Santiago Martín, el de 1708
Juan de Sierra, el de 1708
Joaquín Ventura de Longara, el de 1708
Manuel Olguín, el de 1709
Luis de Eras, el de 1709
Raimundo del Río, el de 1709
Fugitivo—Cristóbal de Acevedo, el de 1709
Fugitivo—Juan de Acevedo, el de 1709
Manuel Pérez, el de 1709
Pedro de Clemente, el de 1710
Juan Clemente, el de 1710
Joaquín Sánchez, el de 1710
Manuel de Acosta, el de 1710

Cristóbal de Villaseñor, el de 1710
Salvador de Jesús, el de 1711
Juan López, el de 1711
Cristóbal Martín, el de 1711
Pedro de Acosta, el de 1711
Juan Pérez de Ibarburu, el de 1711

Habiendo recibido el despacho del señor gobernador y capitán general el día 21 de octubre de 1711 años, saqué hoy día de la fecha y remito con el cordón del Cerro Gordo. Y para que conste, lo firmé dicho día, mes y año.

Juan Andrés de Alday.

El capitán de caballos corazas, don Antonio de Deza y Ulloa, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, contador juez oficial real de la real hacienda y caja de la ciudad de México, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya por su majestad.

Por cuanto el excelentísimo señor duque de Linares, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de la Nueva España por su despacho de 16 de junio pasado de este presente año, se sirve de mandar se le den al capitán don Matías de León y Herrera treinta y cuatro soldados de los presidios y compañía de campaña de este real expresados en dicho despacho, para que asistan debajo de su comando al repueble del real de Santiago de Mapimí y que sean dichos soldados los que eligiere y señalare el dicho capitán don Matías de León. Quien por su memorial que presentó ante mí, me representó hallarse cansado y fatigado con las distancias de los caminos. Y que se le seguirá molestia de ocurrir, con mis despachos, a los dichos presidios a sacar dichos soldados, poniendo en mi elección el señalamiento de ellos por el maduro acuerdo que me asiste. Y para hacerlo con la prontitud que mi celo ha deseado y desea el repueble de dicho real, despaché orden pidiendo a los capitanes el pie de lista de los soldados de sus presidios para [que], con reconocimiento del tiempo y grados con que sirven sus plazas por enunciarse en dicho despacho, sean los más veteranos. En cuya atención, habiendo reconocido el pie de lista del presidio de San Pedro de El Gallo, por el presente ordeno al capitán don Juan Andrés de Alday, que lo es de dicho presidio, entregue al dicho capitán don Matías de León y Herrera, para que pasen con el referido capitán al repueble mencionado, seis soldados de dicho su presidio, que es el número que toca a él según regulación hecha por su excelencia, los cuales señalo en la forma siguiente:

el sargento Ignacio del Corral
el cabo de escuadra Bernardo de Galavíz
Pedro Juárez
Lázaro de Aguirre
Cristóbal de Mendoza, y
Simón de la Riva

Los cuales han de asistir al referido repueble debajo de las órdenes de dicho capitán don Matías de León y Herrera, el tiempo mencionado en dicho despacho.

Y de haberlo ejecutado me dará cuenta el dicho capitán para dársela al señor virrey a su tiempo.

Parral y octubre 28 de 1711 años.

Antonio de Deza y Ulloa

(Los cuales soldados se han de remitir luego al punto al Cerro Gordo.)

Por mandado de su señoría.

Mateo de Cuén. Secretario real.

En el real presidio de San Pedro del Gallo, en 31 días del mes de octubre de 1711 años, yo, el capitán Juan Andrés de Alday, que lo soy vitalicio de este dicho presidio, recibí el orden adjunto del señor gobernador y capitán general de este reino. Y luego por mí visto, mandé llamar a los seis soldados que vienen mencionados en dicho despacho para que luego se remitan al presidio de San Miguel de Cerro Gordo para que se junten en la compañía del capitán don Matías de León y Herrera para el repueble de Santiago de Mapimí. Y estando para despacharlos, tuve carta del dicho capitán don Matías de León y Herrera en que me dice que le entregue los dichos seis soldados a don Alonso de Iparraguirre, su teniente, a quien entregué los dichos soldados referidos en el despacho. Y para que conste lo firmé con mi secretario de guerra en dicho día, mes y año.

Juan Andrés de Alday.

Por mando del señor capitán.

Joaquín Ventura de Longara. Escribano de guerra.

En dicho día, luego incontinente, mandé llamar a los dichos seis soldados y pasé muestra de armas y caballos en presencia de dicho teniente del capitán don Matías de León y Herrera: don Alonso de Iparraguirre. Los seis que van de los nombres siguientes:

El sargento Ignacio del Corral, ocho caballos, arcabuz, espada, coleto, pólvora y balas.

El cabo de escuadra Bernardo de Galavíz, ocho caballos, arcabuz, espada, cuera, pólvora y balas.

Pedro Juárez, ocho caballos, cuera, espada, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.

Lázaro de Aguirre, ocho caballos, cuera, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.

Cristóbal de Mendoza, cinco caballos, cuera, espada, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.

Simón de la Riva, siete caballos, cuera, espada, arcabuz, pólvora y balas.

Los cuales pasaron la dicha muestra. Y me dará recibo el dicho teniente de capitán don Alonso de Iparraguirre al pie de ésta, para enguarda de mi derecho. Y para que conste lo firmé con mi secretario de guerra en dicho día, mes y año.

Juan Andrés de Alday

Por mandato del señor capitán.

Joaquín Ventura de Longara. Escribano de guerra.

Recibí lo contenido en este despacho contenido arriba.

Alonso de Iparraguirre.

Attack on the Hacienda of La Zarca, 1715

The following document describes a 1715 attack by an unidentified Indian group on the isolated hacienda of San Mateo de la Zarca. Some fifteen leagues south of Cerro Gordo in present north-central Durango, the Valle de la Zarca, one of the six major valleys in Durango, is located on the broad plain that descends from Cuchillas de la Zarca, east of the Nazas River. The watercourses in this arid area descend eastward into a series of salty lagoons. The largest Indian groups in the immediate vicinity of La Zarca were the Salineros, most likely speakers of a Uto-Aztecan language. The Tobosos, who occupied the area north of the Salineros and who also frequented the region around La Zarca, were the most feared enemies of the Spanish during the seventeenth century. Other Indian groups mentioned in the area were the Cococlames, Nonoxes, and Laguneros, evidently allies of the Salineros.

After the discovery of silver at Parral in 1631, Spanish cattle ranchers moved into the La Zarca area. Following their 1644 uprising, the Salineros made the roads between Cuencamé, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, and Parral very dangerous. The rebellion lasted until 1646, when the presidio at Cerro Gordo was founded, converting that former gathering place for Indian tribes into a Spanish stronghold. After that time, although the Salineros continued occasional hostilities against small, vulnerable parties of Spaniards, roads in the area, which were particularly important for the transportation of silver, became passable again. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however, the presidio was barely providing protection to the jurisdiction's isolated settlers. In 1674, it had only twenty-two soldiers. The Great Northern Rebellion of 1680 to 1700 led to the reinforcement of the northern presidios. During the 1680s, the king ordered the founding of three other presidios—El Pasaje, San Francisco de los Conchos, and El Gallo—to reinforce the defenses provided by Cerro Gordo.

By the end of the seventeenth century, haciendas like La Zarca, in the center of a large cattle-ranching area, were raising large herds of cattle, horses, mules, and sheep. Despite the presence of four presidios in the greater area the isolation of La Zarca and other remote ranches from centers of population made them particularly vulnerable to attack. The document that follows was written before the major dissections of Nueva Vizcaya. At the time, Nueva Vizcaya had only six presidios, and fewer than four hundred soldiers provided protection for the vast expanses of New Spain's largest province. In addition to being inadequately garrisoned, officials believed that the province was too sparsely settled and repeatedly called for the founding of new towns to support and reinforce mining centers. There were not enough Spanish settlers available, however, to accomplish the process of filling in the population gaps.

The document describes an often-repeated scenario: Indian attackers killed a number of Spanish civilians at La Zarca. Slow to respond, military officers called for a junta de guerra *to assemble a spontaneous compañía volante for pursuit of the four hundred enemy archers discovered in the vicinity, the likely perpetra-*

tors of the La Zarca killings. When they failed to encounter warriors, the soldiers rounded up a number of women captives in retaliation for the attack. Military personnel interrogated the women with great formality and meticulously recorded the results of the interrogations.

This document indirectly provides us with information on many aspects of eighteenth-century military procedures, Indian relations, and the often strained relations between Spanish settlers and the military. The document makes it clear that the outnumbered presidial soldiers were fearful. They refused to approach two unidentifiable figures who hailed them from a distant hill and who might have been captive Spaniards, desperate for help. The document also makes obvious the absence of emotion in the formal interrogation procedure as well as the ineffectiveness of the interrogation in obtaining useful information from the captives, who all give remarkably similar information. The discussion of providing a cordon, or convoy, to accompany the silver train reveals a disrespectful, uncooperative, and even defiant attitude toward the military on the part of the local Spanish settlers.

Lieutenant Don Pedro Nieto:

My dear sir, I wish to inform your grace of our arrival at midmorning at this hacienda of La Zarca,[1] where we found Padre Don Carlos,[2] who had escaped with two soldiers and one servant. He had asked [the Indians] not to kill [the soldiers], telling them that they were his servants. The padre says that [the Indians] captured them and brought them to the place where Captain Don Matías[3] was lying dead, along with Juan del Río, Javier del Corral, Esteban de Nájara, Esteban de Mora, Antonio de Soto, Miguel Hernández, a son of Don Tomás,[4] and a messenger. He says he knows that these were killed, but he does not know what happened to the others. There are four soldiers here who escaped: Delgado and Padilla, the two whom the padre saved, Contreras, who had arrived earlier, and Nicolás Hernández, who arrived afterwards. Altogether, including soldiers, muleteers in his service, and servants of the captain (may he rest in peace), there are fifteen people who have come here to La Zarca. We continue to cross paths with them on our way to see all the ruin that [the Indians] have done. Once there, depending upon what we find and who joins us, we will decide what to do. The

1. Approximately twelve leagues south of Cerro Gordo, the hacienda of San Mateo de la Zarca is situated in the center of the Meseta de la Zarca, an excellent grazing area. This hacienda was one of the most important in the area of Durango, and before the revolution it had extensive herds of sheep, cattle, horses, and mules. The Chucillas de la Zarca, a series of deep arroyos, are located on the western edge of the Meseta de la Zarca.

2. Don Carlos de la Torre (also Torres) was chaplain of the presidio of Mapimí and the hacienda of La Zarca.

3. This refers to Don Matías de León y Herrera.

4. This refers to Francisco Peri, the son of Tomás Peri Cortés. As Tomás Peri's name does not appear on military documents of the time, he was most likely a Spanish settler of the region.

padre says that the enemy band is large, numbering more than seventy, including three chiefs who bear three banners. We will see what is most appropriate. There is nothing else to report to your grace. May God our Lord keep your grace for many years.

La Zarca, June 6, 1715. Your humble servant kisses the hand of your grace.

Diego de Estrada[5]

Lord Governor and Captain General:

> [Marginal notation] Parral, June 7, 1715. This letter from the lieutenant of Cerro Gordo and the accompanying [letter] from the alférez are to be placed with the autos of war. An order is to be sent to the aforementioned lieutenant to proceed to La Zarca with as many people as he can assemble, in addition to his soldiers. He is to follow the trail of the enemy, the deaths he describes, and everything else as well as he can, and send me a report on the method and manner in which [the deaths] occurred. This is ordered and signed by Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz,[6] knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya, its provinces and frontiers, for our lord the king. So be it. [Rubric]

My dear sir, I wish to inform your lordship that yesterday, the fifth of the present month, the widow of Captain Don Juan Andrés de Alday[7] informed me that hostile Indians attacked Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera at the *paraje* of Agua Nueva.[8] When she received this news from a servant who had escaped to seek help, she sent the servant to ask me [for assistance]. He arrived here with this information at sunset. I sent my alférez, two of my soldiers, four soldiers from El Gallo, including the alférez González, one soldier from Mapimí, and four other men. They set out one hour after nightfall and arrived at La Zarca at the hour your lordship will see from the enclosed, which was written to me by my alférez from [La Zarca], describing how the fatalities occurred. I am here with only two soldiers, since those who went with the sergeant's detachment have not returned to this presidio. I remain at the orders of your lordship, whom I hope our Lord keeps for many years.

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5. Diego de Estrada served as alférez and interpreter at the presidio of Mapimí at the time this document was written. It is likely that he continued to serve in that capacity for the next few years during Spanish attempts to pacify the area's Indian peoples.

6. A native of Spain, Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1714 to 1720, and served as lieutenant governor in 1738. He was active in mining and agriculture in the province from 1720 to 1738.

7. Juan Andrés de Alday was a captain in the Spanish military and a member of the family of Martín de Alday, governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1720 to 1723.

8. Located approximately thirty-five leagues southeast of the presidio of San Buenaventura, in present northwestern Chihuahua, Agua Nueva was designated a "paraje," a small settlement or camping place, at the time this document was written. From 1755 to 1759 Agua Nueva was headquarters for a presidial troop.

Cerro Gordo, June 6, 1715. My dear sir, your most devoted servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Pedro García Nieto

[To:] Governor and Captain General Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, my dear sir

Lord Governor and Captain General:

[Marginal notation] Parral, June 8, 1715. This letter from the alférez of Mapimí is to be placed with the autos of war. With regard to the lieutenant of Cerro Gordo's orders to follow the enemy's trail and make a report of the outcome, the same gentleman is to be written to and ordered to join the lieutenant. [Rubric]

I wish to report to your lordship that yesterday during evening prayers[9] a servant came to see me at the mining town of Indé.[10] He informed me that the Indians had attacked my captain and my fellow soldiers. I set out immediately, as was my duty, and found dead my captain, Don Matías de León y Herrera, Corporal Javier del Corral, Juan del Río, Esteban de Mora, Esteban de Nájera, Antonio de Soto, a messenger from New Mexico (on whom no letters at all were found), and a son of Captain Don Tomás Miguel Peri Cortés. Of the soldiers who escaped [death], Juan Delgado was injured, and five others escaped. It is reported that Gerónimo de Rivera, a soldier from El Gallo, was carried off alive and some other servants escaped. I have decided to send word to my presidio and remain here, in order to take the chaplain of this place to my presidio when he recovers his strength. He was also present in the attack. Thanks be to God, he escaped on foot and came to warn La Zarca. The attack occurred at Agua Nueva. There is nothing else to report to your lordship, except that I could not pursue the enemy because the horses are incapacitated. I hope that your lordship is enjoying good health; that which I enjoy is at your lordship's disposal. May God keep you for many years.

Agua Nueva, June 6, 1715. Your subject and servant kisses the hand of your lordship.

Cristóbal Rubio[11]

[To] Governor Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

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9. By royal order, Spanish military establishments were to pray the *De Profundis*, accompanied by the tolling of bells, before retiring at the end of the working day. This usually occurred about 8:30 P.M.

10. The mines at Indé, located within the area that would become the alcaldía of Real de Oro (in the present-day Mexican state of Durango), were discovered in 1563 by Francisco de Ibarra. A thriving settlement soon developed around the mines. Until Spaniards pacified the local Tepehuanes in 1602, the Indé settlement was repeatedly attacked. The Tepehuán pacification did not last, however, and Indé served as a frontier outpost during the Tepehuán rebellion. During the 1630s the majority of Indé miners relocated to Parral. The Indé settlement remained in an intermittent state of war until the end of the 1700s.

11. Cristóbal Rubio served first as alférez of Cerro Gordo presidio and, by 1724, had become its captain.

Lord Governor and Captain General:

> [Marginal notation] Parral, June 8, 1715. This [document] is to be placed with the autos regarding the appropriate orders that have been given to Don Pedro García Nieto, lieutenant of the presidio of Cerro Gordo, and Don Simón Rojo Coronel, likewise the lieutenant of the [presidio] of San Pedro del Gallo. They are to proceed with care and be on the watch for any hostilities that the enemy might carry out. This is provided and signed by Don Juan Manuel de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and frontiers for our lord the king. So be it. By order of the governor and captain general. [Rubric]

I wish to report to your excellency that yesterday, the fifth day of the current month, at four in the afternoon, the alférez of the presidio of Mapimí, Ignacio del Corral, came to this presidio with the news that while Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera was on his way from his presidio to the mining town of Indé to make an inspection, he was attacked by a large band of at least 150 enemy archers. [Alférez Corral] left them fighting. Immediately, within an hour, I set out with twenty-three men as far as the spring called Agua Nueva, where I found the aforesaid Captain Don Matías de León y Herrera dead, along with five of his soldiers, a son of Don Tomás Peri Cortés named Don Francisco Peri who had recently come from Spain, and a courier from New Mexico named Trujillo. I brought the bodies of the captain and Don Francisco Peri to the presidio so that they could be mourned. The others could not be [transported] because their bodies were [in bad condition], and they were buried in the field. The enemy, judging by their tracks, had departed for their own territory. The rest of [our] people escaped, some to El Gallo and others to La Zarca. Among them was Licenciado Don Carlos de la Torre, chaplain of the presidio of Mapimí. They had stripped him naked and set him free on foot, and he went to warn La Zarca.

I did not pursue the enemy because there were no usable horses. We arrived here at ten o'clock at night, completely exhausted. They also kidnapped a member of my troop who was going to Indé with the captain Don Matías, who had asked to take him in his company. This is all I have to report, sir.

May God protect your lordship. Agua Nueva, June 6, 1715. Your servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Simón Rojo Coronel[12]

[To] the Governor and Captain General Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Lord Governor and Captain General:

> [Marginal notation] Parral, June 16, 1715. This letter from the lieutenant of the presidio of San Pedro del Gallo is to be placed with the autos of war, along with the proceedings of the meeting to which it refers, and a decree is to be issued calling a meet-

12. Simón Rojo Coronel achieved the rank of lieutenant commander of the presidio of San Pedro del Gallo prior to 1715, and later served as its captain. In 1707, he accompanied Gov-

ing for this day, even though it is a holiday, in order to determine the course of action that best serves his lordship. This is provided and signed by Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and borders for our lord the king. By order of our lord the king and of the governor and captain general. Don Juan de Recalde,[13] Notary of Government and War.

After deciding to dispatch the cordon in the customary manner, and taking into consideration the grievous deaths that occurred, which I have reported to your lordship, I held a junta of officers as soon as the cordon arrived from El Pasaje at noon yesterday. It was unanimously decided to assemble ten more men than those assigned by command. The reasons will become evident to your lordship from the testimony, which is enclosed so that you might call for whatever in your judgment might be appropriate.

On this date the cordon set out from this presidio. In it are two members of the Order of Our Father Saint Francis, some random travelers, and a mulatta with a servant who says she is from your lordship's household. Because their horses were tired, I have exchanged them with others for the trip to Cerro Gordo. I am also writing to the captain of [that presidio] to do the same for the trip to that mining town [Parral], so that there will be no delay in these places.

I am sending your lordship a packet one finger thick and two other thin ones brought by the cordon, which are addressed to your lordship. There are also two others for Colonel Orozco[14] and Don Juan de Recalde.

In addition, I wish to inform your lordship that while going to the aid of those who were killed by the enemy, I came upon a soldier named Miguel Hernández from the presidio of Mapimí who was stark naked. He was given a horse to come to this presidio, which he did. However, he disappeared the following morning, along with another escapee from Mapimí, before I returned from retrieving the dead bodies. My alférez hastened to send his companions to overtake them, but since they did not know where the men were headed, they did not find them and had to return. This is all for the present. May God keep your lordship for many years, to put this poor country in order. San Pedro del Gallo, June 9, 1715.

Your servant kisses your lordship's hand.

Simón Rojo Coronel

[To] Governor and Captain General Don Manuel [San Juan de] Santa Cruz

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ernor Juan Fernández de Córdoba on his general inspection of the San Bartolomé Valley, and he appears as a captain in several field reports between 1707 and 1728.

13. Juan de Recalde appears in one document as "governor" of Nueva Vizcaya, possibly a mistaken reference to his eventual tenure as lieutenant governor under Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, who served as governor from 1714 to 1720. The personal relationship between these men continued after their administrative service within the government. In 1722 Juan de Recalde still served as Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz's *personero y administrador*, and in that capacity was sued by the soldiers of Cerro Gordo presidio for 4,400 pesos in salary, which they felt he owed them.

14. Colonel Juan Felipe de Orozco y Molina (1680–1758), a native of Spain, served as lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1708 to 1712, and as governor and captain general from 1712 to 1714. He also served as *corregidor* of San Felipe el Real, Chihuahua, from

In the royal presidio of San Pedro del Gallo, on June 8, 1715, I, Simón Rojo Coronel, lieutenant commander, sent five men from my company to bring in some horses we had left behind, exhausted, in a place called Las Peñuelas.[15] After finding them, at about ten in the morning, my men caught sight of two figures who were shouting to them. However, they did not dare to investigate because they feared an ambush and were mindful of having the cordon from El Pasaje present, which they were expecting but which just arrived here today. For this reason and because of the unfortunate murders committed by hostile Indians on the fifth of this month near Agua Nueva, where the captain of Mapimí and seven others were killed and another was carried off alive, I called a junta of the officers who are present here to determine their opinions concerning the course of the cordon. This having been done, they unanimously agreed that ten men in addition to those ordered should be attached to the cordon in order to ensure the safety of the travelers, who include two religious from the Order of Our Holy Father Saint Francis, a mulatta who travels by order of the governor, with a mulatto who is accompanying her, and some random passengers. They were likewise mindful, having received some notice, that this cordon would be leaving with the silver shipment of his majesty's treasure and merchandise from Parral, and fearing some disaster on the road, they felt this arrangement would be safer. Such was the outcome of the junta, and the following officers have signed with me:

The aforementioned lieutenant, in my presence,
Francisco Gutiérrez de la Rosilla, Notary of War
Simón Rojo Coronel
Julio González
Bartolomé de Acosta[16]

At the request of and as witness for Sergeant Pedro de la Riva,
José Francisco de Ledesma
Alejo de Bibiescas

At the request of and as witness for Bernardo Galavíz,
José Francisco de Ledesma
Francisco Gutiérrez de la Rosilla, Notary of War

This copy, which I made at the request of Don Simón Rojo Coronel, lieutenant commander of the aforementioned presidio, concurs with the original. I submit

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1718 to 1720, and as alcalde from 1723 to 1732. His appointment as corregidor came directly from the viceroy and led to a five-year period of conflict with the corregidor appointed by the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, since two district heads of government were thereby established. Active in mining in Chihuahua, Parral, and Durango, he functioned as *contador* of the Real Hacienda, superintendent general of the land office (*ventas y composiciones de terrenos*) and as auditor of charity (*juez conservador de las limosnas*) at Monte de Piedad.

15. Peñuelas is located on a desert plain eighteen kilometers northwest of San Pedro del Gallo.

16. Bartolomé de Acosta had achieved the rank of alférez by 1718 and lieutenant by 1727.

that it is true and certain, corrected and amended; it is to remain in these archives as evidence when needed. I state this in the prescribed manner as notary of war for this royal presidio, on the aforesaid day, month, and year.

Francisco Gutiérrez de la Rosilla, Notary of War

Lord Governor and Captain General:

[Marginal notation] Parral, June 16, 1715. This letter from the lieutenant of El Gallo is to be placed with that dated the ninth of this month, so that its contents may be referred to in the meeting that I have ordered to be convened in the decree of that earlier [letter]. This is provided, signed, and sealed by Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago, governor and captain general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and borders for our lord the king. So be it, by order of the governor and captain general. Juan de Recalde, Notary of Government and War.

Today I received a single-page letter addressed to Don Alonso de Iparraguirre. The lieutenant of Cerro Gordo sent it to me by means of two fellow soldiers, and he tells me that the letter is from your lordship. It is impossible to send it on to Mapimí because hostile Indians are encamped all along the roads there, according to what I was told yesterday by eight men who came here from that presidio and went on to Indé for supplies. They saw [the Indians'] fires at night as they were passing the place. They also collected one of the horses that the Indians had carried off from the ruin they effected. The soldiers from Mapimí incorporated it into their horse herd and sent back one of the servants whom they were bringing to Mapimí with the same information that I am sending on to your lordship. This is all for the present. May God keep your lordship for many years.

Gallo, June 11, 1715. I kiss the hand of your lordship.

Simón Rojo Coronel

[Marginal notation] The following decree was read at the junta de guerra held on June 16, 1715 by Señor Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago and governor and captain general of the realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and frontiers for his majesty.

Parral, June 16, 1715

On the fifth day of this month, Indians rebelling against the royal crown attacked the captain of Mapimí, Don Matías de León y Herrera, at a place called Agua Nueva. He was traveling from that mining camp to Indé with several soldiers and travelers. They killed the captain and eight soldiers, as well as other travelers, and kidnapped one soldier from the presidio of El Gallo who was traveling with the captain. The enemy allowed the chaplain of the presidio of Mapimí, Licenciado Don Carlos de la Torre, to live. As many as fifteen people escaped the attackers and fled to the hacienda of La Zarca. When I received this news, I ordered the lieutenant of the Cerro Gordo presidio to immediately pursue the enemy with the soldiers from his presidio, along with the people who had escaped and any

settlers he could muster, which he did. The lieutenant of El Gallo set out to assist with twenty soldiers as soon as he had news of the disaster, and went as far as Agua Nueva, where the murders occurred. After interring the bodies they returned to their presidios, unable to pursue the enemy because their mounts were exhausted, as they reported to me.

Now the lieutenant of El Gallo informs me that he sent five soldiers to Las Peñuelas to search for some horses, and that at about ten in the morning they saw two figures who called to them. Fearing an ambush, they did not attempt to get a closer look at them. Because of this [incident], and because the enemy is camped along the road to Mapimí, he called a junta of officers. It was decided to add ten soldiers to those already assigned to this month's cordon, which had arrived at that presidio, so that it might continue its trek to this camp with somewhat greater assurance that the enemy would not dare attack it. All of this is contained in the letters I have received concerning this incident, which I order to be attached to this decree. In addition, since the silver shipment of his majesty's treasure just left this camp and is at the Río Florido today, it is essential that the greatest protection possible be provided.

Consequently, in order to determine what would be best for the safety of this cordon, the defense of this realm, and the security of those who come and go, I hereby order a junta to be called for today, even though it is a feast day. The royal ministers are summoned in consideration of royal interests, as are Sergeant Major Don Antonio de la Rasolo,[17] Captain Don Cristóbal de Orrantía,[18] and the presidial captains of this realm who are presently in this mining town in the interest of the community. This decree will be made known during the junta, so that they may accordingly express their thoughts and opinions and decide upon the most appropriate measures to take. Thus is provided and signed by Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago and governor and captain general of this realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and frontiers for our lord the king.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz
By order of the governor and captain general,
Don Juan de Recalde, Notary of Government and War

The preceding decree was read during the junta de guerra that was held on June 16, 1715, by Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago and governor and captain general of this kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and frontiers for his majesty. Present were Colonel Don Juan Felipe de Orozco y Molina, auditor, commissioner, and official minister of the royal treasury of the city of Durango; Don Tomás de Ga[illegible], deputy treasurer; Sergeant Major Don Antonio de la Rasolo; Captain Don Cristóbal de Orrantía; Captain Don Juan

17. Sergeant Major Antonio de la Rasolo was a slave owner and merchant in Parral prior to his involvement in these Indian campaigns.

18. Spanish-born Cristóbal de Orrantía was active as a merchant in Parral.

de Sarises of the campaign company; Captain Don Antonio de Becerra Nieto[19] of Janos presidio; Captain Don Joseph Fernández de Córdoba,[20] of Cerro Gordo presidio; Captain Don Gregorio Alvarez de Tuñón y Quirós[21] of the Sonora company; and Captain Don Juan Bautista de [Leysaola][22] of the presidio of El Gallo.

After discussing the contents of [the decree], the members of the junta were unanimously of the opinion that any soldiers who could be taken from the expeditionary company and from the other presidios along the route should be added to the silver shipment and the cordon that has set out from this mining town, along with any Indian auxiliaries whom his lordship deems appropriate to send with the cordon. Furthermore, as soon as they arrive at the presidio of Cerro Gordo, depending upon local reports of the enemy, the silver shipment should be stored there in a safe place and the soldiers and Indians who are accompanying the cordon should ascertain the position of the hostiles and dislodge them, putting their arms to that purpose until the enemy retreats and the route has been secured. Once this is done, or if the enemy is not there, they should proceed with the shipment as far as the presidio of El Gallo, where they will carry out the same [procedure] in order to continue the cordon's march to El Pasaje. From there the silver shipment [will continue] on to the royal treasury in Durango. In this manner, it is reasoned, the silver will arrive safely. If it turns out that the enemy is encamped on the road to Mapimí, they will be ousted and pursued by the armed forces, and they will retreat to their own territory. It will thus be ensured that [the Indians] do not station themselves at the mining town of Mapimí, which, because of its small population and the murder of its captain and soldiers, is in clear danger of deplorable destruction.

His lordship, having reviewed all of the above, concurred with the opinion and judgment of the junta and accordingly commanded that the necessary orders be issued for its execution. With that he concluded and closed the council meeting. His lordship signed and sealed this [document], as did those mentioned in it. In due order, in accordance with whatever reports of said enemy there might be. So be it.

[Rubrics]

By order of the governor and captain general,

Don Juan de Recalde, Notary of Government and War

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19. Captain Antonio de Becerra Nieto began his military service at the presidio of Janos in 1686. He participated in the reconquest of New Mexico under General Jironza Petris de Cruzat. Promoted to lieutenant in 1700, he succeeded Fernández de la Fuente as commander of the Janos presidio and served there until his death in 1725.

20. Joseph Fernández de Córdoba served as captain of the presidio of Cerro Gordo from 1708 until at least 1718. He was probably a relative of Governor Juan Fernández de Córdoba of Nueva Vizcaya (possibly his son), since he appears in personal documents.

21. Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós (1683–1729) served as commander of the presidio of Fronteras in Sonora from 1708 to 1725. He incurred the wrath of the people of Sonora and was accused of using soldiers and captives to further his own interests. During his 1725 inspection at Fronteras, Pedro de Rivera found Tuñón y Quirós guilty on several counts.

22. Juan Bautista de Leysaola served for more than thirty years at the presidio of El Gallo, becoming captain by 1716, and capitán vitalicio sometime before 1737.

Parral, June 16, 1715

In accordance with the preceding junta, orders are to be dispatched to add fifteen soldiers from the campaign company and twenty Conchos Indians to the thirty soldiers and eleven Indians who have come with the cordon, which has arrived and is ready to return with the shipment of silver and the waiting passengers. In addition, the alcalde mayor of Indé is to place twenty-five men from that jurisdiction, with their weapons, and twenty more Indians with bows and arrows at the presidio of Cerro Gordo. There, incorporated into this cordon in accordance with the junta, they are to act as circumstances demand. All are to continue to the presidio of El Gallo, where General Don Martín de Alday, captain of the presidio of El Pasaje, is likewise ordered to send out thirty of the Indians from that presidio. This corps of seventy soldiers and eighty-one Indians will ensure better results. The Indians' wages and supplies are to be paid from the funds for war and peace, for which purpose an order of payment will be dispatched at the proper time, and the order is to be issued to the command of this cordon with an endorsement from the junta.

It has been found that the enemy Indians succeed in their hostilities because the accompanying passengers are separated from both the regular cordon and the special escorts. During combat with the enemy, or even on seeing them, they flee and abandon the soldiers. If the [soldiers] do not do the same upon seeing them, they do lose their resolve and valor, whereas in other [circumstances] they would stand firm. This facilitates the enemy's great carnage. In order to put an end to these problems and to maintain a defensive unity amongst the soldiers and passengers, it is necessary to threaten them with grave punishment, to be imposed *ad terrorum*,[23] without prejudice toward their offense, according to law and the appropriateness of punishing them. I have commanded and do now command that an order be issued to all the captains and commanders of escorts, whenever and wherever they may be found, to inform the passengers that under pain of death they are neither to separate themselves from the soldiers nor leave them without the consent and agreement of the commander. Motivated by this command, they will fulfill their obligation and avert the problems experienced until now from the opposite [behavior]. Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago and governor and captain general of this realm and its provinces and borders for our lord the king, has thus decreed and applied his seal.

By order of the governor and captain general,

Juan de Recalde, Notary of Government and War

[Marginal notation] The orders given in the previous decree were dispatched to the command of the cordon. They are to be taken to the captain of Cerro Gordo as far as his presidio, to the [captain] of El Gallo as far as his, and are to be sent on further from there.

23. To the point of terror.

INTERROGATIONS OF INDIAN WOMEN

In the mining camp of San José del Parral on August 17, 1715, Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, knight of the Order of Santiago and governor and captain general of the realm of Nueva Vizcaya and its provinces and frontiers for our lord the king. Pursuant to these *autos*, his lordship had appear before him one of nine Indian females who are considered civilized, from among the twenty prisoners taken on the twenty-fourth of last month by the captain of the presidio of El Gallo. Let the record show that the said [prisoner] was present and free of pressure, that an interpreter in her Cocoyome language was present, and that through the interpreter she was asked the following questions:

1st. First, she was asked her name, her tribe, and whether she is Christian. The woman answered that her name is Pascuala and that she is a Christian from the Cocoyome[24] nation. When asked where she had been baptized, she replied that it had been in the royal presidio of Cerro Gordo when she was a child, and that she did not remember which priest had baptized her nor who her godparents were.

2d. Second, because the woman was not fluent in Castilian, she was asked through the interpreter in her native language what she had been doing and who had taken her to the presidio of Cerro Gordo at the time of her baptism. The woman replied that, as far as she could remember, she was there because her nation had made peace. When asked why, after having agreed to an accord, they broke it and rebelled, she answered that, as far as she remembers, at the time that they rose up and broke the peace it was because their leader, or chief, had died.

3d. Third, the witness was asked how many times her nation had made peace with the governors of this realm. She replied that to her recollection she thinks they had made peace three times. When asked why they had broken [the peace] on these occasions, she answered that she knows nothing about it and that those who govern their rancherías would know.

4th. Fourth, the witness was asked who governed in their rancherías and what their names were. She responded that [their leader] was a Cocoyome Indian from her nation, a heathen, who has been called Capitán ever since he was a boy. He was the son of their former leader and had succeeded him in governing them.

5th. Fifth, the witness was asked which other rebel Indian nations were in contact with her own, and if she knew whether any of the hostiles were connected with any of the nations who are pacified and subjects of the royal crown. She replied that the nations with which her own is associated and allied are the Acoclames, the Chisos, and the Zizimbres.[25] She did not know whether any of these were connected with those who are reduced and subjects of the royal crown.

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24. The Cocoyomes were one of the aboriginal foraging tribes that inhabited the greater Bolsón area around Mapimí in the northern part of the present state of Durango during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. By the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Cocoyomes and associated tribes had been replaced by Apaches.

25. The Acoclames, Chisos, and Zizimbres (or Xixime, Sisimbre or Sisimble) were Taracahitan-speaking foragers who inhabited the same general area as the Cocoyome. Prior to Spanish contact, the Acoclames occupied the area near Cerro Gordo; the Chisos were a subdivision of the Conchos, living near San Francisco de Conchos; and the Zizimbres lived in the Sierra Madre west of the Río Grande de Mezquital.

6th. Sixth, she was asked what these nations discussed at their councils and meetings, and whether they met very often. She said she did not know what they discussed, because the men are the ones who confer, but that they meet at least once a year.

7th. Seventh, she was asked whether she recalled the number and locations of the robberies and murders they had committed. She said that thefts and murders occur so frequently she cannot give an estimate. However, she knows that this year they killed the captain of the presidio of Mapimí and his companions at the place called Agua Nueva, three shepherds at La Guitarrilla, eleven soldiers from the presidio of Cerro Gordo at Agua Nueva, and others she is not familiar with.

8th. Eighth, she was asked whether all [the nations] united to commit the murders, as they do for the robberies. She said yes. She was asked how it is that she says all four of the nations are allied in repeatedly committing so many murders during the year when she has said that they assemble only once a year. She replied that the council she has said they hold during the year is for the purpose of communicating their ideas and intentions, and that to carry out the robberies and murders they congregate and meet at various places.

9th. Ninth, she was asked why they robbed and killed so many Christians and captured their children, when our lord the king, by means of his governors, seeks peace. When [the Indians] have made [peace], they have been well treated, and even now, while they are prisoners, they are given food and clothing. They have always been offered land with water where they might settle and live with a minister who would instruct them in the Catholic religion, by which his majesty wishes them to live for the salvation of their souls. This and only this is the purpose for their reduction. She said that she does not know, that only the men could account for this.

10th. Tenth, she was asked whether there are many Christians in the four nations and how many there are, as well as the total number of their entire population. She said that in all four nations there are Christians who have been baptized on occasions of peace accords, and that she does not know who they are. The four nations are made up of a very large number of people, and for that reason it is impossible to determine an exact number.

11th. Eleventh, she was asked which lands they inhabit and what they live on. She replied that the Cocoyome and Acoclame nations inhabit the Sierra Mojada and the Sierra Canula,[26] and that they support themselves solely through raiding and robbing the Spaniards and the other natives of this realm. The Chisos and the Zizimbres live together, beyond the two previously mentioned mountain ranges in the sierras called Las Encinillas and Agua de Mayo.[27] They live by hunting deer in that area and from the raids they commit on their own, as well as in the company of the Acoclames and Cocoyomes. They do not cultivate, have, or use any crops for their sustenance, seeking only to support themselves with the raiding and hunting that they do.

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26. These mountain ranges are on the border between the present states of Chihuahua and Coahuila, approximately 120 kilometers north of Mapimí. The Sierra Mojada had been a well-known refuge for hostile Indians since the seventeenth century.

27. The Sierra Las Encinillas and Agua de Mayo are in the judicial district of Camargo in eastern Chihuahua, at the western extreme of the Bolsón de Mapimí.

12th. Twelfth, she was asked who brought her to this mining camp, where she was captured, why she is here, and what she is doing. She stated that she was brought to this mining camp by the soldiers, that they caught her with others at the place called Las Salinas,[28] and that she is a prisoner because she is of the enemy nation.

13th. Thirteenth, she was asked whether she is being well treated even though she is a prisoner and whether she is being provided with everything she needs—she and the rest of her companions. She replied that everyone is well treated and knows it. She was then asked why [the Indians] do not treat the Spaniards and other adult vassals of his majesty in the same manner, instead of taking their lives when they could carry them off or leave them alive. She said she does not know their motives for this.

[The woman] was asked other questions and was cross-examined. She responded to everything exactly as she had already stated, and declared that it is the truth. Although she is a Christian, the woman was not given the oath because she does not have the understanding she ought to have in order to take it. She was asked her age, but said that she does not know it; judging from her appearance, she is more than fifty years old. His lordship ordered that she be returned to the custody of the corporal who is in charge of her and the other [prisoners], and he signed this. The interpreter did not because he said he does not know how. I, the secretary present, swear to this, as evidenced in these documents. [Illegible]. Number six.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Before me,

José Antonio de Villar, Secretary of Government and War

Pursuant to those *autos*, immediately following on the same day, month, and year his lordship, the aforementioned governor, had appear before him an Indian woman of the Cocoyome nation. She was one of those thought to be civilized from among the twenty prisoners taken on the twenty-fourth of last month, as recorded in these *autos*. Through the interpreter, Alférez Diego de Estrada, the following questions were put to her:

1st. She was asked her name, her tribe, and whether she is a Christian. She said she is of the Cocoyome nation, a heathen, and that her name is La Preñada.

2d. She was asked her age, what she is doing here, who brought her to this camp and why, and where she was apprehended. She said she was apprehended because she is of the enemy tribe. She was taken at the place known as Las Salinas by the soldiers who brought her to this camp, where she finds herself a prisoner. She does not know her age.

3d. She was asked whether she has been present during any of the peace accords that her nation has made or whether she has information [regarding them] and why they have been broken. She said she has not been present during any of

28. Las Salinas is on the Laguna del Jaco, north of the Sierra Mojada in eastern Chihuahua.

the peace negotiations, and she does not know why peace has been made or broken. She had been living in isolation with her father in other mountains and has only recently come to join the rest of [her people].

4th. She was asked the names of those who govern her nation. She said a heathen Cocoyome Indian who has been called Capitán since his childhood, as the son of the former leader of everyone, had succeeded him.

5th. She was asked which nations her people join with and whether any of the hostile tribes have dealings with those who are reduced and are subjects of the crown. She said her people are allied and friendly with the nations of the Acoclame, the Chiso, and the Zizimbre. She does not know whether any of these are in contact with the others in question.

6th. Sixth, she was asked whether these nations meet frequently for talks and conferences, and what is discussed. She said that since she has been away from her people with her family, she does not know how to answer the question, but that it has now been about three months since she saw them all together.

7th. She was asked what she knows about the robberies and murders committed by her people and their allies, and whether they join forces to commit them. She said she knows that her nation and the others have committed various murders and robberies, and that she has heard them speak of having killed the captain of Mapimí and his companions, and others she cannot identify, as well as committing many horse thefts and other things.

8th. She was asked why they rob and kill so many, and take the children captive and kill the adults, instead of capturing them or leaving them behind with their lives. She said that those who take the youngsters do so in order to raise and train them according to their ways. This is not believed possible with the adults and, since they are enemies, they are killed.

9th. Ninth, she was asked why they commit these cruelties, when our lord the king, through the governor of this realm, seeks peace with them so that they might live on the lands and waters that would be set aside for them, with a minister who would instruct them in our holy Catholic faith for the salvation of their souls. This is his majesty's sole intention, as they must have realized from the good treatment they have received not only on the occasions when they have made peace and then broken it, but even now while they are prisoners. She said she does not know why they are so cruel or how to reply to the remainder of the question.

10th. She was asked whether there are many Christians in the aforementioned nations, to which she responded that she knows many among the nations who are Christians and that she has seen them on various occasions. She does not know how many there were, nor did she have an answer to the rest of the question.

11th. She was asked which lands they inhabit and what they live on, to which she responded that their most permanent residence is in the Sierra Mojada and Sierra Conula, and they survive on the horse herds they steal. The Chisos and Zizimbres live in Las Encinillas and Agua de Mayo, and subsist by hunting deer and other game; however, they also accompany the Acoclames and Cocoyomes in robbing and killing.

12th. The witness was asked who brought her to this camp, where was she apprehended and why, and what she is doing here. Answering the entire [question], she responded that all she knows is that she is in this camp because the soldiers

caught her during an early morning raid and brought her here, where she now finds herself imprisoned.

13th. She was asked whether she and the rest of her companions are being well treated, even though they are prisoners, and whether they are being provided with everything they need. She said that she and the others are well fed and lack nothing. She was asked why [her people] do not treat the Spaniards in the same manner, instead of taking their lives so cruelly. She said she has heard that it is because they are enemies.

She was questioned further and cross-examined. To each question she replied with the same thing that she has [already] said and explained, which she declares to be the truth. An oath was not administered, however, because she is deemed incapable [of understanding it]. She stated that she is not a Christian, nor has she been instructed in our holy Catholic faith. She could not give her age, but she appears to be about twenty years old. At the conclusion of her testimony, his lordship ordered that she be returned to the corporal's custody. Thus he has provided, ordered, and signed. The aforementioned interpreter did not [sign the testimony] because he said that he does not know how, to which I, the secretary present, attest.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Before me,

José Antonio de Villar, Secretary of Government and War

Continuing the investigation, the lord governor immediately ordered brought before him one of the aforementioned captive Indian women. The oath was not administered to her because she is a heathen and incapable [of understanding it]. By means of the interpreter present, her testimony was taken as follows:

1st. To the first question she responded that she does not have a Christian name because she is not a Christian, and that she is of the Cocoyome nation.

2d. To the second question the witness responded that all she understands and knows is that her people came to make peace with the governors on three separate occasions. When asked what motives her people had for making peace and then breaking it and returning to live in the mountains, she said that all she knows, according to what she has heard from the leaders of her camp, is that on one occasion they left because they had begun to fall ill with measles and smallpox. She does not know about the other times.

3d. To the third question, the witness responded with the previous answer.

4th. To the fourth question asked, the witness replied that the person who leads their Cocoyome ranchería is an Indian by the name of El Capitán. He inherited the position from his father.

5th. To the fifth question, the witness said that the nations with whom her Cocoyome people are allied are the Acoclames, the Chisos, and the Zizimbres. She has neither seen nor in any way knows which other Indians from the reduced nations visit or have any interaction with their camps.

6th. To the sixth question the witness said that as far as she knows, the four nations customarily meet each year during the dry season to hold a conference and

plan their strategies, and then they disperse. She knows that they later regroup in locations that seem suitable in order to commit their customary depredations and hostilities. Once these are carried out, they retreat to their rancherías.

7th. To the seventh question the witness said that all she knows is that for as long as she has been able to reason, the people of her nation and the others mentioned have always had the inviolate custom of robbing and murdering. Without this, they would have no other livelihood or means of feeding themselves in the area where they lived. The raids have been so constant that she is not able to recollect them all to tell of them. She only remembers now that not long ago they robbed and killed the captain of the presidio of Mapimí and his companions near here at Agua Nueva, [as well as] some shepherds at the place called La Guitarrilla, and on another occasion, at Agua Nueva, they killed eleven presidial soldiers from Cerro Gordo.

8th. For the eighth question the witness was asked whether all the aforementioned nations join forces to carry out the robberies and murders. She responded that all she knows is based on what she heard commonly said at her ranchería. They all joined forces to commit the two raids at Agua Nueva, but she did not know who or how many participated in the raid on La Guitarrilla. When cross-examined with regard to her statement that the four allied nations repeatedly commit so many murders and robberies, whereas she has said that they confer only once a year, she said she already answered this with the previous [question].

9th. To the ninth question the witness replied that as far as she knows the reason for killing the Spaniards is because they are considered the enemy. They do not kill the children but take them because they wish to raise them so that [the children] might serve them and be instructed according to their custom. She said she knows nothing more in answer to the question.

10th. To the tenth question this witness replied that what she knows is based on her acquaintance with the four nations, that among them there are many Christians, and that the total population of the four nations is growing.

11th. To the eleventh question the witness replied that as far as she knows, the Cocoyomes and the Acoclames have their rancherías in the Sierra Conula and the Sierra Mojada, while the other nations live in the Las Encinillas and Agua de Mayo areas. These groups sustain themselves by hunting deer and other game, in addition to accompanying her people and the Acoclames on raids, for lack of any other means of livelihood.

12th. To the twelfth question, the witness replied that all she knows is that she was brought to this camp by the soldiers who apprehended her and others at the place called Las Salinas, and that she is a prisoner because she is a member of the enemy nation.

13th. To the thirteenth question, the witness said she and all the others who are imprisoned are well treated and given more than enough food and necessities. Responding to a cross-examination, she said that [her people] do not accord such good treatment as the Spaniards do because they are not as kindhearted.

When she was asked further questions and cross-examined, she cited [her original testimony], which she confirmed and ratified, everything having been related through the interpreter. She could not give her age but appears to be about thirty years old. His lordship signed [the testimony]; the interpreter said he did

not know how. The prisoner was returned to the corporal's custody, to which I, the secretary present, attest.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Before me,

José Antonio de Villar, Secretary of Government and War

That day, in order to continue the investigation, the lord governor immediately ordered brought before him another one of the aforementioned female prisoners. An oath was not administered to her, even though she claims to be a Christian, because she has not been instructed in our holy law. With the interpreter present, her testimony was recorded as follows.

1st. To the first question, she replied that her name is María and that she is a Christian, as stated, of the Cocoyome nation. When asked where she had been baptized, she said they baptized her at this mining camp a few days ago, because she had a grave illness. She does not know the name of the priest who poured the [baptismal] water.

2d. To the second question, the witness replied that she recalls one occasion when her nation came to the presidio of El Pasaje to make peace, and she came along. She was asked how it was that having made peace, as she stated, they broke it and rebelled. She replied that as far as she remembers, a rumor had spread among them that her people had been cheated in the peace agreement, and for that [reason] they returned to their previous location.

3d. To the third question she replied that as far as she can remember, the people of her nation and the Acoclames have come three times to make peace with the governors of this realm. When asked why they have broken the peace, she responded that she does not know the motives they have had for this.

4th. To the fourth question, the witness replied that all she knows is that the people of her Cocoyome nation, as well as the Acoclames, are governed by a Cocoyome Indian named El Capitán, who inherited the position from his father.

5th. To the fifth question the witness said that her nation is in contact with the Acoclames, the Zizimbres, and the Chisos. She was asked if she knows or has heard whether any of the subject nations who are reduced in the pueblos go to the rancherías of the rebellious nations or communicate with them in any way. She responded that she has neither seen nor heard that the Indians who live among the Spaniards have ever gone to the lands where [her people] live, to visit or make other forms of friendly contact, since they consider them enemies.

6th. To the sixth question, the witness replied that all she knows is that the four nations customarily hold an assembly each year for trade. They exchange the things that they have with one another, and then discuss their opinions about everything of importance. She does not know how to reply more specifically, however.

7th. To the seventh question, she replied that she has taken particular care to give an accurate account of the number of robberies and murders that the people of her nation have committed. According to what she has heard them say, the number is many. She herself remembers that not too long ago they robbed and killed eleven soldiers from Cerro Gordo near here, and later the captain of the

presidio of Mapimí and his companions at Agua Nueva. She also knows that they killed some shepherds near Cerro Gordo, and others whose identities she does not know.

8th. To the eighth question, the witness replied that in order to perform the aforementioned murders, they make arrangements there, on their lands, and come to these [lands] to combine forces and carry out [the killing]. When cross-examined, she said that she did not know how to respond.

9th. To the ninth question the witness replied that as far as she knows, the adults are killed and the children taken because they are the enemy; [the Indians] take the children in order to raise them to be useful, according to their custom. As for the remainder of the question, she did not know what to say.

10th. To the tenth question, the witness replied that she knows there are many Christians among the allied nations, but she could not give the exact number of either those who are Christian or those who are not.

11th. To the eleventh question, the witness replied that the people of her nation and the Acoclame [nation] are always together in the Sierra Mojada and Sierra Conula, and the other nations are in the Las Encinillas and Agua de Mayo areas. They all feed and sustain themselves with robbery and raiding, without applying themselves to any other work or task.

12th. To the twelfth question, the witness replied that she was brought to this camp by the soldiers who captured her and others of her nation at the place known as Las Salinas, and that she is a captive because she is a member of the Cocoyome nation.

13th. To the thirteenth and last question, the witness replied that she and her companions are well provided with food and have no wants. When asked why her people so mistreat the Spanish Christians, killing them or doing them so much harm, she said she does not know.

She was asked other questions and was cross-examined, to which she responded with the same answers. Having been related the testimony through the interpreter, she ratified and confirmed it in its entirety. She could not give her age, but appears to be about twenty-five years old. She was turned over to the corporal of the guard, by order of his lordship, who signed [the document]. The interpreter did not sign because he does not know how, to which I, the secretary present, attest.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Before me,

Joseph Antonio de Villar, Secretary of Government and War.

Archivo Historico del Parral 175A, Film 318.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Señor teniente, don Pedro Nieto:

Muy señor mío, noticio a vuestra merced cómo llegamos a esta hacienda de la Zarca como a media de cuarto de mi [jornada], donde hallamos al padre don Carlos, que se escapó con dos soldados y un mozo, que les pido [pidió] el padre no los mataran, que les dijo eran sus mozos; que el padre dice que los co-

gieron y trajeron donde estaba el capitán don Matías muerto; y a Juan del Río, y a Javier del Corral, y Esteban de Nájara, y Esteban de Mora, y Antonio de Soto, y a Miguel Hernández, y a un hijo de don Tomás, y a un correo. Estos dice sabe [que] quedaron muertos, de los demás no sabe. Soldados de los que se escaparon hay aquí cuatro. Los dos que escapó el padre, que son Delgado y Padilla y a los que han llegado de antes y después, que son Contreras y el que vino después, Nicolás Hernández. Y por junto son todos los que han llegado aquí, soldados y arrieros de [su servicio] y mozos del capitán, que en paz descanse. Son quince como digo, todos los que han llegado a este puesto de la Zarca. Nosotros cruzamos todavía los que venimos al ver todo el estrago que han hecho. Y allí, conforme lo que hallaremos y los que nos juntáremos, así determinaremos. Que la gente enemiga, dice el padre que es mucha; que son más de setenta, que vienen tres capitanes que traen tres banderas. Con que veremos lo que más convenga. No hay de qué noticiar a vuestra merced otra cosa sino que Dios Nuestro Señor guarde a vuestra merced muchos años.

Zarca y junio 6 de 1715 años. Besa la mano de vuestra merced, su muy servidor.

Diego de Estrada

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

[Acotación] Parral y junio 7 de 1715 años. Póngase con los autos de guerra esta carta del teniente de Cerro Gordo y la que la acompaña del alférez, y despáchese orden al dicho teniente para que pase al paraje de la Zarca, con la gente que pueda juntar además de los soldados, a que se siga el rastro de los enemigos y de las muertes que expresa y lo demás en la forma que mejor pueda, y me remita información que haga del modo y forma en que sucedieron. Así lo proveyó y rubricó el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras por el rey nuestro señor. Vale.

Muy señor mío, doy cuenta a vuestra señoría, cómo ayer 5 del corriente, tuve aviso de la señora viuda del capitán don Juan Andrés de Alday, cómo los indios enemigos dieron al capitán, don Matías de León y Herrera, en el paraje de Agua Nueva; que esta noticia la tenía de un mozo que se había escapado a pedir socorro, y dicha señora me lo envió a pedir a mí. Y llegó aquí su noticia a puesta del sol. Le envié a mi alférez y dos soldados míos, cuatro de El Gallo y entre ellos, el alférez González, un soldado de Mapimí y otros cuatro hombres. Y salieron con una hora de noche y llegaron a la Zarca a la hora que vuestra señoría verá por la adjunta, que de dicho paraje me escribió mi alférez, cómo las fatalidades sucedidas. Yo me hallo sólo con dos soldados, que los que fueron con el sargento no han llegado a este presidio. Quedo a las órdenes de vuestra señoría, a quien guarde Nuestro Señor muchos años que deseo.

Cerro Gordo y junio 6 de 1715 años. Muy señor mío, besa la mano de vuestra señoría, su más afecto servidor.

Pedro García Nieto.

Señor gobernador y capitán general don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, muy señor mío.

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

> [Acotación] Parral y junio 8 de 1715 años. Póngase con los autos de guerra esta carta del alférez de Mapimí, y en atención a que el teniente de Cerro Gordo le está mandado que por el rastro siga los enemigos y haga información del suceso y se [le escriba] y ordene se una con dicho teniente al mismo señor. [Rúbrica.]

Doy a vuestra señoría noticia, cómo ayer a la oración de la noche, llegó un mozo al real de Indé, adonde yo me hallaba. Y habiéndome avisado de cómo los indios le salieron a mi capitán y a mis compañeros. Y luego pasé, atendiendo a mi obligación, y hallé muertos a mi capitán, don Matías de León y Herrera, al cabo Javier del Corral, Juan del Río, Esteban de Mora, Esteban de Nájera, Antonio de Soto, y [a] un correo del Nuevo México, de quien no se halló cartas ningunas, y [a] un hijo del capitán don Tomás Miguel Peri Cortés. Y soldados que se escaparon: Juan Delgado salió maltratado, y otros cinco que se escaparon, y a Gerónimo de Rivera, soldado de El Gallo, dicen se lo llevan vivo y otros mozos que se escaparon. Y yo he determinado dar aviso a mi presidio y quedarme yo para llevar al capellán de dicho mi presidio, cuando coja algún esfuerzo, que también se halló en este estrago. Y fue Dios servido de que se escapara a pie y fue a dar a la Zarca. Que dicho acaecimiento fue en el puesto de Agua Nueva. No ofreciéndose otra cosa que dar a vuestra señoría noticia, sí que por estar las bestias inhábiles no pasé en seguimiento del enemigo. Y me alegraré el que vuestra señoría goza de cabal salud a cuya obediencia queda la que gozo para servir a vuestra señoría, cuya vida guarde Dios muchos años.

Agua Nueva y junio 6 de 1715 años. Besa la mano de vuestra señoría, súbdito y servidor.

Cristóbal Rubio

Señor gobernador don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz.

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

> [Acotación] Parral y junio 8 de 1715 años. Póngase con los autos en atención a tenerse dichas las órdenes que se han tenido por convenientes a don Pedro García Nieto, teniente del presidio de Cerro Gordo, y a don Simón Rojo Coronel y asimismo teniente del de San Pedro de El Gallo, se le vuelva a encargar esté con cuidado y a la mira de que los enemigos no ejecuten alguna hostilidad. Así lo proveyó y rubricó el señor don Juan Manuel de Santa Cruz, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras por el rey nuestro señor. Vale. Por mando del gobernador y capitán general. [Rúbrica.]

Noticio a vuestra excelencia cómo ayer, día 5 del corriente, a las cuatro de la tarde, llegó a este presidio el alférez que fue del presidio de Mapimí, Ignacio del Corral, con noticia de que al capitán don Matías de León y Herrera, yendo de su presidio para el real de Indé a tomar estado, le salió una gran escuadra de enemigos que no bajó de ciento y cincuenta flecheros y que los había dejado peleando. Y luego, incontinente, salí dentro de una hora con veintitrés hombres hasta el

aguaje, que llaman Agua Nueva, donde hallé difunto a dicho capitán, don Matías de León y Herrera y cinco de sus soldados y a un hijo de don Tomás Peri Cortés, llamado don Francisco Peri, recién venido de España y a un correo del Nuevo México, que venía de México, llamado Trujillo. Me llevé al presidio al capitán y a don Francisco Peri, por estar en lutos sus cuerpos. Que los otros no pueden, por estar sus cuerpos no para ello, quedan enterrados en el campo. Los enemigos salieron, según su rastro, para su tierra. La demás gente se escapó, unos para El Gallo, otros para la Zarca y entre ellos el licenciado don Carlos de la Torre, capellán del presidio de Mapimí, que lo desnudaron y lo soltaron a pie y fue a dar a la Zarca.

No salí en pos del enemigo, porque no hay bestia que sirva, que aquí llegamos a las diez de la noche todos cansados. También se llevaron vivo un compañero de los míos que iba con el capitán don Matías a Indé, que me lo pidió para llevarlo en su compañía. Esto es cuanto se ofrece señor. Que Dios me guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años.

Agua Nueva y junio 6 de 1715 años. Besa la mano de vuestra señoría, su servidor que sus manos besa.

Simón Rojo Coronel

Señor gobernador y capitán general, Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz.

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

[Acotación] Parral y junio 16 de 1715 años. Esta carta, del teniente del presidio de San Pedro de El Gallo, con el testimonio de la junta que expresa se ponga con los autos de guerra y hágase decreto citando a junta para este día, sin embargo de ser feriado, para que en ella se determine lo que convenga al mayor servicio de su señoría. Así lo proveyó y rubricó el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras por el rey, nuestro señor. Vale. Por mando del rey nuestro señor y del gobernador y capitán general. Don Juan de Recalde, escribano de gobernación y guerra.

Habiendo resuelto despachar el cordón en la forma acostumbrada y teniendo presente las lastimosas muertes sucedidas de que tengo dada cuenta a vuestra señoría, hice junta de oficiales con la llegada del cordón del Pasaje, ayer a mediodía. Y de ella se determinó, unánimes y conformes, se agregaren diez hombres más de los asignados por orden, con los motivos que a vuestra señoría constará por el testimonio adjunto, para que en su vista se sirva demandar lo que fuere servido.

Hoy día de la fecha, sale el cordón de este presidio y en él, dos religiosos de nuestro padre San Francisco, algunos pasajeros sueltos y una mulata con un mozo que dice ser de la casa de vuestra señoría, a quien por traer sus bestias cansadas, le he cambiado con otras hasta Cerro Gordo. Y escribo al capitán de él para que ejecute lo mismo hasta ese real, porque no se detenga en estos parajes.

Remito a vuestra señoría un pliego de un dedo de alto y otras dos sencillas, que trajo el cordón, rotuladas a vuestra señoría con otras dos para el señor coronel Orozco y don Juan de Recalde.

También noticio a vuestra señoría cómo yendo al socorro que de las muertes

que se hicieron por los enemigos, encontré un soldado en cueros llamado Miguel Hernández, que es del presidio de Mapimí. Y habiéndole dado bestia para que viniese a este presidio como lo ejecutó, se desapareció del otro día por la mañana, con otro operario de los que escaparon de Mapimí, antes que yo volviese de recoger los muertos, si bien anticipó mi alférez reformado despachar sus compañeros en su alcance. Y no pudieron dar con ellos, por no saberse para dónde iban. Se hubieron de volver. Es cuanto se ofrece, sino que Dios guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años para remedio de esta pobre tierra. San Pedro de El Gallo y junio 9 de 1715 años.

Besa la mano de vuestra señoría, su servidor que su mano besa.

Simón Rojo Coronel

Señor gobernador y capitán general, Don Manuel [San Juan de] Santa Cruz.

En el real presidio de San Pedro de El Gallo en 8 días del mes de junio de 1715 años, yo, Simón Rojo Coronel, teniente de capitán de él, despaché cinco compañeros a traer unas bestias que se nos quedaron cansadas en un paraje llamado las Peñuelas, en donde después de haberlas hallado, vieron dos bultos como a las diez del día, los cuales les gritaron a dichos mis compañeros, quienes no se atrevieron a reconocerlos temiéndose de alguna emboscada, y atendiendo a tener el cordón en la mano, que esperaban del real presidio del Pasaje, y acaba de llegar a éste hoy día de la fecha. [Con] cuyos motivos y el de las desgraciadas muertes que los indios enemigos hicieron el día 5 del corriente en el paraje de Agua Nueva, con el capitán de Mapimí y otros siete más que murieron, con otro que se llevaron vivo, hice junta de oficiales de los que aquí se hallan para determinar con sus votos y pareceres la marcha de este cordón. Y habiéndose ejecutado así, dijeron a una voz unánimes y conformes, el que se agregasen a dicho cordón diez hombres más de los determinados por orden, porque fuesen más seguros los pasajeros, que lo son dos religiosos de nuestro padre San Francisco, una mulata que va en demanda del señor gobernador, con un mulato que la acompaña y algunos pasajeros sueltos; teniendo así mismo presente, por algunas noticias, el salir [en] este dicho cordón el despacho de plata con el tesoro de su majestad y comercio del Parral, porque se pueda más asegurar, temiéndose de alguna ruina en el camino. Y esto salió de la junta y lo firmaron dichos oficiales conmigo:

Dicho teniente ante mí,

Francisco Gutiérrez de la Rosilla, escribano de guerra.

Simón Rojo Coronel

Julio González

Bartolomé de Acosta

A ruego y por testigo del sargento Pedro de la Riva,

José Francisco del Ledesma

Alejo de Bibiescas

A ruego y por testigo de Bernardo Galavíz,

José Francisco de Ledesma

Francisco Gutiérrez de la Rosilla, escribano de guerra.

Concuerda con su original que lo saqué a pedimento de don Simón Rojo Coronel teniente de capitán de este dicho presidio. Va cierto y verdadero, corregido y

enmendado, a que me remito; que queda en este archivo y para que conste donde convenga. Doy el presente en la manera que puedo, como escribano de guerra que lo soy de este real presidio, en dicho día, mes y año.

Francisco Gutiérrez de la Rosilla, señor escribano de guerra

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

[Acotación] Parral y junio 16 de 1715 años. [Que] esta carta del teniente de El Gallo, se acumule a la del 9 del corriente para que su contenido se vea en la junta que en el decreto de este antecedente tengo mandado convocar. Así lo proveyó y rubricó el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras, por el rey nuestro señor. Vale. Por mando del señor gobernador y capitán general. Juan de Recalde, escribano de gobernación y guerra.

Señor, recibí un pliego sencillo, rotulado a don Alonso de Iparraguirre, hoy día de la fecha que me la despachó el teniente de Cerro Gordo y con dos compañeros y me dice dicho teniente es de vuestra señoría. El cual pliego no puede pasar a Mapimí por estar los indios enemigos poblados en los caminos de él, según me participaron ayer ocho compañeros que vinieron ayer de aquel presidio a éste y pasaron por bastimento a Indé, quienes vieron sus lumbradas la noche que pasaron por dicho paraje. Y se les agregó una bestia caballar de las que los indios llevaban del estrago que hicieron, la cual la incorporaron dichos soldados de Mapimí con su caballada y revolvieron un mozo de los que traían a Mapimí con esta misma noticia que doy a vuestra señoría. Es cuanto se ofrece sino que Dios guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años.

Gallo y junio 11 de 1715 años. Besa la mano de vuestra señoría.

Simón Rojo Coronel.

Parral y junio 16 de 1715 años.

Por cuanto el día cinco del corriente los indios rebeldes a la real corona le salieron en el puesto que llaman Agua Nueva al capitán de Mapimí, don Matías de León y Herrera, que venía de dicho real para el de Indé con algunos soldados y pasajeros; y mataron al capitán y otros ocho soldados y pasajeros y se llevaron vivo un soldado del presidio de El Gallo que con dicho capitán venía, habiendo dejado dichos enemigos vivo al capellán de dicho presidio de Mapimí, que lo es el licenciado don Carlos de Torres; y escapándose del avance hasta quince personas, que todas vinieron a la hacienda de la Zarca, con cuya noticia di orden al teniente del presidio de Cerro Gordo, que luego al punto saliese en seguimiento del enemigo, con los soldados de su presidio y la gente que se escapó, y otros vecinos que pudiese congregar, como lo ejecutó. Habiendo salido el teniente de El Gallo con veinte soldados al socorro, con la noticia que tuvo del fracaso, llegando hasta el dicho paraje del Agua Nueva donde sucedieron las referidas muertes, y habiendo enterrado los cuerpos, se volvieron a sus presidios por no haber podido seguir el al-

cance del enemigo, por haberse hallado imposibilitado de hacerlo, por habérseles cansado las cabalgaduras, de que me dieron cuenta.

Y ahora, nuevamente, la que me participa el teniente de El Gallo, de que habiendo despachado cinco compañeros en busca de unas bestias en el puesto de las Peñuelas, vieron dos bultos como a las diez del día, que les gritaron y no se atrevieron a reconocerlos temiéndose de alguna emboscada. Y que así por esto, como porque los enemigos están rancheados en el camino del Mapimí, determinó con junta, que para ello hizo de sus oficiales, el agregar al convoy de este mes, que había llegado a aquel presidio, diez soldados más de los asignados para que prosiguiese su marcha hasta este real con algún más seguro, por el recelo de que no se atreviese el enemigo a dar en dicho cordón. Como todo consta de las cartas que, sobre todo lo contenido he recibido, que mando se acumulen a este decreto. Y porque el despacho de plata en que va el tesoro de su majestad acaba de salir de este real y se halla hoy en el río Florido, es necesario que vaya con el mayor seguro que se pueda.

Por tanto, para que se determine lo más conveniente a la seguridad del dicho convoy, defensa de este reino y seguro de los entrantes y salientes en él, mando que para hoy día de la fecha, sin embargo de ser feriado, se citen para junta los señores jueces oficiales reales por lo que mira al real interés y por el del común, al sargento mayor don Antonio de la Rasolo y al capitán don Cristóbal de Orrantía y a los capitanes de los presidios de este reino que se hallan en este real. En cuya junta se hará notorio este decreto para que en su conformidad expresen su sentir y parecer y en su vista tomar la providencia y resolución que más convenga. Así lo proveyó y firmó el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras por el rey nuestro señor.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz.

Por mando del señor gobernador y capitán general,

Don Juan de Recalde, escribano de gobernación y guerra.

En la junta de guerra que en 16 días del mes de junio de 1715 años, ha tenido el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero de la Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras por su majestad, con el señor coronel don Juan Felipe de Orozco y Molina, contador, factor, juez oficial real de la real hacienda y caja de la ciudad de Durango, don Tomás de Ga[ilegible]; teniente del tesorero, el sargento mayor, don Antonio de la Rasolo; el capitán, don Cristóbal de Orrantía; el capitán don Juan de Sarises que lo es de la compañía de campaña; el capitán, don Antonio de Becerra Nieto, que lo es del presidio de Janos; el capitán don José Fernández de Córdoba, que lo es del presidio del Cerro Gordo; el capitán don Gregorio Alvarez de Tuñón y Quirós que lo es de la compañía de Sonora y el capitán don Juan Bautista de [Leysaola] que lo es del presidio de El Gallo, se leyó el decreto antecedente.

Y habiendo conferido sobre todo lo contenido en él, fueron de consentir y parecer todos los de la junta, que se le agregue al despacho de plata y convoy que ha salido de este real, todos los más soldados que se pudieren destacar de la compañía de campaña, y demás presidios del camino, como así mismo los indios auxi-

liares que a su señoría le pareciere conveniente para que vayan con dicho convoy. Y llegados que sean al presidio de Cerro Gordo, según las noticias que de dicho enemigo en él hubiere, pongan en él [ilegible] y asegurada toda la plata. Y pasen todos los soldados e indios que conducen el convoy a reconocer el puesto donde estuvieron los enemigos y los desalojen de él, aplicándoles las armas para ello, hasta que consigan la retirada del enemigo y seguridad del camino real. Y hecho esto, o no hallando al enemigo, prosiguieran con la acordada del despacho hasta el presidio de El Gallo, donde ejecutarán lo mismo para proseguir la marcha del convoy hasta el Pasaje y desde allí el despacho de plata hasta la real caja de Durango, porque de esta suerte, discurre, irá segura dicha plata. Y se conseguirá el que si el enemigo está rancheado en el camino de Mapimí, lo desaloje. Y siendo que las armas los buscan, se retirarán a su tierra, y se asegurará el que no se alojen al real de Mapimí que por su corta población y por la falta del capitán y soldados, que de dicho presidio mataron, está en evidente riesgo de un estrago lamentable.

Y visto por su señoría todo lo referido, se conformó con el sentir y parecer de esta junta y en su conformidad mandó que, para que se ejecute, se despachen las órdenes necesarias por lo cual se concluyó y cerró esta junta. Y lo rubricó su señoría con los en ella mencionados. Entre renglones, según las noticias que de dicho enemigo en él hubiere. Vale.

[Rúbricas.]

Por mando del señor gobernador y capitán general,

Don Juan de Recalde, escribano de gobernación y guerra

Parral y junio 16 de 1715 años.

Despáchese órdenes para que en conformidad de la junta antecedente, a los treinta soldados y once indios que han venido con el cordón, que ha entrado y está para volver con el despacho de plata y pasajeros que están próximos, se agreguen quince soldados de la compañía de campaña y veinte indios conchos. Y para que el alcalde mayor de Indé ponga veinticinco hombres de aquella jurisdicción con sus armas, y veinte indios más de arco y flecha en el presidio de Cerro Gordo, para que allí, incorporados con el referido cordón, en conformidad de la junta, se opere lo que la ocasión ofreciere. Y todos pasen al presidio de El Gallo a donde así mismo se ordene al general don Martín de Alday, capitán del presidio del Pasaje, envíe treinta indios de los que están en él, para que con este cuerpo de setenta soldados y ochenta y un indios se asegure más bien lo resuelto. Y los sueldos de los referidos indios y sus bastimentos se paguen de los efectos de paz y guerra, para cuyo fin se despachará libramiento a su tiempo y con inscripción de la junta se haga la orden para el comando del referido cordón.

Y por cuanto se experimenta que los indios enemigos logran sus hostilidades a causa de la desunión de los pasajeros que se agregan, así a los cordones regulares como a otras escoltas, por causa de que a vista del enemigo, o en el actual combate, huyen y desamparan a los soldados, y estos, a vista de aquellos, si no hacen lo mismo, desfallecen del vigor y valentía, que de lo contrario, se mantendría, facilitando esto el mayor estrago de los enemigos. Y porque para que cesen estos inconvenientes y entre soldados y pasajeros haya la unión conveniente a la defensa

de unos y otros, es necesario conminarlos, en pena grave impuesta *ad terrorem*, sin perjuicio de la en que incurran, según derecho y convenga castigárseles. Mandaba y mando, se despache orden para que todos los capitanes y cabos de las escoltas, cada y cuando que les den, intimen a los pasajeros, que pena de la vida, no se desunan de los soldados de las escoltas, ni los desamparen sin consentimiento y acuerdo del cabo, para que estimulados de la dicha orden, cumplan con su obligación y se excusen los inconvenientes, que de lo contrario se han experimentado hasta ahora. Así lo proveyó y rubricó el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino, sus provincias y fronteras por el rey nuestro señor.

Por mando del señor gobernador y capitán general,
Juan de Recalde, escribano de gobernación y guerra

[Acotación] Despacháronse las órdenes que se mandan en el decreto antecedente al comando del cordón. Se cometió al capitán de Cerro Gordo hasta su presidio, de El Gallo hasta el suyo, y que lo despache en adelante.

INTERROGACIONES DE LAS INDIAS

En el real y minas de San José del Parral en 17 días del mes de agosto de 1715 años, el señor don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, sus provincias y fronteras por el rey nuestro señor. [Su] señoría, en prosecución de estos autos, hizo comparecer ante sí a una india de nueve, que se consideran de razón, en los veinte prisioneros que hizo el día 24 del mes próximo pasado, por el capitán del presidio del Gallo. Y constan en estos autos: que presente la dicha libre de ninguna presión, presente el referido intérprete en su idioma cocoyome, por voz de dicho intérprete le fue preguntado las preguntas siguientes:

1a. A la primera le fue preguntado cómo se llama, de qué nación, y si es cristiana. Y responde que se llama Pascuala y que es de nación cocoyome, cristiana. Y preguntádole dónde fue bautizada, responde que en el real presidio de Cerro Gordo, siendo de menor edad y que no se acuerda qué padre la bautizó, ni quienes fueron sus padrinos. Y responde.

2a. A la segunda le fue preguntado a dicha declarante por voz de dicho intérprete en su idioma, por no ser ladina en el castellano, que qué hacía y quién la llevó a dicho presidio de Cerro Gordo cuando fue bautizada en él, a que responde que lo que se acuerda es que estuvo allí con el motivo de haberse dado su nación de paz. Y responde. Y preguntádole cómo habiendo dado la paz que dice, faltaron a ella y se levantaron, y responde que lo que se acuerda es que en dicha sazón, que se levantaron y faltaron a la paz, fue porque se murió su cabeza o caudillo. Y responde.

3a. A la tercera le fue preguntado a dicha declarante cuántas paces se acuerda haber dado su nación a los señores gobernadores de este reino, y responde que a lo que se acuerda, le parece han dado como tres veces la paz. Y preguntádole por qué en estas ocasiones han faltado a ella, a que responde que no sabe nada de lo que se le pregunta y que eso lo sabrá los que gobiernan sus rancherías. Y responde.

4a. A la cuarta le fue preguntado a dicha declarante quiénes y cómo se llaman

las personas que los gobiernan en sus rancherías, y responde que un indio cocoyome de su nación, gentil, que desde pequeño le llaman Capitán, por ser hijo del que lo era y haberle sucedido en el gobierno de ellos. Y responde.

5a. A la quinta le fue preguntado a la dicha declarante con qué otras naciones de indios rebeldes se comunica la suya, y si sabe que ésta y otra de las enemigas se comunican con algunas de las que están reducidas y sujetas a la real corona. Dijo que las naciones, con quienes la suya se halla aliada unida y coligada, son la Acoclame, la Chisa [Chisos] y la Zizinble [Zizimbre], y que no sabe que ninguna de éstas se comuniquen con las que estas [están] sujetas y reducidas a la real corona. Y responde.

6a. A la sexta le fue preguntado que cuando se juntan estas dichas naciones, de qué tratan en sus tlatoles y conferencias, y si los hacen muy a menudo. Dijo que no sabe lo que tratan, porque los hombres son los que intervienen en ello y que cada año a lo menos se juntan una vez. Y responde.

7a. A la séptima le fue preguntado cuántos robos, muertes y en qué parajes se acuerda han hecho. Dijo que son tantos los robos y muertes y tan continuos que no sabe dar razón, pero sabe que mataron este año en el paraje de Agua Nueva al capitán de Mapimí y compañeros, en la Guitarrilla a tres pastores, en dicho paraje de Agua Nueva a once soldados del presidio de Cerro Gordo, y otras que no distingue. Y responde.

8a. A la octava le fue preguntado que si en estas muertes se juntaban para hacerlas, como para los robos, todas las dichas naciones. Dijo que sí. Y responde repreguntado cómo haciendo tantas muertes al año y en tan repetidas ocasiones dice se hacen por todas las cuatro naciones que están aliadas, cuando tiene dicho que sólo una vez al año se juntan. Dijo que la junta que tiene dicha hacen al año es para comunicar sus cosas y designios y que para hacer los robos y muertes se convocan y juntan a diferentes parajes. Y responde.

9a. A la novena le fue preguntado por qué roban y matan a tantos cristianos y hacen cautivos a los pequeños, cuando por el rey nuestro señor, por medio de sus gobernadores, se les solicita la paz, y cuando la han dado, han sido bien tratados, y ahora aunque son prisioneros, lo son en la comida y el vestuario, y siempre les ha sido ofrecido tierras aguas para que pueblen y vivan con ministro que los eduque en la religión católica, debajo de la cual quiere su majestad vivan para la salvación de sus almas, a cuyo fin se dirige el atraerlos y no a otro. Dijo que ella no sabe, que quien dará razón son los hombres. Y responde.

10a. A la décima le fue preguntado que si en las dichas cuatro naciones hay muchos cristianos y cuántos serán, como el número de que todas se componen. Dijo que en todas cuatro naciones hay cristianos bautizados en las ocasiones que han dado la paz, que no sabe los que son, y que el número de gente de que se compone estas cuatro naciones es muchísimo y que por eso no puede determinar los que serán fijamente. Y esto responde.

11a. Preguntádole en qué tierras habitan, con más de qué se mantienen, dijo que las naciones cocoyome y acoclame habitan en las Sierra Mojada y en la de Canula y que sólo se mantienen de los hurtos y robos que hacen a los españoles y demás naturales de este reino, y que los chisos y zizinbles [zizimbres] viven juntos y habitan más allá de las referidas dos sierras en las que llaman las Encinillas y Agua de Mayo, que se mantienen de venados que cazan en aquellos parajes y de

los hurtos que así por sí solos hacen, como en compañía de los acoclames y cocoyomes, y que no usan ni se aplican a cultivar ni tener frutos algunos para su manutención, y que sólo esperan a mantenerse con los hurtos y caza que hacen. Y esto responde.

12a. Preguntádole quién la trajo a este real, a dónde la cogieron, por qué y qué hace aquí, dijo que es traída a este real por los soldados, que la cogieron con otras en el paraje que llaman las Salinas, y que se halla cautiva por ser de la nación enemiga. Y responde.

13a. Preguntádole que si aunque es prisionera se le da buen trato, mira y atiende en todo lo que necesita, así a ella como a los demás sus compañeros, dijo que ellas y todos reciben buen trato y están en ese conocimiento. Y preguntádole por qué en esta misma conformidad no tratan ellos a los españoles y demás vasallos de su majestad en edad crecida y no que les quitan las vidas pudiendo llevarlos o dejarlos con ellas, dijo que no sabe los motivos que para eso tienen. Y responde.

Fuéronle hechas otras preguntas y repreguntas y a todas responde lo mismo que tiene dicho y declarado, lo cual dijo ser la verdad. Y no se le tomó juramento, aunque es cristiana, por no tener el conocimiento que debe para hacerlo. Y aunque se le preguntó por la edad, dijo que no la sabe, aunque es vieja y según el aspecto demuestra tener más de cincuenta años. Y su señoría mandó se vuelva a entregar al cabo que con las demás la tiene en guardia y custodia. Y lo firmó, y no lo hizo el dicho intérprete, porque dijo no saber, de que yo, el presente secretario doy fe. [Ilegible] y constar en estos autos. [Ilegible]. Número seis.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Ante mí,

José Antonio de Villar, secretario de gobernación y guerra

Incontinente dicho día, mes y año, su señoría, dicho señor gobernador, hizo comparecer ante sí en prosecución de estos los autos, a una india de nación Cocoyome y de las que se consideran de razón entre los veinte prisioneros que constan en estos autos se hicieron el día 24 del mes próximo pasado, a quien por medio del alférez Diego de Estrada, intérprete le fueron hechas las preguntas siguientes:

1a. Preguntado cómo se llama, de qué nación y si es cristiana, dijo que es de nación Cocoyome, gentil, que se llama La Preñada. Y responde.

2a. Fuele preguntado la edad, qué hace aquí, quién la trajo a este real, por qué y a dónde fue aprehendida. Dijo que fue aprehendida por ser de la nación enemiga en el paraje de las Salinas por los soldados que la trajeron a este real donde se halla prisionera, y que no sabe la edad que tiene. Y responde.

3a. Preguntádole si en algunas de las paces que ha dado su nación se ha hallado o tiene noticia y por qué las han quebrantado, dijo que no se ha hallado en paz ninguna, ni sabe de que la hayan dado ni quebrantado por haber vivido retirada con su padre en otras sierras, y que ahora poco ha se vino a juntar con los demás. Y responde.

4a. Preguntádole cómo se llaman los que gobiernan su nación, dijo que un indio cocoyome gentil, que [desde pequeño] se llama Capitán, por ser hijo del que era cabeza de todas y haberle sucedido. Y responde.

5a. Preguntádole con qué naciones se junta la suya y si ésta y otras de las enemigas se tratan con las que están reducidas y sujetas a la real corona, dijo que las naciones con quien la suya se halla unida y amistada son la Acoclame, la Chisa y Zizinble [Zizimbre] y que no sabe que ninguna de éstas se comuniquen con otras de las que se le preguntan. Y responde.

6a. Fuele preguntado si estas naciones se juntan a hacer tlatoles y conferencias muy a menudo y qué es lo que tratan en ellos. Dijo que como ha estado desviada de los suyos con sus padres, no sabe responder a lo que se le pregunta y que ahora habrá como tres meses, poco más o menos, los vió a todos juntos. Y responde.

7a. Preguntádole qué robos y muertes tiene noticia ha hecho su nación y las demás sus aliadas y si se juntan para hacerlas, dijo que tiene noticia de que su nación y las demás han hecho diferentes muertes y robos y que sólo les oyó decir haber muerto al capitán de Mapimí y compañeros, y otras que no distingue con repetidos hurtos de caballadas y otras cosas. Y responde.

8a. Preguntádole por qué roban y matan tantos y hacen cautivos a los pequeños y matan los que no lo son, pudiéndoselos llevar o dejarlos con las vidas, dijo que a los que cogen pequeños se los llevan consigo para criarlos e industriarlos a su modo, y que a los grandes, por considerar no poder hacer con ellos lo mismo y ser sus enemigos, los matan. Y responde.

9a. Preguntada por qué cometen estas crueldades cuando por el rey nuestro señor, por medio de su gobernador de este reino, se les solicita la paz para que vivan en las tierras y aguas que les señalaría, y con ministro que los eduque en los misterios de nuestra santa fe católica para la salvación de sus almas, cuyo fin y no otro es el que tiene su majestad, como habrán reconocido no sólo del buen trato que han recibido en las ocasiones que han dado la paz y faltado a ello, sino ahora en medio de ser prisioneros, dijo que no sabe por qué son tan crueles ni responder a lo demás que dicha pregunta contiene. Y responde.

10a. Preguntádole si hay muchos cristianos en las dichas naciones, a que responde que conoce a muchos en las referidas naciones que son cristianos, y que los ha visto en diferentes ocasiones, y que no saben qué número son, ni lo demás que contiene esta pregunta. Y responde.

11a. Preguntádole en qué tierras habitan y de qué se mantienen, a que responde que su más continua habitación es en la Sierra Mojada y en Conula y que se mantienen con las caballadas que hurtan; que los chisos y [zizinbles] zizimbres habitan en las Encinillas y Agua de Mayo y que estos cazan venados y otros animales para mantenerse, sin embargo de que también hacen robos y muertes en compañía de los acoclames y cocoyomes. Y responde.

12a. Preguntádole a dicha declarante quién la trajo a este real, a dónde la cogieron, por qué y qué hace aquí, a todo responde que lo que sabe, es que está en este real porque la cogieron de albazo los soldados y la trajeron prisionera como se halla. Y responde.

13a. Preguntádole que si aunque es prisionera se le da buen trato, mira y atiende en todo lo que necesita, así a ella como a todos los demás sus compañeros. Dijo que ella y todos están bien alimentados, que no padecen necesidad

ninguna. Y preguntádole por qué en esta misma conformidad no tratan ellos a los españoles y no que les quitan la vida con tanto rigor, y responde que lo que ha oído decir, porque son sus enemigos.

Fuéronle hechas otras preguntas y repreguntas, y a todas dice ser lo mismo que tiene dicho y declarado, lo cual dijo ser la verdad, y no se le recibió juramento por incapaz. Declaró no ser cristiana, ni está instruida en nuestra santa fe católica. No pudo dar razón de su edad y al parecer será de veinte años, poco más o menos. Y por conclusa la declaración de la dicha, mandó su señoría se le entregase al cabo para que la tuviera en custodia. Así lo proveyó, mandó y firmó. No lo hizo dicho intérprete, porque dijo no saber, de que yo, el presente secretario, doy fe.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Ante mí,

José Antonio de Villar, secretario de gobernación y guerra

Incontinente dicho señor gobernador para la dicha averiguación, hizo comparecer ante sí, a una india de las referidas cautivas, a la cual no se le recibió juramento por no ser capaz y ser gentil. Y presente dicho intérprete y mediante él, se le fue cogiendo su declaración en la manera siguiente:

1a. A la primera pregunta, respondió la referida no tener nombre cristiano porque no lo es, sí que es cocoyome de nación. Y responde.

2a. A la segunda pregunta, responde la declarante que lo que entiende y sabe de ella es que estuvo en tres ocasiones con los de su nación que vinieron a dar la paz a este dicho a los señores gobernadores. Y preguntádole qué motivos tuvieron para habiendo dado la paz los de sus naciones, por qué la quebrantaron y se volvieron a las sierras, dijo que lo que lo sabe, por lo que ha oído decir a los que gobiernan su ranchería, que en la una ocasión se fueron porque les había empezado a dar la enfermedad de sarampión y viruelas, que las demás ocasiones no sabe por qué. Y responde.

3a. A la tercera pregunta, dijo la declarante responde con la pregunta antecedente. Y responde.

4a. A la cuarta pregunta le fue preguntado a dicha declarante, y dijo que la persona que gobierna su ranchería de cocoyomes es un indio llamádose El Capitán, el cual heredó de su padre dicho oficio. Y responde.

5a. A la quinta pregunta, dijo dicha declarante que las naciones que están unidas con la suya cocoyome son las de acoclames, chisos y zizimbres, y que no ha visto ni sabe en ninguna manera qué indios otros de las naciones reducidas porten a sus habitaciones ni tengan comunicación particular ni general. Y responde.

6a. A la sexta pregunta, dijo la declarante que lo que sabe es que tienen por costumbre cada año por tiempo de seca el juntarse dichas cuatro naciones para hacer tlatoles y tratar de sus disposiciones, y que luego se desparraman. Y que sabe que se vienen a juntar a los parajes que les parece a propósito para hacer los daños y hostilidades que acostumbran, y que así que los hacen se vuelvan a sus rancherías. Y responde.

7a. A la séptima pregunta, dijo la dicha declarante que lo que sabe es que

desde que tiene uso de razón, han tenido siempre por costumbre inviolable los de su nación y los de las otras referidas el estar haciendo muertes y robos, porque no tienen otra ocupación ni modo de poderse alimentar en donde habitan sino es por este medio. Y que han sido tan continuos los insultos, que no puede atraerlos a la memoria para expresarlos todos. Que sólo se acuerda ahora de poco tiempo a esta parte mataron y robaron, en Agua Nueva al capitán de Mapimí y otros sus compañeros, en el puesto que se llama la Guitarrilla a unos pastores, y en otra ocasión antecedente, en dicho puesto de Agua Nueva, mataron once soldados presidiarios de Cerro Gordo. Y responde.

8a. A la octava pregunta, le fue preguntado a la declarante que si en dichas muertes y robos se juntaron para hacerlas todas las dichas naciones, a que responde que lo que sabe es porque lo oyó decir comúnmente en su ranchería, que las dos funciones que hicieron en Agua Nueva se juntaron todos, pero que en la de la Guitarrilla no sabe quiénes fueron ni cuántos. Y repreguntádole cómo haciendo tantas muertes al año en tan repetidas ocasiones dice se hacen por todas las cuatro naciones que están aliadas, cuando tiene dicho que sólo una vez al año se juntan. Dijo que ya tiene respondido con la antecedente. Y responde.

9a. A la novena pregunta, dijo esta declarante que lo que sabe es que el motivo que tienen para matar a los españoles es porque los tienen por enemigos, y que no matan a los chiquitos y se los llevan porque quieren criarlos para que los ayuden y se enseñen a su usanza, y que no sabe más de lo que dicha pregunta contiene. Y responde.

10a. A la décima pregunta, dijo esta declarante que lo que sabe es porque los conoce que en todas las cuatro naciones hay muchos cristianos, y es que el número de que se componen estas cuatro naciones es crecido. Y responde.

11a. A la undécima pregunta, dijo esta declarante que lo que sabe es que los cocoyomes y acoclames habitan sus rancherías en las dos sierras Conula y la Mojada y que los de las otras naciones en las Encinillas y Agua de Mayo. Que los referidos se mantienen algunas veces cazando venados y otras a las más, acompañando a los de su nación y acoclames en los robos que hacen, sin tener otra cosa de que vivir. Y responde.

12a. A la duodécima pregunta, dijo esta declarante que lo que sabe es que es traída a este real por los soldados, que la cogieron con otras en el paraje que llaman las Salinas, y que se halla cautiva por ser de la nación enemiga. Y responde.

13a. A la décima tercia pregunta, dijo esta declarante que así a ella, como a todas las demás que están prisioneras, se hallan asistidas sobradamente de alimentos y lo necesario, con buen trato. Y responde a la repregunta, que no dan ellos buen trato como dan los españoles porque ellos no tienen tan buen corazón. Y responde.

Y habiéndole hecho otras preguntas y repreguntas se remite a lo dicho, que habiéndosele referido todo por dicho intérprete, en ello se afirmó y ratificó. No supo decir su edad, al parecer tendrá treinta años. Y lo firmó su señoría. Dicho intérprete dijo no saber. Entregóse dicha prisionera al cabo de guardia, de que yo, el presente secretario doy fe.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz.

Ante mi,

José Antonio de Villar, secretario de gobernador y guerra

Incontinente dicho día, dicho señor gobernador para la dicha averiguación, hizo comparecer ante sí, su señoría, a otra india de las referidas prisioneras, a la cual no se le recibió juramento, sin embargo de decir ser cristiana por no ser instruida en nuestra santa ley. Y presente dicho intérprete, se le fue cogida su declaración en la manera siguiente:

1a. A la primera pregunta, dijo llamarse María, que es cristiana, como lleva dicho, de nación Cocoyome. Y preguntádole dónde fue bautizada, dijo la bautizaron en este real ha pocos días, a causa de haberse visto enferma en peligro grave, y que no conoce de nombre al padre que le echó el agua. Y responde.

2a. A la segunda pregunta, dijo esta declarante que se acuerda en una ocasión que vino su nación a dar la paz al presidio del Pasaje, vino la declarante. Y preguntádosele cómo habiendo dado la paz que dice, faltaron a ella y se levantaron. A que responde que lo que se acuerda, es que entre ellos se movió una voz que fue común, en que ellos se decían unos a otros que los engañaban con la paz y que por eso se volvieron donde estaban antes. Y responde.

3a. A la tercera pregunta, dijo dicha declarante que lo que se acuerda habrán sido tres veces las que han venido a dar la paz a los señores gobernadores de este reino los de su nación y los acoclames. Y preguntádole por qué motivos han faltado a ella, responde que no sabe los motivos que para ello han tenido.

4a. A la cuarta pregunta, dijo la declarante que lo que sabe es que a los de su nación cocoyome y acoclames los gobiernan un indio cocoyome, llamado el Capitán, el cual heredó de su padre dicho oficio. Y responde.

5a. A la quinta pregunta, dijo la declarante que las naciones con que se comunica la suya son acoclames, zizimbres y chisos. Y preguntádosele si sabe o tiene noticia que de estas naciones sujetas y reducidas que están en pueblo, algunos de ellos van a las rancherías de los rebeldes o los comunican en algún modo. A que responde que nunca ha visto, ni ha llegado a saber, que los indios que viven con los españoles hayan ido a las tierras donde ellos habitan a hacer parlas ni otras cosas de grata comunicación, porque los tienen por enemigos. Y responde.

6a. A la sexta pregunta, dijo la declarante que lo que sabe es que cada año tienen las cuatro naciones de costumbre el juntarse a hacer cambalaches, trocándose, los unos a los otros, las cosas que tienen, y que entonces tratan el modo que han de tener en todo lo que les importa, pero que no sabe especialmente qué decir a lo que dicha pregunta contiene. Y responde.

7a. A la séptima pregunta, dijo la declarante que ha tenido cuidado particular para decir con certeza el número de robos y muertes que han hecho los de su nación, pero por lo que les ha oído decir a ellos mismos, ha sido mucho número, que a sí [para sí] se acuerda que había poco tiempo a esta parte mataron y robaron a once soldados del Cerro Gordo, y después al capitán de Mapimí y sus compañeros en el paraje de Agua Nueva, y que también sabe que hacia Cerro Gordo mataron a unos pastores, y otros que no distingue. Y responde.

8a. A la octava pregunta, dijo esta declarante que para hacer las referidas muertes se citan allá en sus tierras y se vienen a éstas a juntarse y a ejecutarlas. Y a la repregunta dijo no sabe qué responder. Y responde.

9a. A la novena pregunta, dijo esta declarante que lo que sabe es que el matar a los cristianos de edad mayor y llevarse a los chicos a sus rancherías es porque los tienen por enemigos, y que a los niños que llevan para criarlos a su usanza y

utilidad. Y que en lo demás que dicha pregunta contiene no se le ofrece qué decir. Y responde.

10a. A la décima pregunta, dijo la declarante que sabe porque los conoce haber muchos cristianos en las cuatro naciones coligadas, pero que no sabe decir el número de ellos, así de los cristianos como de los que no lo son. Y responde.

11a. A la undécima pregunta dijo la declarante que los de su nación y la Acoclame siempre andan juntos en la sierra Mojada y la de Conula y que las demás naciones en las Encinillas y Agua de Mayo, y que el modo de alimentarse y mantenerse unos y otros es con los robos y hurtos que hacen sin otra aplicación a trabajo ni diligencia suya. Y responde.

12a. A la duodécima pregunta, dijo esta declarante que es traída a este real por los soldados que la cautivaron con otras de su nación en el paraje que llaman las Salinas, y que se halla cautiva por ser de la nación Cocoyome. Y responde.

13a. A la décima tercia y última pregunta, dijo esta declarante que ella con las demás sus compañeras se hallan bien abastecidas de alimentos sin pasar necesidad ninguna. Y preguntádole que por qué los de su nación usan y tratan tan mal a los cristianos españoles, que los matan y los hacen tantos agravios, a que responde que no lo sabe.

Fuéronle hechas otras preguntas y repreguntas, a todas responde lo mismo que lleva referido. Y habiéndosele referido la dicha declaración por voz de dicho intérprete, en todo se afirmó y ratificó. No supo decir su edad, al parecer será de veinticinco años. Se le entregó al cabo de guardia por mandado de su señoría, quien lo firmó. Y no lo hizo dicho intérprete por no saber, de que yo, el presente secretario doy fe.

Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz

Ante mí,

José Antonio de Villar, secretario de gobernación y guerra

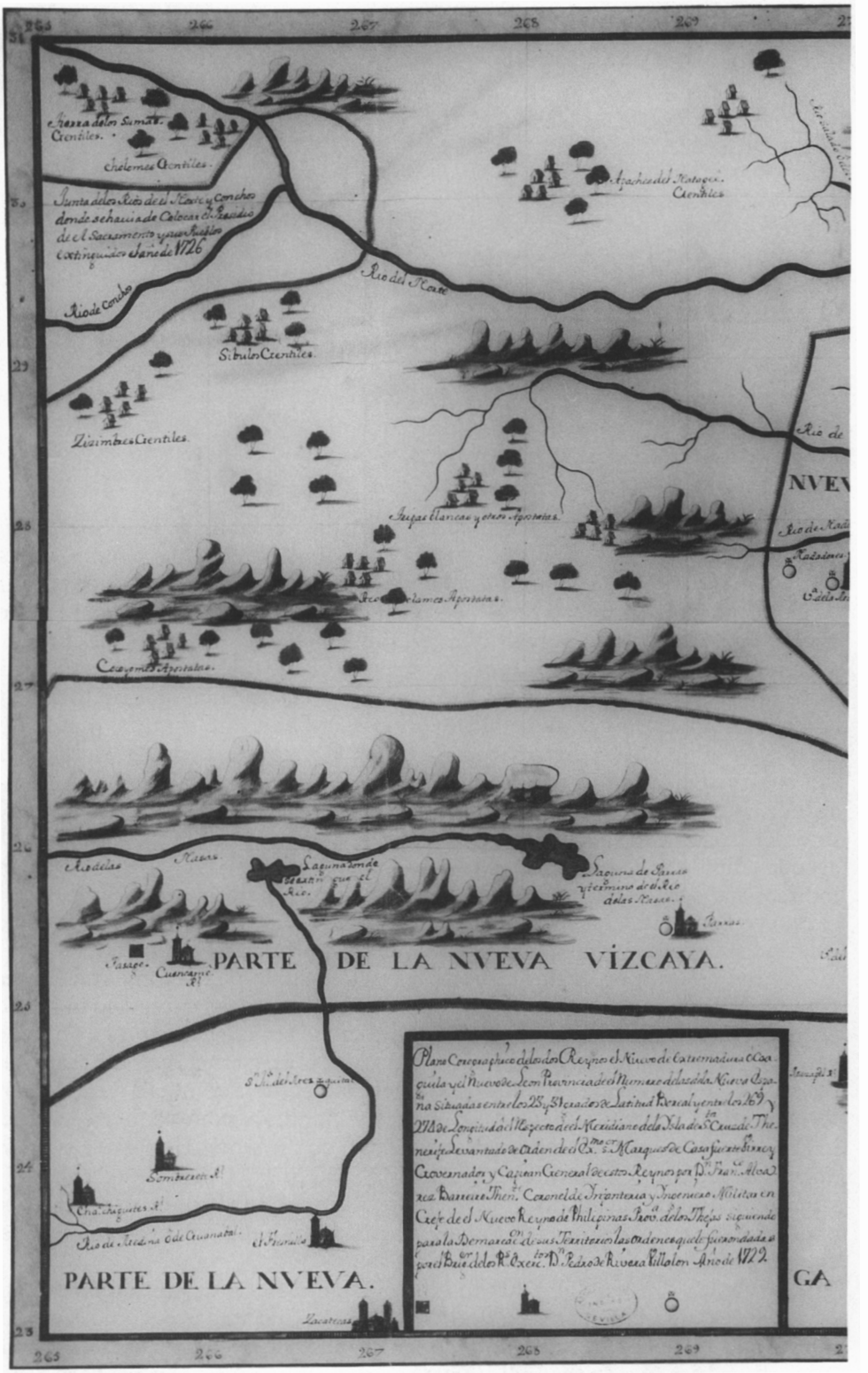
II

Ladrón de Guevara's Report Concerning the Kingdom of Nuevo León (1739)

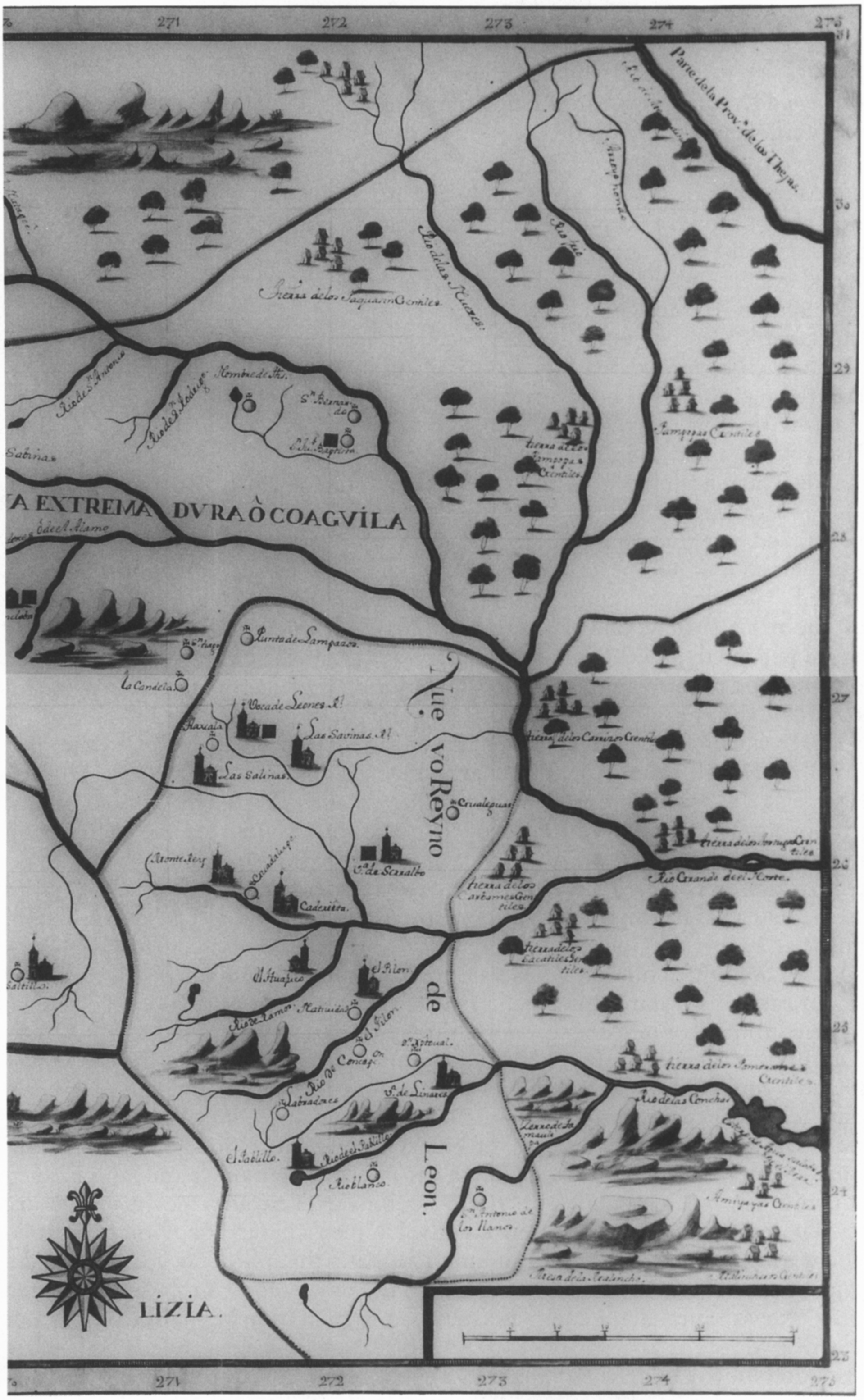
In 1739, Antonio Ladrón de Guevara hastily published his brief *Noticias de los poblados y tratos de que se componen el Nuevo Reino de León, provincia de Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura y Texas, Nuevas Philipinas.* The book, which has become one of the rarest Mexican historical works, appeared in two very similar editions, both published in the same year. Although it can be assumed from the typographical similarity that both editions were printed in Mexico City by the same printer, the fact that neither edition contains the location or name of the printer may indicate that the material was intended not for public distribution, but for a private audience. As we know from the book's dedication to the president of the Council of the Indies and from the author's subsequent career, the author's intent was to influence the royal court in order to achieve specific political results. Ladrón de Guevara's not-so-hidden agenda colors the tone of his writing and explains why his writing style is more indirect and opaque than other reports written during this period. His description of Nuevo León contains invaluable ethnographic information and presents a concise and stringent criticism of imperial policy on the northern frontier.

A brief description of the author's energetic career in governmental service in New Spain will explain many of the opinions and attitudes expressed in his book. Born in 1705 in Castile, Ladrón de Guevara moved to New Spain as a young man and was living in the city of Mexico in 1727. Shortly after that, he relocated to Nuevo León, where he remained for the rest of his life, serving in numerous mid-level political and military positions. In 1727, he was appointed *juez eclesiástico,* in the absence of any other person qualified to do the work. He served as *procurador del ayuntamiento* in Monterrey in 1733, and in 1735 was named *capitán procurador* and teniente alcalde mayor in the Valle de Huajuco. In 1737, the bishop of Guadalajara, Juan Gómez de Parada, named him to the position of *notario episcopal y público.*

During his first twelve years in Nuevo León, Ladrón de Guevara made many trips to the Gulf of Mexico—exploring the region that was to become Nuevo Santander and later the state of Tamaulipas—where he became a sort of unofficial Spanish ambassador to the indigenous peoples. By 1739, he was ready to offer his services to the crown for the formal exploration and colonization of the area.



Map of the province of Coahuila and Nuevo León by Francisco Alvarez Barriero, 1729. (Archivo General de Indias, M&P, México 124)



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Parte dela Prov.a delos Thejas
A EXTREMA DURA Ò COAGUILA
Nue vo Reyno de Leon.
LIZIA.
Rio Grande del Norte
Rio delas Conchas
La Candela
Punta de Lampazos
Las Salinas
Las Savinas
Cadereita
Cerralvo
Rio Blanco
S.n Antonio de los llanos
Saltillo

Knowing that other individuals, namely, José Antonio Fernández de Jáuregui Urrutia and Don Narciso Barquín de Montecuesta, had made similar proposals to the captain general, Ladrón de Guevara undertook a trip to Spain to present his colonization plan to the Council of the Indies. Prior to his departure, he had his brief description of Nuevo León published for distribution to royal officials in Spain. The purpose of its publication explains the pointed inclusion of issues he considered to be of concern to the Spanish crown, specifically corruption in the presidial system and the deplorable relations between native peoples and colonial government and church officials.

In Spain, Ladrón de Guevara succeeded in obtaining 500 pesos for his return trip and a *real cédula,* dated July 10, 1739, authorizing him to lead the colonization of the region. When he returned to Mexico City, he took several Indian companions with him to make his formal request to head the expedition and be named governor and captain general of the new colony, with the right to distribute lands. During this visit he advised Viceroy Pedro de Castro Figueroa that economic assistance to the now self-sufficient missions of Nuevo León should be discontinued and that the presidio at San Pedro Boca de Leones should be suppressed, since it would become unnecessary after the new province had been established. The viceregal court not only denied his petitions, but moreover canceled the titles that he had given to his Indian *cacique* companions. Ladrón de Guevara persisted, however, and on January 13, 1743, the court in Spain issued a reconfirmation of the original real cédula, ordering the viceroy to reinstate the Indian titles and to refrain from interfering in the pacification of the Indians.

While waiting for his appointment from the viceroy, Ladrón de Guevara had returned to Nuevo León, where he married Doña Luisa Guerra in 1741. The following year, he was appointed *sargento mayor, alcalde mayor,* and *capitán a guerra* for the Valle de San Antonio de los Llanos. In 1744, he led the pacification of an Indian rebellion in Punta de Lampazos. In 1748, the viceregal court again rejected Ladrón de Guevara as leader of the expedition to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Instead, Viceroy Revillagigedo granted the position to José de Escandón, noting that Ladrón de Guevara was unsuitable because he was considered to be a person of "doubtful honesty, whose scandals among the Indians of that frontier were notorious." Despite this harsh criticism, the governor of Nuevo León gave him the command of one of Escandón's three expeditionary forces.

Ladrón de Guevara's troop left Linares in January 1749, with fifty-three soldiers and a squad from the presidio of Boca de Leones. Led by five Indian guides, the soldiers escorted sixty families of colonists, who on February 17 of that year founded the villa of Cinco Señores, or Nuevo Santander. During the expedition, Ladrón de Guevara explored the region of the Bahía de Santander and later formed a compañía volante, a "mobile" or "flying" company of cavalry, for the protection of settlements and roads in the new colony. He took charge of colonial administration during Escandón's absence in June 1749, and the following year escorted a caravan of additional settlers from Linares to the new colony. In 1752, after three years in Nuevo Santander, Ladrón de Guevara resigned from his public offices and returned to Monterrey.

Back in Nuevo León, he commanded a squadron assigned to combat Indian attacks between the Río Blanco and Saltillo, Nueva Vizcaya. In 1756, he was appointed *juez subdelegado* for Nuevo León and Coahuila, a position that he used

to organize a *ramo de propiedades* and to correct some of the existing corruption. In 1758, Viceroy Marqués de Amarillas ordered him to head a detachment to patrol the dangerous area between La Rinconada, Cuesta de los Muertos, and Pesquería Grande. By the time the viceroy disbanded the troop in 1761, Ladrón de Guevara's health had begun to fail. Two years later he was accused of usurping lands and cattle and failing to pay his debts. He traveled to Spain in 1763, where he obtained an appointment as *comandante del corregimiento de Santiago de los Valles.* Accompanied by his son, he returned to Nuevo León the following year to take over his new position. In 1765, an order for his arrest on the 1763 charges was issued. Out of consideration for his service to the crown and his ill health, however, the arrest was never made. Ladrón de Guevara died two years later.[1]

Reports concerning the settlements and agreements that constitute the Kingdom of Nuevo León, the Province of Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura, and the Province of Texas, Nuevas Filipinas, and the cause of their small or complete absence of growth.

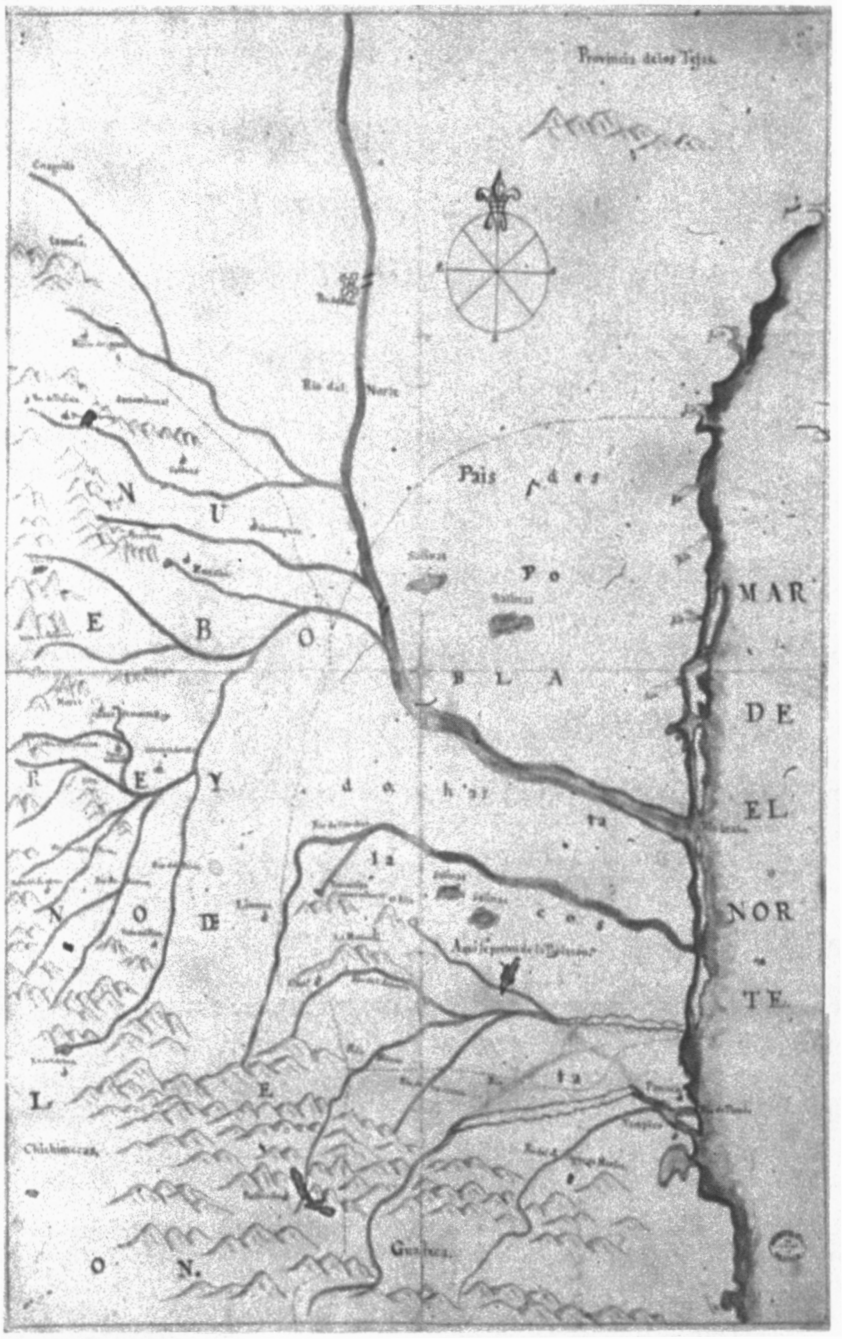
Dedicated to:
His Excellency, the Count of Montijo,[2]
Knight of the Distinguished Order of Toysón, Master of the Horse to Our Lady the Queen (may God protect her), and President of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies.

By:
Don Antonio Ladrón de Guevara,
resident of the Kingdom of Nuevo León, as one familiar with everything contained in this succinct paper. In the year 1739.

Your Excellency:
Sir, [this report] was reserved solely for your excellency's benefit, for during your capable administration an entirely new plan, such as the one presented herein, will have to be put into effect—one that will so improve the infidels that, although they are not professed Catholics, they are not left without the hope of salvation. Moreover, it will come to pass that while your excellency

1. More biographical details concerning Ladrón de Guevara's life can be found in the introduction to the edition of *Noticias de los poblados de que se componen el Nuevo Reino de León*, edited by Andrés Montemayor Hernández.

2. This report is directed to Cristóbal Gregorio Portocarrero de Guzmán Luna, Conde de Montijo, who served as president of the Council of the Indies from June 18, 1737 until January 27, 1748. Portocarrero held the additional titles of Conde de Fuentidueña, Marqués de la Algaba, Marqués de Valderrábano, and Marqués de Osera. He was a knight of the orders of the Golden Fleece, San Genaro, San Miguel, and Sancti Spiritus, and a gentleman of the royal chamber.



The coast of Mexico from Tampico to the province of Texas, 1739. (Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 524)

is governing America the crown will gain a province that is so profitable no other will surpass it. Its establishment will be of so little cost that the most it will require is your excellency's sponsorship and influence, along with the experience, selflessness, and inclination of he who, with the utmost sincerity, dedicates the information in this report to your excellency.

Everything that has been made manifest [to the author] in the various entradas he has made, at grave danger to his life and property, is recorded in the testimony of this document. He has penetrated into the most remote settlements occupied by the gentile Indians so that, informed of what takes place in those regions, your excellency might understand the extent to which his majesty's vassals suffer, the circumstances responsible for the limited or negligible development of what has already been conquered, and the increases in his majesty's expenses that are borne by the royal treasury. His majesty's pious intentions have not been realized, despite the careful attention and disinterest to profit shown by the high ministers whose duty it is to make decisions in these affairs, because there has been no one with the necessary selflessness, application, and constancy to present what will be said in the following [report].

LOCATION OF THE CITY OF MONTERREY, AND ITS NOTABLE FEATURES

The city of Monterrey,[3] capital of the realm of Nuevo León, was founded during the time that the Conde de Monte Rey governed New Spain and took its name for that reason. Various nations of barbarous Indians inhabited the territory, but with the settlement of the Spaniards they were reduced and brought under control.

The notable features of this city include a governor who directs political and military matters, two justices, three councilmen, a notary, and a municipal attorney. [There is] one ecclesiastical judge and two parishes—one for the Spaniards, administered by secular clergy, and the other for native Indians, administered by a member of the Franciscan order. Nuevo León recognizes the most excellent viceroy and the Real Audiencia of Mexico in political and military matters, and the bishopric of Guadalajara in ecclesiastical affairs. Monterrey is 216 leagues from Mexico City, with the city and mining camp of San Luis Potosí[4] halfway between the two; the distance between Monterrey and Guadalajara is 190 leagues. Within the boundaries and jurisdiction of Nuevo León, scattered in all four directions, the following settlements are found. In each one, the governor appoints an alcalde mayor, with the additional [title] of *capitán a guerra.*

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3. The city of Monterrey was named for Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Conde de Monte Rey, who served as viceroy from 1595 to 1603. The site of Monterrey was occupied by Spaniards from 1581 until 1586, under Luis de Carvajal. It was reoccupied by Diego de Montemayor in 1596. During the years that Martín de Zavala served as governor of Nuevo León (1626–1664) the colony expanded. In its early years, the slave trade was one of the major economic enterprises of the area.

4. San Luis Potosí, capital of the state of that name, is approximately 534 kilometers south of Monterrey, Nuevo León. Founded as a real de minas in 1592, the mining camp officially became a ciudad in 1656.

THE VALLEY OF SANTA CATALINA

Located three leagues west of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products.

First, to the west of the city of Monterrey and three leagues distant is found the valley of Santa Catalina,[5] governed by an alcalde mayor. In spiritual matters, the settlers recognize the two parishes of Monterrey. This jurisdiction has abundant grain and many goats, but little other livestock.

THE VALLEY OF PESQUERÍA GRANDE

Located eight leagues west of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products; the cause of Indian raids in that region.

The valley of Pesquería Grande[6] is eight leagues from the city of Monterrey and eight leagues from the preceding valley [Santa Catalina]. It has an alcalde mayor, and in spiritual matters the inhabitants recognize the parishes of [Monterrey]. It abounds in grains and goats, and has moderate amounts of other livestock. There are some silver mines within its boundaries, with abundant lead and alloys. All traffic that comes and goes between the kingdom of Nuevo León and Mexico City, or the provinces of Nueva Galicia, Vizcaya, Nuevo Toledo, Sonora, Ostimuri, New Mexico, and other provinces to the west and south of Nuevo León passes through this jurisdiction and through that of Santa Catalina.

The town of Santiago del Saltillo[7] lies to the west of the city of Monterrey at a distance of twenty-one leagues. All who travel from the aforementioned provinces to the realm of Nuevo León must pass through it. The three provinces of Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura, and Texas or Nuevas Filipinas are located in the same direction from the city of Mexico, at different distances along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Midway in the twenty-one leagues between the town of Saltillo and the city of Monterrey it is necessary to travel through a narrow canyon pass for a stretch of two or three leagues at the place called La Rinconada y Cuesta de los Muertos.[8]

This site is sixty to eighty leagues from the homeland of the Toboso and Ga-

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5. Approximately twenty-one kilometers west of Monterrey, the Valle de Santa Catalina remained a subdistrict of that city until sometime after 1718, when it became an alcaldía mayor. It is now known as the municipio of Santa Catarina.

6. Approximately forty-two kilometers northwest of Monterrey, Pesquería Grande originated as an hacienda, but during the early 1720s it was designated a *valle*. It is now known as the municipio of García.

7. The villa of Saltillo was founded in 1577, and is approximately eighty kilometers east of Monterrey. Jurisdiction over its surrounding area, which was settled by Spaniards during the 1570s, was disputed by Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Nueva Vizcaya until 1785, when Saltillo was formally transferred from Nueva Vizcaya to Coahuila. The area was homeland to the Guachichiles, the Borrados, and other groups of Chichimec and Coahuiltecan peoples.

8. The present road from Monterrey to Saltillo passes through Cumbres de Monte and Cañón de la Huasteca, approximately twenty kilometers west of the city of Monterrey. A village now called La Rinconada is located farther away on the border of the state of Coahuila, approximately forty kilometers northwest of Monterrey. Cañón de la Huasteca, known for

vilán Indian nations,[9] who reside in the uninhabited area between the provinces of Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya. Indians from these nations travel a great distance to this place, repeatedly robbing and murdering travelers and cattle herders the entire way. Moreover, these Indians invade the western portion of Nuevo León, the entire frontier of Coahuila, and a large section of Nueva Vizcaya simultaneously. In order to carry out their depredations in these separate provinces at the same time, the Indians divide themselves into bands of ten or twelve and take advantage of favorable conditions. For example, they take action during the longest periods of moonlight, moving by its brightness at night after having traveled all day. They do this after committing the robberies and murders to which their barbarism inclines them. Their method is to attack travelers in narrow passes and unoccupied places, terrorizing their victims with loud yells and many gestures and grimaces. They ride fresh mounts, selected from among the travelers' grazing horses. Riding the horses with neither saddle nor bridle, they control them with a cord tied around the lower jaw and manage them with great skill in this manner. The weapons they use are bows, arrows, lances made from tree branches, and swords they have stolen, which they wield from horseback and on foot with remarkable ease, distinguishing themselves among all the nations of Nuevo León by their audacity and daring, as well as their weaponry. The bows and arrows used by the Tobosos are very small in comparison to those used by the other nations of León, whose bows are equal in length to the height of the Indians. Thus, one could say that the Tobosos have the swiftness of the dragoons, while the other nations are like the infantry, in that they are useless on horseback and cannot handle their long bows skillfully unless they are on foot.

In general, the clothing used by all these barbarians is just a piece of cloth or cured deerskin that they place between their legs to cover their private parts. The women wear two pieces of chamois—one from the waist to mid-leg, and the other over the breasts. They adorn themselves with paint, which indicates that even among these savages the women are inclined to tidiness and embellishments.

Experience with the Tobosos finds them so self-assured because they are not punished to a degree commensurate with their offenses. They do not hesitate to attack groups of twenty or more men, when they themselves are only ten or twelve. It can be asserted that such audacity stems from seeing that, even when their atrocities are great and they later encounter the people who are supposed to control and castigate them, nothing is done. Out of extreme ignorance and carelessness [the Spaniards] believe that as soon as the aggressors ask for peace, it should be granted. Without stopping to consider that [the Tobosos] do not request

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its natural arches and coniferous vegetation, was evidently the dangerous portion of the road between the two cities during the eighteenth century.

9. During the early seventeenth century the nomadic Tobosos, members of the Taracahitan language group, lived in the Bolsón de Mapimí. As a specific band, the Tobosos had been eliminated by 1653. The "Toboso" name, however, continued to be used in a generic sense during the eighteenth century, and a group known as Tobosos inhabited the area around Conchos and the Valle de San Bartolomé at the time Ladrón de Guevara made his report. The Gavilanes were closely associated with the Tobosos, occasionally being identified as "Toboso" Ocomes. In 1691, they were almost exterminated by Spanish forces.

peace in order to live quietly, but rather to free themselves from any immediate danger, [the Spaniards] grant it to them, even though the bodies of those murdered by these Indians may be present or nearby. With such gross misunderstanding it is impossible to conquer these wicked ones. What actually happens when this peace is granted to them is that they are left in the same locations with their customary arms. The conditions of the so-called peace are reduced to nothing more than this. Furthermore, [the Spaniards] fail to consider yet another matter, which is the great pride of [the Indians], who believe that they have been granted peace out of fear rather than charity. Thus, for the Spaniards to leave [the Indians] alone means continuing the great atrocities. In order to achieve true peace, the enemy nations should be required to surrender their weapons and subject themselves to the orders of the conqueror, which would obviate the prejudices and wariness normally accorded to those conquered.

Therefore, the Toboso nation should be pursued and punished like wicked highway robbers, which is the only name they can be given in view of their malevolent dispositions and customs. The majority of them, or perhaps all of them, are apostates. They understand the Spanish language, since many of them were brought up in the homes of Spaniards or were raised in the pueblos established for them in Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya; thus, they cannot plead ignorance. According to the observations of those most familiar with the territory, this nation has between ninety and one hundred men, while the Gavilanes are more numerous. These two groups also distinguish themselves from all others by painting a blue line from the middle of their forehead to the middle of the tip of the nose.

THE VALLEY OF LAS SALINAS

Located nine leagues northwest of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products.

The valley of Las Salinas[10] takes its name from some salt beds that are located within its territory. Nine leagues northwest of the city of Monterrey, it is governed by an alcalde mayor, and its inhabitants recognize the parishes of the city in spiritual matters. This jurisdiction has many goats and moderate amounts of other livestock, but grain is somewhat scarce. It borders on the Pesquería Grande.

THE MINING COMMUNITY OF SAN PEDRO BOCA DE LEONES

Located twenty-two leagues from Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products; profits from the mines sufficient to pay the royal fifth.

The town and mines of San Pedro Boca de Leones[11] are twenty-two leagues northwest of Monterrey. The road to the community passes through the district of Las

10. Las Salinas, approximately thirty-six kilometers north of Monterrey, became an alcaldía mayor in 1646, and is known today as Salinas Victoria. The jurisdiction surrounding the town included the valley of El Carrizal and numerous haciendas.

11. San Pedro Boca de Leones, now known as Villaldama, Nuevo León, is approximately eighty-eight kilometers northwest of Monterrey. It was founded as a mining camp in 1690

Salinas. It is governed by an alcalde mayor and has a squad of eight or nine soldiers under a corporal. Spiritual matters are directed by a priest, who also acts as ecclesiastical judge. The minerals from this mine have been up to legal standard, with an abundance of silver. They are less plentiful now, but large amounts of lead and other alloys are recovered, without which the silver ores cannot be processed, since they must be smelted by fire instead of with mercury. The [ores] are taken from Boca de Leones to other mining towns in Nueva España, such as Zacatecas, Sombrerete, and Guanajuato, which are 20 to 30 leagues distant from each other and an average of 130 leagues from Monterrey. Likewise, the alloys and lead are transported to the mining camp of San Felipe de Chihuahua, which is 422 leagues from Nuevo León. When alloys are not available at these mines, the reduction of silver ore is delayed, compromising commerce and delaying payment of the royal fifth.

A moderate number of goats are raised in the district that surrounds Boca de Leones. Crops of grain are scarce, although a good supply can be found nearby. The western part of Boca de Leones borders the province of Coahuila, and all the northern portion is inhabited by various nations of infidel Indians, who have never caused a problem in this area. After passing through the unpopulated area where these [Indians] live, one arrives at the province of Texas, also known as Nuevas Filipinas.

THE MINING COMMUNITY OF SANTIAGO DE SABINAS

Located twenty-two leagues to the north of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products; the basic reason for the uprising of the Indians.

The town and mines of Santiago de las Sabinas[12] are twenty to twenty-two leagues north of Monterrey and seven from Boca de Leones. The community is governed by an alcalde mayor, and the spiritual needs of its people are ministered to by an assistant to the priest of Boca de Leones. The town of Sabinas has two refineries that purify the silver extracted from the mines at Boca de Leones. This area abounds in grain, cattle, sheep, and sugarcane. Everything north of the area is similar to Boca de Leones. To get to the province of Texas, it is necessary to cross first the Río Grande, which is called "del Norte," and then the Medina River, which separates the provinces.[13] The area between the Medina and Río Grande

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by prospectors from Saltillo and received the designation of alcaldía mayor in 1694. The district extended northwest to include the Tlaxcaltecan colony of San Miguel de Aguayo, and until the early eighteenth century it encompassed most of the northern portion of Nuevo León. After 1730, on the recommendation of Pedro de Rivera, the Cadereyta troop was stationed in Boca de Leones.

12. Santiago de las Sabinas, now known as Sabinas Hidalgo, is eighteen kilometers east of Boca de Leones (now Villaldama) on the Sabinas River, a tributary of the Río Grande. Like Boca de Leones, Sabinas was founded by prospectors from Saltillo during the 1690s. After a boundary dispute with Coahuila, both Boca de Leones and Sabinas were placed within Nuevo León.

13. The Medina River passes through Bexar County, Texas. This clear statement that the Medina River was the traditional demarcation of the boundary of the province of

del Norte is flat and grassy, and even though these rivers carry large amounts of water, there are fords by which one can cross at certain times.

Likewise, the Indian nations have lived on the haciendas of the Sabinas area since the earliest times and continue to live there, gathering together in the manner of *congregas.*[14] They are the only nations that have remained quiet and peaceful, for they still live in the ancient manner in which all [the Indians] formerly lived throughout the rest of Nuevo León. With the exception of these, all the other nations have been affected by changes. The Indians were removed from their [traditional] form of government and placed in pueblos established for them outside their native areas, while the rightful owners of the lands where the [new pueblos] were established were dispossessed and thrown out. The purpose of the new pueblos has not been achieved, the only result having been an uprising of all the resettled nations and their subsequent apostasy. [These Indians] were motivated by actual need in many cases, and by their natural malevolence in others, along with the wantonness and laziness that they so enjoy. In view of the large number of nations, it is difficult to determine which ones have been the aggressors. Because of these problems, it has been and will continue to be inadvisable to allow these nations so much liberty in their lives and customs. That can only be done to some degree with their descendants, who with the passage of time will have forgotten the customs and traditions of their ancestors. It will not be possible to maintain peace on these frontiers and to keep the Indians who reside there reduced by any other means.

This unfortunate situation is the result of having relocated [the Indians] to the aforementioned pueblos. Experience makes it quite clear that in order to maintain the peaceful state of these frontiers and the reduction of the barbarous nations, the Indians should be congregated again, much as they were before, on haciendas established by the new settlers, who will instruct them in religious and civic affairs with the gentleness and manner that is required. [The Indians] will also have the security of food and clothing, which they presently lack because they are incapable of earning salaries or other types of income. All this would be easy to accomplish, in view of the small numbers in each nation and the docility with which they submit to being governed.

Speaking in general of these Indians [of the Sabinas district] and the area in which they live, they appear to be very confrontational and divided among themselves. The members of each nation display considerable hostility in defending their territory, where they live off the animals and fruits of the land. Since they are so divided and without any assurance of the daily nourishment they need,

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Texas contradicts the claim made by U.S. president James Polk during the Mexican-American War.

14. The term *congrega* was commonly used to describe a new type of *encomienda* particular to Nuevo León during the eighteenth century. Congregas replaced the encomienda system after abuse of that institution in Nuevo León led to its abolition. In an alternative version of the *Noticias de los poblados,* Ladrón de Guevara maintained that Martín de Zavala, whom he considered the first governor of Nuevo León, initiated the congrega system after he took office in 1626. Congregas became as notorious as the preceding encomienda system for their abuse of Indian labor.

[providing their sustenance] is all that is required to achieve their reduction to whatever form of government is initially imposed on them. To assist with this, each of these frontier nations should be limited to no more than fifty, with approximately thirty being the norm, while the more remote [nations] might reach one hundred. In spite of their mutual hostility, with their numbers so reduced, their spirits dulled, and none of the intrigues of war, there would be little difficulty in subjugating them and settling them in those [vacant] areas. In order to bring about the circumstances proposed for this matter, all that is required is experience with the life and customs of these infidels. Without such familiarity, new situations that arise cannot be understood, because nothing else explains them easily. For this, great selflessness and devotion to whatever promotes the public welfare are also needed, along with a stratagem that readily comprehends the actions and inclinations of those infidels. Without these, the [desired] conditions may be difficult to attain, because decisions rendered in the future will result in confusion and fear.

THE TOWN AND PRESIDIO OF SAN GREGORIO DE CERRALVO

Located twenty-three leagues north of Monterrey; its products; the nations on its borders.

The town and presidio of San Gregorio de Cerralvo[15] are twenty-three leagues north of Monterrey. They are governed by an alcalde mayor, who usually serves as captain of a squad of eleven or twelve soldiers stationed there at his majesty's expense. [The inhabitants'] spiritual life is under the direction of a priest from the Order of Our Father Saint Francis. To the north of this jurisdiction is the Río Grande del Norte, beyond which begins the territory of the [Indian] nations already referred to. These [Indians] impede communication between the kingdom of Nuevo León and the province of Texas, and especially with the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, since it is closest to Cerralvo and everything to its east. Before crossing to the other bank of the Río Grande, one encounters several of the Indian nations we have already discussed, who were removed from their former mode of life on the settlers' haciendas and relocated to the previously described pueblos. As the testimonies of missionaries and other judges record, it is a pity to see the [Indians] without any reluctance to meet the demands of religion [yet] lacking much benefit because there has been no one who has applied himself toward soliciting the means by which they might live rationally, reduced to obedience to his majesty, and in a Christian and civil manner. This is presently being attempted.

The jurisdiction of Cerralvo has large numbers of goats and every type of livestock, although grain is scarce. Several flocks [of sheep], referred to there as *haciendas de ganado de lana*, are pastured in the eastern section because of its fine

15. Silver mines were discovered at San Gregorio de Cerralvo during the late 1500s. The town was founded in 1628, with an alcalde mayor and a capitán a guerra. Its original jurisdiction included Agualeguas (or Gualeguas). The town has retained its name—as Agualeguas—and is located in the present municipio of Cerralvo, approximately eighty kilometers northeast of Monterrey.

water holes, springs, pastures, and salt licks. The flocks are pastured in the midst of the indigenous nations of those frontiers, from which we have experienced the great ease with which the death of one of the shepherds can lead to widespread disquiet throughout the area. The Indian who commits the murder or carnage does so in order to steal a sheep for food. The Spaniards, not knowing who the aggressor is but desirous of obtaining satisfaction through arms, are likely to punish those who are innocent. Thus is begun a continual quarrel with all the nations in the area, anywhere a murder or a robbery has occurred. There are many ways this could be avoided through the prudence and experience of whoever is in command.

THE TOWN OF CADEREYTA

Located nine leagues east of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor and council; its products.

The town of San Juan de Cadereyta[16] is nine leagues east of the city of Monterrey. It is governed by an alcalde mayor and a council. A priest from the Order of Saint Francis is in charge of spiritual matters. The jurisdiction has an abundance of all types of livestock, both large and small; a moderate amount of grain; and some sugarcane. Its eastern portion is inhabited by three or four of the Indian nations who rebelled when placed in the previously described pueblos. They live among the settlements and farms of that jurisdiction because they fear that other nations who are their enemies might cause them an injury in forcing them away from the borders. Another reason, perhaps, is that they are not without the Spaniards' protection, which is no novelty for them, having lived and communicated [with the Spaniards]. Even now, after the rebellion of these nations, with all contact and communication constrained for some time, some respect and a sort of affection will have remained instilled in them—although idleness is dragging them back to their [former] customs and wanton habits.

THE VALLEY OF SANTIAGO DEL GUAJUCO

Located eight leagues south of Monterrey; its products; with an alcalde mayor.

The valley of Santiago del Guajuco[17] is located eight leagues south of Monterrey. It is governed by an alcalde mayor, and its residents recognize the parishes of the city in spiritual matters. [The valley] abounds in vast quantities of grains that supply not only its own residents, but also those in other parts of Nuevo León

16. Founded in 1637, Cadereyta was the *cabecera* (principal town) of a district that originally extended as far as Tampico. The town had a local presidio commanded by the alcalde mayor. Now known as Cadereyta Jiménez, it lies approximately thirty-five kilometers east of Monterrey.

17. Santiago del Guajuco was originally part of Monterrey. It became a separate alcaldía mayor in 1736 and received its own parish during the 1740s. Approximately thirty kilometers south of Monterrey, it is now known as Santiago, Nuevo León.

and in the town of Saltillo when they are in need. Sugarcane is harvested in abundance. Many cattle are raised, but the pasturage and water supply are not suitable for other types of livestock. The valley is located between two mountain ranges but is very pleasant, with many delightful groves of trees.

THE VALLEY OF SAN MATEO DEL PILÓN

Located eighteen leagues southeast of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products; the Indians on its borders.

The valley of San Mateo del Pilón[18] is located some sixteen to eighteen leagues southeast of Monterrey, by way of Cadereyta or the valley of Guajuco. It is governed by an alcalde mayor, and spiritual matters are directed by a priest of Our Father Saint Francis. To the east, this jurisdiction borders the territory of the Indian nations known as Narices. All these tribes are commonly referred to as *pelones,* due to the type of lines on their faces through which they distinguish themselves from other nations that border Cadereyta and Cerralvo.[19] As mentioned previously, these tribes live among the haciendas and the herds pastured there. Grains and sugarcane are very plentiful, as are all kinds of livestock, large and small. This area is made fertile by a permanent river[20] that winds through the haciendas and settlements, from which abundant canals irrigate the fields.

THE TOWN OF SAN FELIPE DE LINARES

Located forty leagues southeast of Monterrey; the nations on its borders; its products; with an alcalde mayor.

The town of San Felipe de Linares[21] was founded during the time of the most excellent Duque de Linares and was named in honor of his governorship. It has an

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18. The valley of San Mateo del Pilón, now known as the municipio of Montemorelos, Nuevo León, lies approximately seventy kilometers southeast of Monterrey. A farming and cattle-raising center since the mid-seventeenth century, it was part of the alcaldía mayor of Cadereyta until 1716. The town had a parish priest beginning in 1701, was returned to Franciscan jurisdiction during the 1730s, and was resecularized in 1761.

19. Indian groups occupying the territory along the Río Grande evidently removed hair from their heads in a variety of patterns, including stripes, which gave rise to the designation *pelones,* or bald persons. Pelones, first described by Alonzo de León, were hunter-small groups of Native Americans, some of which the Spaniards called Narices and Nazas, inhabited the lower Río Grande Valley in the area between present Camargo and Reynosa. Narices, or Nazas, refers to markings on the nose. Although some of these small groups were native to the area of the Río Grande, others had been displaced by the movement of Comanches and Apaches in Texas and were recent arrivals in the area.

20. The Río San Mateo del Pilón crosses the municipalities of Montemorelos and General Terán in Nuevo León and flows into the San Juan River, a tributary of the Río Grande.

21. Linares, approximately 150 kilometers southeast of Monterrey, became a villa in 1711 and a ciudad in 1777. Located in the valley of San Cristóbal, the town was part of the re-

alcalde mayor and is governed in spiritual matters by a Franciscan. It is located forty leagues southeast of Monterrey, beyond the valley of Pilón, through which one must pass to get there. Crops abound, but since the town is so close to most of the Indian nations who rebelled, the settlers raise only a few cattle, with little profit. However, several flocks of wool-bearing sheep graze at its boundaries, because the pastures there are abundant and nourishing. In order to achieve the greatest number [of sheep] and avoid rough terrain and hills, [the shepherds take their flocks] as far as the frontier areas where the indigenous nations normally reside. All the land there is very flat, with more pasturage than in the settled areas toward the east.

When [the Indians] commit some depredation, as described in the section on Cerralvo, they take shelter in the nearest mountains. The range closest to them is that of Tamaulipas,[22] which derive their reputation and name from [the Indians] along with the minerals located there. It is presently believed that the depredations are declining with the [increasing] population of the frontiers and the congregation of each nation on an hacienda. With regard to [placing the Indians on haciendas], the presidial soldiers will now be capable of reducing any [of the nations] by the sword. The settlers, however, with the motive of keeping these Indians and their descendants there in order to use their labor for the cultivation of farmland, will attempt to reduce entire nations for the accompanying benefits, with none of the disadvantages that other irregular measures bring with them. Having no other interest, the settlers most truly desire the pacification and tranquillity of [the Indians]. Conversely, one cannot believe that the governors and military captains desire such reductions, and this is manifest in their actions. Once the Indians are pacified, the presidios will become unnecessary and will be reorganized, and the inflated wages [the soldiers] receive from the royal treasury will be taken away. One should also keep in mind that the conquest of Nuevo León required nothing more than colonists, even though the nations who previously occupied the region were living there at that time, just as the others who exist on the frontiers are found today. As has already been mentioned, for the reduction of those Indians, steps were taken to congregate them and place them under the supervision of the settlers. They remained under that form of government without

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gion claimed by both Cadereyta and Río Blanco during the 1660s. The religious jurisdiction of Linares was also disputed. Secularized in 1712, Linares was returned to the Franciscan order after litigation, but was resecularized during the 1740s. The convent of San Felipe de Linares was established about 1715. The Diocese of Linares was created in 1777, but after the first bishop died the episcopal residence was moved to Monterrey. The town was named for Don Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, Duque de Linares y Marqués de Valdefuente, viceroy of New Spain from January 1711 to August 1716, and still bears his name today.

22. The Sierra de Tamaulipa Nueva, or Tamaulipa Occidental (also known as the Sierra de San Carlos), is located south of the Río Conchos (now known as the Río San Fernando), east of Linares and within the boundaries of Nuevo Santander. These mountains in the present state of Tamaulipas rise to the height of 1,800 meters and are sparsely vegetated.

rebellion; rebellion took place only after the pueblos were established and the Indians placed in them.

THE VALLEY OF SAN ANTONIO DE LOS LLANOS AND THE JURISDICTION OF RÍO BLANCO

Located fifty-seven leagues south of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor; its products; nations on its borders.

The valley of San Antonio de los Llanos[23] and the jurisdiction of the Río Blanco[24] are fifty-seven leagues south of the city of Monterrey, and the Río Blanco is another eighteen beyond them. The two jurisdictions are governed by an alcalde mayor, and each one [is ministered to] by a member of the Order of Our Father Saint Francis. A moderate amount of grain is harvested in both, and in the countryside of the Río Blanco jurisdiction some cattle are raised and several flocks of wool-bearing sheep are pastured. This area is closer to the Huasteca[25] than any other part of Nuevo León. The eastern sections of these two jurisdictions are inhabited by various uncivilized Indian nations, and in the area around San Antonio, large flocks of wool-bearing sheep graze in the midst of the indigenous Indian nations. The jurisdiction of the Río Blanco extends south to the mining community of Nuestra Señora de las Charcas,[26] which is part of Nueva Galicia. Charcas is 130 leagues from Mexico City and is a place where [travelers] from Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Texas regularly stop, although the road that passes through the town of Saltillo is more commonly used.

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23. San Antonio de los Llanos is in the basin of the Río Purificación in the district known as the Río Blanco. Control of the Río Blanco area was disputed by both civil and religious authorities from 1626 until the 1640s, when the dispute was resolved in favor of Nuevo León and the Zacatecan Franciscans. In 1748, jurisdiction of this area shifted to Nuevo Santander and it became known as Santo Domingo de Ojos. The jurisdiction extended to the upper valley of the Río Purificación as far as San Antonio de los Llanos by 1667. Today the town is called Hidalgo, Tamaulipas, located approximately 215 kilometers southeast of Monterrey.

24. The jurisdiction of Río Blanco is located in a high mountain valley (1,080 meters) on the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre. The Río Blanco, for which the district is named, is a tributary of the Río Purificación. The indigenous people of the area were Coahuiltecan-speakers, whom Sánchez de Zamora called the Bocala nation. The town of Río Blanco is now known as Aramberri, and the municipality of Río Blanco is now called Zaragoza.

25. The Huasteca region, homeland of the Huastec Indians, centered on the Río Pánuco and extended north along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to the Sierra de Tamaulipa Vieja in Nuevo Santander. The original Huastec territory may have extended into the valley of Soto la Marina and the nearby Sierra Madre. Conquered by Spaniards in 1523, the Huastec were subjected to extensive slave raiding by Luis de Carvajal in the 1570s, before his troops moved north into Nuevo León. The Huasteca region was also an area where great abuse of the encomienda occurred.

26. Charcas, approximately three hundred kilometers south of Monterrey, retains its name and is in the present state of San Luis Potosí. Beginning in the 1620s, Franciscan missionaries from Zacatecas made the Charcas area their regional headquarters.

THE VALLEY OR TOWN OF LABRADORES

Located thirty-four leagues south of Monterrey; with an alcalde mayor.

The valley or township of Labradores[27] is about thirty-four leagues to the south of Monterrey. It is governed by an alcalde mayor and in spiritual matters by a Franciscan religious. Goats abound, and there is a moderate amount of other livestock, but grain is not plentiful. Its territory is very rugged and bushy, and although no Indians reside within its borders at the present time, some of the reprobates who seek revenge for some reason invade the area by way of its dark and mountainous trails. This jurisdiction borders Charcas and the town of Saltillo, and its settlements are the most remote in Nuevo León. As was stated at the beginning, the alcaldes mayores are appointed by the governors and given the [additional] rank of capitán a guerra. Among the individuals seeking positions, the ranks are awarded according to the profit each candidate offers. These positions should be given to those who merit them, because the posts are in enemy frontiers, and the skill and conduct of those who govern determine the peaceful state of their territories.

THE TWELVE PUEBLOS OF NUEVO LEÓN

Their lack of productivity and the damages caused by their founding.

There are also twelve pueblos or missions[28] within the boundaries and jurisdiction of Nuevo León, and all but one have resident priests from the Order of Our Father Saint Francis, of the province of Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas. It can be said that the religious are present only because of the uprising, which has already been discussed, of the Indians for whom the pueblos were established. This is not the way to reduce and contain [the Indians]. The only way to do so is by congregating them on haciendas, as previously described. If the pueblos referred to had more missionaries or if [the Indian residents] cultivated their collective lands, some productive religious communities could have been established. [Instead,] they are neither missions nor towns nor religious communities, and not from a lack of laborers, for whom they were founded. They are pueblos or missions in name only, and as such tyrannize the settlers who owned those lands by lawful title.

This [situation] can be clearly observed in the general ruin suffered by [the

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27. The valley of San Pablo de los Labradores on the Laguna de Labradores, approximately ninety kilometers south of Monterrey, is now known as Galeana. The jurisdiction was disputed by the alcaldes mayores of Cadereyta and Río Blanco until the first years of the eighteenth century, when it became a *justicia mayor*.

28. The missions, Indian pueblos, or relocation villages described by Ladrón de Guevara included San José del Río Blanco (Zaragoza, N.L.); Santa María de Río Blanco (Aramberri, N.L.); San Cristóbal de las Hualahuises (Hualahuises, N.L.); San Antonio de los Llanos (disappeared as a town in 1773); Guadalupe de las Salinas (Salinas Victoria, N.L.); Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de la Punta de Lampazos (Lampazos de Naranjo, N.L.); Nuestra Señora de Agualeguas (Agualeguas, N.L.); San Miguel de Aguayo (Bustamante, N.L.); Nuestra Señora de la Purificación (near the Río Pilón, N.L.); Nuestra Señora de la Concepción (Montemorelos, N.L.); and Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Guadalupe, N.L.).

settlers] who once prospered on the lands where [the pueblos] were founded. These people were left completely destitute of the [fruits] enjoyed by their forebears, with no compensation whatsoever. They suffered the pain of seeing the lands they once cultivated for their livelihood converted into wastelands, while having no other [land] to improve. In addition, they had the grievance of seeing those who once worked as domestics in their homes become their enemies. They have been obliged to maintain themselves with such losses, bereft of all profit in that region, because of the naturalization that has occurred there. The residents of Nuevo Leon have had grievous wrongs and injuries inflicted on them from all directions, for they were deprived of the lands they cultivated, which has left them in a continual state of misery. Moreover, those who had been their domestic servants have been transformed into enemies who, familiar with the ways in and out [of the area], steal cattle for their own sustenance with little hindrance.

Of greater concern is the decline experienced by the wretched Indians for whom the pueblos were founded, who have been so recently [converted] to the practices and mysteries of the faith. As soon as they found themselves free of the veneration that prevented them from continuing their pagan abuses and customs, they took advantage of the liberty they enjoyed to resume what they had practiced before becoming Christians. Because they still possessed the vestiges of their recently forgotten idolatries, they have become apostate and provide no further hope of their conversion, even though this is being attempted [by the Spaniards] in order to avoid as much damage again as has already been done.

THE REALM OF NUEVO LEÓN

A discussion of the general features of the realm of Nuevo León.

[Herein follows] a discussion of Nuevo León's general features. The area abounds primarily in goat herds, as well as in horses, mules, and lead. Horses are in great demand in the provinces of Texas and Coahuila, as is lead in the previously mentioned mining communities. The [major] crops are corn and beans, or *judías*, as they are commonly called in Castile by the same types of populations and herders. Although there is no shortage of crops, their price is higher in this province than in the other provinces of Nueva España, which do not have such fertile soil. This [high] price stems from [the fact that] the greater portion [of the land] is already occupied and is not under cultivation. The land that is cultivated in this jurisdiction could be rendered more productive by relocating the aforementioned pueblos and limiting their farmland to what could actually be cultivated by the few Indians who remain there because they are old and infirm and through whose presence the name of mission or pueblo is maintained. Indeed, one single [mission] of reasonable size could be established with all the Indians who are in these [pueblos].

THE GOVERNORS

The conduct of the governors, and the effect of their visits to their districts.

It is public knowledge that the governors of Nuevo León traffic in general merchandise as third parties, which results in great difficulties for those who purchase those goods; the residents are placed in arrears on what they owe to individual

merchants because debts owed to the governors take priority, even though they may have been incurred at a later time. This practice has gone on for twenty years, during which time none of the governors has yet been held accountable for his activities. Thus, they make no amends for the offenses and injuries they have committed against the settlers and inhabitants of these parts, nor is there anyone from whom the people can demand satisfaction. This leads to new disturbances among some of the [Indian] nations, which are not quelled by the strange and thoughtless measures that some of the governors—frequently motivated by caprice and bringing little understanding or expertise to their employment—are wont to issue. For one thing, [the governors] are not experienced in any military art or discipline; for another, they direct all their attention and efforts to the business ventures by which they augment their riches. It has reached the point where, without any legal opinion and without informing their superiors, as they are supposed to do, they have ordered torture and other acts of violence to be carried out against some [Indian] nations, condemning many of the recently converted Indians to death. [The members of] these nations, who had been living with their families, defenses down, under the security and tranquillity of a truce, all of a sudden have suffered notable injuries against their persons. Those who escape these perils seek opportunities for vengeance, since the governors defy the royal laws that prohibit and condemn this type of violence. Moreover, when word of these excesses reaches the ears of those [Indians] who have never been subdued, it serves to deter their reduction, for they lose confidence in their personal safety in view of such outrages.

One of the established duties of these governors is to perform a general inspection during their term of office, in order to familiarize themselves with the territory under their jurisdiction and to make suitable corrections and recommendations. This responsibility would be of great consequence if it were thus carried out. Instead, availing themselves of various circumstances and pretexts, [the governors] send orders throughout the region for the roads to be cleared of brush and cleaned, and for lists to be made of the residents of each district, with the nobles on one and the commoners on another. The purpose of this operation is so that each person on the list may be called upon to make a contribution to the governor according to his capacity, with the poorest being responsible for 6 pesos, which is the rate currently established. Those without ready cash are compelled to sign short-term promissory notes that are turned over to the alcaldes mayores with admonitions to collect promptly. As the governors' men, the alcaldes are diligent in collecting the money in order to continue in their positions and remain in the governors' favor. These [payments] constitute a form of tribute, an indignity that no magistrate may impose upon the vassals of his majesty for [personal] profit, as is well understood. Settlers who are even moderately more prominent must contribute larger amounts. Thus, the governors create an impression opposite to what is actually taking place during the inspection. Fearful of suffering some grave injustice, these settlers attempt to please and indulge the governors, and therefore it happens that in order to humor the governors, they have to join them in playing cards, which they call *albures* ["chances"], and other [games]. Overseers from the haciendas and sheep ranches and property managers are admitted to the games, which result in losses and ruin. These governors collect 10 or 12 pesos with each shuffling of the cards, having risked only 6 reales. They are not content with the salaries they receive from his majesty's royal trea-

sury, which are considerable—nor, beyond the salary, with the interest they collect from commercial ventures and their profits from supplying the alcaldías mayores. Likewise, a certain amount of mutton for the governor's table must be contributed from each flock that enters that jurisdiction, which is another type of tribute they have introduced.

THE PRESIDIOS

Reasons why the establishment of new presidios is encouraged, and the resulting gains for individuals, to the detriment of the royal treasury.

Speaking generally of the so-called presidios, the establishment of new ones is encouraged by various interested parties. The aforementioned governors and captains of [the presidios], as merchants, have a market for their merchandise there, since the soldiers are paid their wages in the form of four varas of merchandise at very inflated prices. There is a regulated price index for every type of merchandise, but because those people have no knowledge of it, [the governor and captains] change the names of the products and enter whatever price they wish on the soldiers' accounts. Thus, they circumvent any charges of not following the price index, because it is not easy to verify whether the soldiers have received one type of goods or another. In this way, the governors and captains, or their proxies, are filling their treasuries with the entire gross amount of the [soldiers'] wages in hard currency.

A group of large merchants from the city of Mexico, who are called *almaceneros,* promote the founding or continuation of these presidios with pledges and monies, because then they have an outlet for the merchandise and excess goods in their warehouses. It is the Real Hacienda that satisfies all this avarice and gain, without achieving the end for which [the presidios] have been established in accordance with his majesty's intention. The only thing that is proved true is that the interested parties achieve their [intention] completely.

Beyond the gains that have been discussed, anyone who is admitted to service as a soldier has to contribute 40 or 50 pesos to these governors or captains. To get these payments, they enlist boys and other useless individuals who, lacking fortitude, are neither able nor prepared to extricate themselves [from danger] when the occasion demands. Men with the qualifications necessary to serve in these posts are rejected because they will not make the required contribution. As mentioned earlier, only those who contribute are enlisted and kept in the posts, because individuals who exercise any control in these presidios convert everything to their own enrichment. This is understood to be the case with those who supervise and recruit the soldiers.

Since [the soldiers] tend to be of the quality discussed, instead of punishing and containing the enemy during confrontations, they embolden them and make them more insolent, because these soldiers will not attack. Or, if they do attack, they do not set out with the manner needed to instill fear [in the enemy]. Moreover, in order to report that they have crippled the enemy, [the soldiers] cause other disturbances that could be avoided. They assault any [Indian] nations that happen to be along the way, ones that are innocent of causing any harm. With these excesses the soldiers stir things up and make new enemies because, besides

killing many [Indians], they take their women and children captive. It is public knowledge that [the captives] are distributed among those who have attacked that particular nation, who then sell or give them away, even though the enslavement of Indians is prohibited. Thus, if the resolution is not made to settle those lands by congregating each nation as has been discussed, the innocent nations of those heathens will never cease suffering similar wrongs, nor will those frontiers be fully pacified, even if new presidios are established—and no one who is familiar with the [situation] will contradict this with reason.

The governors likewise take note when one of the captaincies in their jurisdiction becomes vacant, and in the report they make to his excellency the viceroy they propose as their first choice [men] who have been or are their business associates. [Men] who are more competent and deserving due to their experience are proposed as second or third choices because they are not business associates of the governors, who offend them by advancing men of lesser merit and fewer services rendered to his majesty. This is the manner in which the aforementioned presidios are governed. Nothing is apparent in these presidios but perpetual disorder and greed in those who manage them. [These men] have absolute power in such remote regions, and there is no one who can report their actions to their superiors, which is the [only] way to contain such disorder.

The frontiers where all the nations of heathen Indians live are to the east of Cerralvo, Cadereyta, the valley of Pilón, the town de Linares, the valley of San Antonio de los Llanos, and the jurisdiction of the Río Blanco. Cerralvo is at the most northerly point of the realm of Nuevo León, and San Antonio and the Río Blanco are to the south. Between them lie Cadereyta, Pilón, and Linares, which are the jurisdictions that form the frontier with the barbarian nations, and Cerralvo, San Antonio, and Río Blanco are the ends of this frontier. The nations close to the border are the same ones that were quiet and peaceful for twenty to twenty-five years under the supervision of the settlers who had them in their charge, until [the Indians] were placed in the pueblos that have been discussed.

Beyond these first nations are others that are very remote. [These Indians] can be distinguished from the border Indians by the stripes on their faces, which are much thicker and more pronounced, like lash marks, and other raised designs or variegations that protrude from the skin like narrow welts. Sometimes they live on the seashore or near the riverbanks, where they subsist on fish that they catch and dried fruits that they have stored; at other [times] they live in the countryside, where there are fruits, turkeys, javelinas, rabbits, deer, and other animals on which they sustain themselves. They do not venture out to the coast or to the riverbanks until the seasonal fruits have been depleted, which is usually by wintertime. In order to catch fish they construct very long nets, which are unusual because the material from which they are made appears to be a very soft hemp, and it is nothing more than a type of [thread] called *pita*.[29] These nets are so well made that not even a sardine could escape.

These remote nations are the ones that constrain the frontiers, to prevent their

29. The *pita* is a plant in the genus *Agave* of the amaryllis family. It is used to make *pulque*, soap, thread, and rope.

territories from being intruded upon and the food resources on which they forage for their subsistence from being threatened. No individual nation will allow access to another for these reasons, and because of these circumstances they all are always very divisive, without ever uniting themselves in a manner that would be of help to them for defense and in conflicts that arise between one or the other. The largest [nation] is made up of one hundred Indians, more or less, and the bordering [nations] have fifty, or more commonly, thirty. These bordering nations are squeezed between the Spanish settlements on one side and the opposing nations on the other. Without sufficient territory of their own to produce what they need for their subsistence, they find it necessary to raid the cattle that graze on the margins of where they live and in other nearby areas. In addition to this, it is very difficult to ascertain which nation has been the aggressor because of the many nations that are divided into such small numbers.

In order to effect the remedy that is most conducive to our aims, it is necessary to have the requisite authority and permission for distributing the land and water rights to the settlers, and to gather each Indian nation under the direction of the settlers. Experience shows that these nations have conformed to [such an arrangement] with docility and respect, obeying the regulations of those who were in charge. Because of their enemies, their small numbers, the insecurity of their food supply, and other conditions that have been described, none of these nations is capable of sustaining an uprising on its own when placed under the settlers' charge. Moreover, with [the aid of] the Indians who are pacified, it will be possible to control and castigate those who are not peaceful, for one of the principles to be followed is that the Indians who are already reduced should have a part in the punishment of those who are not. As long as [these groups] pursue and generally oppose one another, they will continue to be divided and fearful and jealous of one another. It is natural that one or another of these tribes will come to the assistance of the Spanish, the dominant nation, which will result in their faster reduction and incorporation into the brotherhood of the settlers, with whom they will find complete shelter and tranquillity.

It is also important that no governor or other justice officiating in the area interfere with or disrupt the efforts that are underway. The salt produced on the lands of the heathen tribes may be used to support the expenses that the more formal implementation of all this will incur, for in order to lure these Indian nations easily to reduction and quietude, it will be necessary at first to cleverly seduce them by giving them some tobacco, ribbons, and other inexpensive trifles that they greatly value. This is the surest way of attracting them to this endeavor without any difficulty, as is known from experience. In this manner those frontiers can be settled and pacified without much trouble. There are, in addition, many wild mares and horses in the area, and the settlers should be granted the right to keep and tame those that can be caught on the ranges. License from a higher authority is required so that none of the justices in the area, whether it concerns them or not, can block or hinder permission in an effort to keep the wild mares and horses in their jurisdiction. To populate the coastal frontiers will also be of benefit, for thus may be avoided the new annoyances or incursions from the foreign nations of Europe that prudence dictates should be feared. The settlement [of these foreigners] in currently open and uninhabited land can cause grave prob-

lems, such as those already experienced in New Spain and other, less profitable areas of the Indies.

Along the eastern part of the land proposed for settlement lies the coast of the Mexican Sea [Gulf of Mexico], which is inhabited by the aforementioned Indian nations, and Tampico lies on the coast to the south. To the north of Tampico and the localities discussed is the Bahía del Espíritu Santo,[30] which belongs to the province of Texas, and the distance from this bay to Tampico, north to south, is the entire length of the region in question. The Huasteca [area] is located above Tampico, in the same southerly direction. Also in this southern region is the long mountain range known as the Sierra Madre, which extends from the provinces of Coahuila and Nueva Vizcaya all along the western and southern portion of Nuevo León, dividing the Huasteca from these lands. This range is rich in minerals throughout its entire length and breadth, and many rivers originate in the swollen springs that flow from [its mountains]. Along the western part of these lands is the realm of Nuevo León, as well as Coahuila—although Coahuila is higher up and more distant. The province of Texas lies along the north. Thus, the territory intended for settlement and conquest is surrounded in all four directions by these provinces.

The route from Mexico City through all these provinces is traveled without detours or other significant dangers. The Río Grande del Norte crosses this territory, as do other rivers that have their source in the aforementioned Sierra Madre, and at times there are shallow places where they can be forded. All these rivers contain an abundance of fish of all types and sizes. A wild plant that grows in these frontier areas, when cultivated, is the same as cochineal, being a product of the same nopal species.[31] In the area north of the Río Grande are some of the salt beds mentioned, and in the south, more than forty to fifty leagues away, are others that are called *La Barra*.[32] The climate of that stretch is more temperate than hot, due to strong, unobstructed winds that blow from the north and east, and the entire area consists of land that is very flat and abundant in pasturage, with many rivers and all the wood necessary for whatever one might wish to establish.

For the sake of clarity, the distances between the capitals of Nuevo León, Coahuila, and Texas and Mexico City are presented here in a brief summary.

[With regard to] the city of Monterrey, capital of the realm of Nuevo León, this report has already described what its province comprises and its distance from Mexico. The climate of this province is temperate. The city is 63 leagues distant from the capital of Coahuila and 173 leagues from the presidio of San Antonio de

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30. Matagorda Bay, called Bahía del Espíritu Santo by the Spanish, was temporarily settled by the French in 1685. Spaniards reclaimed the area between 1690 and 1693, and a permanent presidio, governed from Coahuila, was established in 1721.

31. Nopal, or prickly pear, is a cactus of the genus *Opuntia* (*Opuntia vulgaris*). Cochineal (*Coccus cacti*) is a scaled insect that commonly infects the nopal in warmer climates. Because a valuable red dye can be made from the dried bodies of the females of this insect, nopal was cultivated throughout southern Mexico.

32. *La Barra* means "the area of clay."

Béxar,[33] which is the capital of the province of Texas. The jurisdiction of Nuevo León is somewhat brushy and has some small mountain ranges that extend from the Sierra Madre like branches from a tree.

As previously stated, the villa and presidio of Santiago de la Monclova is the capital of the province of Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura. It is 258 leagues from Mexico City. This province contains three presidios, one of which is in the capital itself. Another presidio was established in 1736 with the name of Sacramento,[34] but as late as 1738 it still did not have a specific location, due to the diverse opinions that arose after its founding. Because of these new reports and other lukewarm measures, his majesty has already expended large sums of money from the royal treasury without accomplishing his royal will. The settlers of the province have not experienced any relief, nor have the enemies been contained. These circumstances reveal that the location of these presidios are [determined by] individual machinations under the pretext of service to the crown and development of the province. No doubt it will prove true that the construction [of the presidios] depends upon very many mercenary individuals who, for a variety of reasons—including the increase of their personal fortunes—claim an interest in the presidios. These are the reasons, along with others that have already been discussed, why the settlers are better suited than the presidial soldiers for the settlement and conquest of those lands. Thus, for the benefit of the royal treasury and greater progress, the settlers must work with greater advantages than the presidial soldiers, because [such a policy] will result in [the region's] development and utility.

The other [third] presidio, named San Juan Bautista del Río Grande del Norte,[35] is situated two leagues from the Río Grande and fifty leagues from Coahuila. In addition, there are five or six Indian pueblos in the province.[36]

The presidio of San Antonio de Béxar is 112 leagues from Coahuila. The province [of Texas] has a good climate and an abundance of wheat, corn, beans, grapes, and cotton, but it has few cattle because Indians of the Toboso and Gavilán na-

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33. A presidio and mission were established at San Antonio de Béxar in 1718.

34. The presidio of Sacramento was established at Agua Verde in 1737, but was moved south in 1739 to Santa Rosa in the Sabinas Valley. While at Santa Rosa, the presidio of Sacramento was occasionally referred to as a villa. The garrison was moved north in 1773, only to be relocated again to the south.

35. San Juan Bautista del Río Grande del Norte was established in 1701, on the Río Grande.

36. By the 1720s, most of the Native Americans of Coahuila had died of disease or had been deported to other areas. Settlements in Coahuila tended to cluster around the scarce water sources, and Indian settlements were often in close proximity to Spanish villas. The Indian towns to which Ladrón de Guevara refers were probably Tlaxcaltecan resettlement villages. Initiated during the 1690s, Tlaxcaltecan settlements existed at most of the missions in Coahuila, including San Francisco de Coahuila de Nueva Tlaxcala, adjoining Monclova on the north; the pueblo of Victoria, near Nadadores; a settlement near the mission of San Bernardino de la Candela; San Juan Bautista on the Río Grande; Dulce Nombre de Jesús de Peyotes, near present Villa Unión; and Santa Rosa María, on the Sabinas River.

tions invade its borders. It is ruled by a governor and council, and in spiritual matters by a secular priest. It recognizes the authority of his excellency the viceroy and the Real Audiencia of Mexico, and in spiritual matters, the bishopric of Guadalajara.

The presidio of San Antonio de Béxar is the capital of the province of Texas, Nuevas Filipinas.[37] It has a presidial captain with ordinary jurisdiction and is directed in spiritual matters by a secular priest. The distance from Mexico City to [the presidio] of San Antonio is 360 leagues, and from the latter to the [presidio] of Bahía del Espíritu Santo, 56 leagues. [The presidio] of Bahía is situated twenty leagues from the sea on the banks of the Guadalupe River,[38] which carries a copious amount of water.

The other presidio, named Los Adáes,[39] is 216 leagues from [the presidio] of San Antonio, which added to the 360 [from San Antonio to Mexico City] makes it 576 leagues from Mexico. [The presidio] of Los Adáes is seven or eight leagues from [the presidio] called Nachitoos [Natchitoches].[40] The latter belongs to the French of Nueva Louisanne, who are provisioned with munitions and clothing from the place called New Orleans, which I infer is capital of that province. To travel between Nachitoos and New Orleans, they have to go by boat for a distance of some two hundred leagues, more or less, on the Nachitoos River.[41]

The entire northwestern stretch of this province of Texas is very undeveloped and is inhabited by numerous nations of barbaric Indians, the Apaches being the ones who cause some of the damages experienced there.

In overcoming the difficulties of the [province's] western section that derive from its distance and other causes, one necessarily arrives at the borders of New Mexico and one of the most remote portions of northern Nueva Vizcaya. The climate [of Texas] is very similar to that of Spain, and the great fertility of the province is manifest in its level plains and the numerous rivers that flow across it to the Gulf of Mexico. Even so, the provisions of flour and wine needed by its pre-

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37. Texas was part of the jurisdiction of the province of Coahuila until 1722, at which time it was officially separated and administered by a military governor appointed by the viceroy. After 1739, the governor's appointment was issued from Spain. The province, officially called Nuevo Reino de las Filipinas or Nuevas Filipinas, officially extended from the Medina and San Antonio Rivers on the west to the Red River on the east.

38. The Guadalupe River empties into the Gulf of Mexico at Matagorda Bay.

39. Also known as Los Adaes and Adais, the presidio was named for the Adais Indians. Los Adáes was established by the Marqués de Aguayo in 1721, and functioned as a presidio until 1773.

40. The French established a fort at Natchitoches during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, a period of Spanish absence from Texas.

41. This refers to the Red River, which flows northwest to southeast into the Mississippi, east of Los Adáes. Although the jurisdictional limits of the Nuevo Reino de las Filipinas were set at the Medina–San Antonio River in the west and the Red River in the east, neither boundary was effective, and the Sabine River constituted the actual boundary of Spanish Texas.

sidial soldiers are supplied from the province of Coahuila, while the necessary horses [come] from Nuevo León. The presidio of Los Adáes is supplied from the French presidio at Nachitoos, and it is a disgrace that provisions are furnished by foreigners when there are potentially fruitful lands within the borders of the province. These lands abound in a type of untamed livestock called *cíbolos* [buffalo], which is a species of wild cow, and the lard and meat from these cattle serve for food. The province also has bears, whose fat supplies the oil needed for cooking food.

[The province] is ruled by a governor, who recognizes his excellency the viceroy and the Real Audiencia of Mexico, and in ecclesiastical matters, the city of Guadalajara, which is 460 leagues away. There are also several missions of apostolic religious from the college in the city of Querétaro and that in Guadalupe de Zacatecas, who dedicate themselves with great devotion to the conversion of [the province's] infidels.

Thus concludes the discussion of the three contiguous provinces and what must be done to conquer and populate their heartland and frontiers. The settlers, prominent citizens, and curates of the provinces concerned are excellent witnesses to everything contained and expressed in this document. Although the governors and captains of the provinces could also [bear witness to the truth of this document], they follow in the steps of their predecessors instead, succeeding them in their activities and attempting to conceal anything that might hinder them or compromise their business dealings. For this reason, it is more appropriate to consult the councils and curates than the governors or presidial captains regarding affairs in these provinces—not only because the councils and curates know the sufferings of the settlers, as well as what is most appropriate for the improvement of everything, which is his majesty's will, but also because they have no business interests or knowledge. Moreover, a council is composed of many individuals. Only in this manner is it is possible to avoid the damages that the royal treasury continually faces, and likewise those experienced by the settlers of these provinces, which are due to the individual goals of those intent only on increasing their wealth, and not [the wealth] of the royal treasury or these provinces or the people who inhabit them, etc.

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DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Noticias de los poblados y tratos de que se componen el Nuevo Reino de León, Provincia de Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura, y Provincia de las Texas, Nuevas Filipinas, y la causa de sus pocos, o ningunos aumentos.

Dedicadas:
Al excelentísimo señor conde de Montijo,
caballero del insigne orden del Toysón, caballerizo mayor de la reina nuestra señora (que Dios guarde) y presidente del real, y supremo consejo de las Indias.

Por:
Don Antonio Ladrón de Guevara,
vecino del Nuevo Reino de León, como práctico de lo que en este sucinto papel se contiene. Año de MDCCXXXIX

Excelentísimo señor:

Señor, sólo a la felicidad de vuestra excelencia se reservó, que en el tiempo de su acertado gobierno se hubiese de poner en ejecución una tan nueva planta, como la que se pretende, en lo que son tan beneficiados los infieles, que careciendo estos de la profesión católica, no dejan esperanzas de que se puedan salvar. Y pasando más adelante se halla, que en tiempo que vuestra excelencia está gobernando la América, se acrecentará una provincia más a la corona, con tantas utilidades en sí, que ninguna otra le excederá. Y a tan poca costa será su establecimiento, que lo más que para ello se requiere, es el patrocinio e influjo de vuestra excelencia con la experiencia que se tiene, desinterés, e inclinación que concurre en él que con la mayor sinceridad dedica a vuestra excelencia las noticias de este papel.

Como todo ello se manifiesta por las varias entradas que tiene hechas, a grave peligro de su vida y hacienda, que todo consta de los testimonios de esta materia, internándose a lo más remoto de las habitaciones de los indios gentiles que las preocupan, para que en inteligencia de lo que pasa en aquellas regiones, sepa vuestra excelencia lo mucho que padecen los vasallos de su majestad, y las circunstancias que median para los pocos, o ningunos aumentos de lo ya conquistado, y gastos que a su majestad se recrecen, que soporta su real hacienda, sin que se verifique la consecución de su piadosa mente, no obstante el cuidadoso desvelo y desinterés, que para que se cumpla ponen los superiores ministros a quienes toca entender en las determinaciones de estos negocios, por no haber habido quién con tanto desinterés, aplicación y constancia haya hecho presente lo que adelante se dirá.

SITUACIÓN DE LA CIUDAD DE MONTERREY, Y EL LUSTRE DE QUE SE COMPONE

La ciudad de Monterrey, capital del reino de León, fue fundada en tiempo que gobernaba la Nueva España el conde de Monte Rey, y por eso tomó este nombre, habitando aquel territorio diferentes naciones de indios bárbaros, que con el pueble de los españoles se redujeron y contuvieron.

Compónese el lustre de esta ciudad de un gobernador que rige en lo político y militar; dos alcaldes ordinarios, tres regidores, escribano, y procurador; un juez eclesiástico, y dos parroquias; la una, que administran clérigos, para los españoles; y la otra, que administra un religioso de San Francisco, para los indios de naturaleza. Reconoce el Nuevo Reino de León en lo político y militar al excelentísimo señor virrey, y real audiencia de México; y por lo eclesiástico al obispado de Guadalajara, distando la dicha de Monterrey de la de México 216 leguas, siendo la medianía la ciudad y real de minas de San Luis Potosí; y la dicha de Monterrey de Guadalajara, dista 190 leguas, comprendiéndose en los términos y jurisdicción del

sobredicho Nuevo Reino de León, repartidos por sus cuatro rumbos, los poblados siguientes, en los cuales, y en cada uno de por sí, nombra el gobernador un alcalde mayor, con el aditamento de capitán a guerra.

VALLE DE SANTA CATALINA

Sus frutos, tiene alcalde mayor, dista de Monterrey 3 leguas, y a su poniente.

Primeramente, al poniente de la ciudad de Monterrey, y a tres leguas de su distancia, se halla el valle de Santa Catalina, gobernado por un alcalde mayor; y en lo espiritual, reconocen sus moradores a las dos parroquias de Monterrey. Abunda esta jurisdicción en semillas, y ganado cabrío, y en los demás ganados es escasa.

VALLE DE PESQUERÍA GRANDE

Tiene alcalde mayor. Dista de Monterrey 8 leguas. Sus frutos, y razón de los indios que invaden por aquella parte. Está al poniente de dicha ciudad.

El valle de Pesquería Grande, dista de la ciudad de Monterrey 8 leguas, y del valle antecedente. Tiene un alcalde mayor, y en lo espiritual reconocen sus moradores a las parroquias de dicha ciudad. Es abundante de semillas, ganado cabrío, y de los otros ganados proporcionadamente. Hay [en] sus términos, algunos minerales de plata, que abundan en plomo y ligas. Por esta jurisdicción y la dicha del valle de Santa Catalina, se entra o sale del Nuevo Reino de León para la ciudad de México, y provincias de la Nueva Galicia, Vizcaya, Nuevo Reino de Toledo, Sonora y Ostimuri, Nuevo México, y demás provincias que están sobre el poniente y sur del dicho Nuevo Reino de León.

Hállase al poniente de dicha ciudad de Monterrey, la villa de Santiago del Saltillo, a distancia de 21 leguas; a cuya población es preciso toquen los que de las provincias que van expresadas trajinan el dicho Reino de León. Provincia de Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura, y la de las Texas, Nuevas Filipinas, hallándose estas tres provincias de la ciudad de México a un mismo rumbo situadas, sobre las costas del seno mexicano, a más o menos distancia, y a la medianía de las 21 leguas que hay de la villa del Saltillo a dicha ciudad de Monterrey, siendo preciso de una a otra población pasar por un puerto encañonado, y en estrecho de dos o tres leguas, que comprende la medianía de las 21, se pasa por el paraje que se nombra la Rinconada y Cuesta de los Muertos.

Que distará este paraje 60 u 80 leguas de donde tienen su habitación la nación de los indios Tobosos y Gavilanes, cuya residencia tienen en lo despoblado que hay entre la provincia de Coahuila, y la Nueva Vizcaya, transitando los de esta nación, tan larga distancia hasta dicho paraje, ejecutando en toda ella, en los caminantes y pastores que cuidan los ganados, repetidos robos y muertes. Y a un mismo tiempo traen, los de esta nación, invadida la parte que coge el poniente del Nuevo Reino de León, todos los términos de Coahuila, y larga distancia de la Nueva Vizcaya. Y para conseguir a un mismo tiempo en dichas provincias semejantes perjuicios, se reparten en cuadrillas de a diez o doce, logrando de mayores ventajas para ello, porque tiran a que les coja lo más durable de la luna; con cuya claridad caminan la noche, habiendo andado todo el día. Esto lo practican cuando ya han ejecutado los robos y muertes a que los inclina su barbarismo; el modo que

tienen para ello, es salir a los caminantes en los puertos estrechos y descampados, dando grandes alaridos, con muchos ademanes y visajes, para aterrorizar los ánimos de a quienes salen, y en caballos de refresco que cogen de los que andan pastando de los particulares, y montan en ellos sin silla ni freno, valiéndose para gobernar cada uno el suyo, de un cordel que le ponen en la quijada de abajo, o barbada, y en esta forma los manejan con mucha destreza. Las armas de su uso son arcos, flechas, y chuzos, que forman de una asta de palo y las hojas de las espadas que han robado, lo que manejan a caballo y a pie con notable desembarazo, distinguiéndose estos expresados indios en un todo de las naciones del dicho Nuevo Reino de León, así en osadía y avilantez, como en armas; porque el arco, y flechas, que dichos Tobosos usan, son muy pequeños respecto de que las otras naciones de León acostumbran, que del tamaño que es el indio ha de ser el arco. Y así se puede decir que los dichos Tobosos usan de la prontitud que los dragones, y las otras naciones, como la infantería, por ser inútiles para a caballo, y no poder manejar con desenvoltura (sino a pie) el dicho arco de sus tamaños.

Generalmente, el traje que todos aquellos bárbaros usan, es un pedazo de género, o cuero de venado agamuzado, que se ponen por entre las piernas para tapar sus vergüenzas, y las indias con dos gamuzas, desde la cintura a media pierna, y por los pechos otra, adornadas de alguna labor de pintura, que aún entre los bárbaros manifiestan las mujeres ser aficionadas a composturas y aliños.

Experiméntase de la dicha nación de Tobosos hallarse tan sobre sí, por no castigárseles con la resolución que piden sus excesos, que estos no recelan salir a veinte, o más hombres, siendo ellos sólo diez o doce; y se puede afirmar, que semejante osadía les proviene de ver, que aunque sean las atrocidades que han ejecutado grandes, y después se encuentran con la gente, que debiera contenerlos y castigarlos, no lo ejecutan por suma ignorancia, e inadvertencia de estar entendiendo, que luego que los agresores piden paz se les debe conceder sin hacerse cargo de que estos no la piden para quietud, sino para libertarse del peligro que tienen presente. Y ésta se la conceden aquellas gentes, aunque estén presentes o a poca distancia los cuerpos de los difuntos que han muerto los dichos indios. Con que, con tan mala inteligencia es impracticable expugnar a los perversos, porque lo que se experimenta de la dicha paz que se les concede, es dejarlos en los mismos parajes, y con las armas que acostumbran traer, y a esto se reduce las condiciones de la expresada paz. Y así no se verifica de ella otra cosa, que es su mayor orgullo, y de que entiendan, que ésta se les concede por temor que se les tiene, y no por caridad, y así lo mismo es apartarse los españoles de ellos, que continuar mayores atrocidades. Y la verdadera paz se debe entender, que los enemigos rindan las armas y se sujeten a las órdenes del vencedor, a fin de que se obvien los perjuicios y cautelas que acostumbran los que se hubiesen rendido.

Y así, a los de esta nación de Tobosos se debe castigar y perseguir, como a ladrones facinerosos de los caminos, que es el único nombre que se les puede dar, por la malevolencia de sus genios y costumbres, siendo la mayor parte o todos ellos, apóstatas e inteligentes en el idioma castellano, respecto de haberse criado muchos de los referidos en casas de españoles, y otros en los pueblos que se les fundó en la provincia de Coahuila y Nueva Vizcaya, por lo que no pueden alegar ignorancia. Compónese esta nación de noventa a cien indios, según la observación que se tiene hecha por los prácticos de aquellos parajes, siendo de más copioso número la de los Gavilanes. Y estas dos naciones se distinguen también de

las demás que hay, con una raya azul que se hacen, desde el medio de su frente hasta el medio de la punta de la nariz.

VALLE DE LAS SALINAS

Tiene su alcalde mayor, y sus frutos. Dista de Monterrey 9 leguas entre poniente y norte.

El valle de las Salinas, ha tomado este nombre por unos parajes salitrosos que hay en su jurisdicción. Está entre poniente, y norte de la ciudad de Monterrey, y a nueve leguas de distancia. Rígese por un alcalde mayor, y en lo espiritual reconocen sus moradores a las parroquias de la ciudad. Es abundante esta jurisdicción de mucho ganado cabrío, y proporcionadamente de los demás ganados; es algo escasa de semillas. Está contigua su jurisdicción con la de Pesquería Grande.

REAL Y MINAS DE SAN PEDRO DE BOCA DE LEONES

Sus frutos, alcalde mayor y la utilidad que resulta a favor de los reales quintos, con las ligas que se sacan de dicho real. Dista de Monterrey 22 leguas.

El real y minas de San Pedro de Boca de Leones está situado entre poniente y norte de Monterrey, y a distancia de 22 leguas. Pasa el camino que va a dicho real por la jurisdicción de las Salinas. Rígese por un alcalde mayor, y tiene una escuadra de ocho o nueve soldados, con un cabo que los gobierna. En lo espiritual se gobierna por un cura clérigo, el que asimismo es juez eclesiástico. Los minerales de dicho real han sido de correspondiente ley, en abundancia de plata, y ahora se hallan en menos opulencia, pero se saca mucho plomo y otras ligas, que sin ello no se pueden beneficiar los metales de plata que tienen el beneficio por fuego, y no por azogue, conduciéndose desde dicho Boca de Leones, a los reales de minas que hay en la Nueva España, como es a Zacatecas, Sombrerete, y Guanajuato, que de Monterrey, con diferencia de 20 o 30 leguas están en una medianía, siendo la distancia en que se hallan la de 130 leguas, comprendida la dicha diferencia. Y asimismo se llevan las expresadas ligas y plomo al real y minas de San Felipe de Chihuahua, que dista del reino de León 422 leguas. Y se experimenta que en faltando las ligas en los expresados reales de minas, se retarda el beneficio de las platas, lo que resulta en perjuicio del comercio y retardación de los reales quintos.

Críase en los términos de dicho real de Boca de Leones, proporcionadamente el ganado cabrío, y con escasez las semillas, aunque muy cerca tienen el proveimiento. Confina por la parte del poniente de Boca de Leones la jurisdicción de la provincia de Coahuila, y todo lo que mira a la parte del norte está habitado de diferentes naciones de indios infieles, los que nunca por este rumbo han intentado ninguna alteración; y después de haberse pasado la distancia y despoblado que estos habitan, es constante se encontrarán los términos y poblados de la provincia de los Texas, alias Nuevas Filipinas.

REAL, Y MINAS DE SANTIAGO DE SABINAS

Sus frutos; tiene alcalde mayor. Y fundamental razón que hay para la sublevación que se experimentó de los indios. Dista de Monterrey 22 leguas al norte.

El real y minas de Santiago de las Sabinas está situado al norte de Monterrey, en distancia de 20 o 22 leguas y de Boca de Leones 7. Rígese por un alcalde mayor y sus moradores son administrados en lo espiritual por un teniente de cura de Boca de Leones. En dicho real de Sabinas hay dos haciendas de sacar plata, cuyos metales salen de las minas de Boca de Leones. Abunda esta jurisdicción en semillas, ganados mayores y menores, y en cañas de la que se hace el azúcar. Todo lo que mira al norte de esta jurisdicción, corre la misma paridad que con lo de Boca de Leones, siendo preciso para llegar a dicha provincia de los Texas, pasar primero el río Grande, que se nombra del Norte, y después de éste, el de Medina, que es el que divide los términos de unas y otras provincias. Si estuviera conquistada la distancia que hay entre el río de Medina y el río Grande del Norte, que son unas tierras muy llanas y empastadas, entendiéndose que aunque los dos expresados ríos son caudalosos, tienen en tiempos vado por donde se pueden pasar.

Asimismo, en las haciendas de dicha jurisdicción de Sabinas, se han mantenido y al presente se mantienen las naciones de indios que a ellas, desde sus primitivos tiempos, se agregaron en forma de congregas, que son las únicas naciones que han quedado quietas y pacíficas, por mantenerse en aquella antigua forma en que todos vivían en las demás jurisdicciones del dicho Nuevo Reino de León; porque excepto los que van expresados, las demás naciones que han movido las alteraciones experimentadas, fueron sacadas de esta forma de gobierno, fundándoles pueblos fuera de los términos de sus habitaciones, despojando y lanzando a los dueños que poseían las tierras donde se les fundó, con lo cual no se consiguió el fin de sus fundaciones, y sólo sí el alzamiento de todas las naciones que entraron a ellos, los que con este motivo apostataron. Y llevados muchas veces de la necesidad, y otras de la malevolencia de sus naturales, con la libertad y ociosidad que gozan, y dificultad que se ofrece, en vista de tantas naciones, para saber de cuál de ellas han sido los agresores, por estos inconvenientes ha sido y será muy perjudicial dejar tan a su libertad de vida y costumbres a las dichas naciones, lo que sólo se podrá hacer con alguna consideración que medie con sus descendientes, que ya habrán olvidado con el tiempo el modo de vivir y costumbres de sus antepasados. Y en otra manera es incompatible tener pacíficas aquellas fronteras y reducidos a los indios que las habitan.

Respecto del mal efecto que se ha visto, resultó de haberlos puesto en los dichos pueblos, por lo que para conseguir la continuación del pacífico estado de todas aquellas dichas fronteras, y la reducción de las naciones bárbaras, manifiesta bien claro la experiencia que se deben agregar las dichas naciones, en la conformidad que antes estaban, a las haciendas que establecieren los nuevos pobladores, los que con la suavidad y modo que se requiere los irán instruyendo en lo que sea de religión y política, con la seguridad de alimento y vestuario de que al presente carecen, por no ser por ahora capaces de salarios y otras utilidades. Lo que se hace fácil de conseguir, en atención a los cortos números de que se compone cada nación, y la docilidad con que se dejan gobernar.

Porque hablando en lo general de todos los dichos indios y términos donde habitan, se experimenta ser muy opuestos y divisos entre sí; llevándose con notable oposición, por defender las tierras donde cada una de dichas naciones habitan, las que se mantienen con las frutas y animales que en ellas se produce; y siendo tan opuestos, con la ninguna seguridad de alimento diario que necesitan, es cuanto se requiere para sus reducciones a cualquiera género de gobierno en que

los quieran imponer en los principios que se empiecen a tratar, coadyuvando a este intento, el no pasar cada una de dichas naciones los Fronterizos de cincuenta indios, y lo más común de treinta, poco más o menos, y las de los más remotos de ciento, que con dicha oposición de unos y otros, con ser de tan corto número, sus ánimos cortos, y ningún arte de guerra, no ofrece el sujetarlos y poblarles aquellas distancias, dificultad que lo impida, respecto de lo cual, para promediar las circunstancias que se ofrezcan sobre este asunto, solo se requiere experiencia de la vida, y costumbres de dichos Infieles, sin la cual no se podrá acertar, porque en otra manera no es fácil explicarlo, según lo que ofrezcan las nuevas circunstancias que ocurran, por lo que se se necesita también de grande desinterés, y aplicación a todo lo que conduzca a utilidad de la Causa pública, y juntamente un ardid, que comprenda con prontitud los movimientos e inclinaciones de aquellos infieles, sin las cuales circunstancias puede ofrecer su consecución dificultad, porque de esta suerte les servirá de confusión y temor las providencias que en tiempo convengan dar.

VILLA Y PRESIDIO DE SAN GREGORIO DE CERRALVO

Y frutos que produce. Dista de Monterrey 23 leguas al norte y con qué naciones confina.

La villa y presidio de San Gregorio de Cerralvo está al norte de la ciudad de Monterrey a distancia de 23 leguas; gobiérnase su jurisdicción por un alcalde mayor, el que comúnmente suele ser capitán de una escuadra de once o doce soldados, que de cuenta de su majestad allí está situada. Y en lo espiritual se rige por un cura ministro, religioso de nuestro padre San Francisco. Por el norte de dicha jurisdicción está el referido río Grande del Norte, después del cual empieza el tránsito de tierra. Y naciones que se ha referido impiden la comunicación de dicho Nuevo Reino de León con la provincia de los Texas, y en especial con la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, por ser lo más próximo a la dicha jurisdicción de Cerralvo, y todo lo que mira esta expresada jurisdicción a su oriente. Y antes de que se pase a la otra banda del río Grande, se hallan varias naciones de las mismas que se han referido sacaron del modo de vivir en que estaban en las haciendas de los vecinos, para los expresados pueblos, que como consta de testimonios de los mismos misioneros y otros jueces, es una compasión verlos sin ninguna repugnancia a las cosas que de la religión se les propone, careciendo de tanto beneficio, por no haber habido quién se haya aplicado a solicitar los medios de que vivan racionalmente, reducidos a la obediencia de su majestad, y en modo cristiano y político, que es lo que se pretende por ahora.

Abunda la dicha jurisdicción de Cerralvo en mucho ganado cabrío y todo género de ganado mayor, aunque escasa de semillas. Y por la parte de su oriente entran a pastar varias cabañas, que allá llaman haciendas de ganado de lana, por los buenos abrevaderos, aguajes, pastos, y salitres que hay en dichos terrenos, pastando los dichos ganados en el centro donde habitan las primeras naciones de aquellas fronteras, de donde se experimenta la gran facilidad con que da principio, con la muerte de alguno de los pastores de aquellos ganados, a una general alteración en dichas fronteras. Porque el indio que ha ejecutado muerte o estrago, ha sido por robar alguna oveja para comer, y de aquí nace el que queriéndose tomar

la satisfacción por las armas, los españoles, como se ignora el agresor, se suelen castigar a los que se hallan inocentes, y así se mueve una continua alteración con todas las naciones de aquel rumbo por donde ha acaecido la tal muerte o robo, lo que pudiera evitar la prudencia y experiencia del que manda por los muchos modos que hay para ello.

VILLA DE CADEREYTA

Al oriente de Monterrey, en distancia de 9 leguas. Tiene su alcalde mayor, y cabildo, y los frutos que produce.

La villa de San Juan de Cadereyta está situada al oriente de la ciudad de Monterrey, y a 9 leguas de distancia. Rígese por un alcalde mayor y cabildo, y en lo espiritual por un cura ministro, religioso de nuestro padre San Francisco. Abunda esta jurisdicción en todo género de ganado mayor y menor, y con moderación en semillas, y alguna caña de que se hace el azúcar. Por el oriente de esta jurisdicción habitan tres o cuatro naciones de indios de los que se sublevaron cuando los pusieron en los expresados pueblos, y estos están viviendo entre los poblados y estancias de aquella jurisdicción por el recelo que les asiste, de que las otras naciones, sus enemigos, les causen, por echarlos de sus fronteras, algún perjuicio. Y porque quizá también no se hallan sin el amparo de los españoles, que no dejará de hacerles novedad haber vivido y comunicádolos; y ahora, después de que se sublevaron, impedidos mucho tiempo de toda correspondencia y comunicación, y algún respeto con especie de amor que les habrá quedado infundido, aunque la ociosidad los arrastre a su modo de vivir y libertad de costumbres.

VALLE DE SANTIAGO DEL GUAJUCO

Al sur de Monterrey, y en distancia de 8 leguas. Frutos que produce. Tiene su alcalde mayor.

El valle de Santiago del Guajuco, está su situación al sur de Monterrey, y a distancia de 8 leguas. Rígese por un alcalde mayor, y en lo espiritual reconocen sus moradores a las parroquias de dicha ciudad; abunda en muchas semillas que dan a vasto no solamente a sus moradores, sino también a los de otros lugares de dicho reino de León y a los de la villa de Saltillo, cuando les falta. Cógese con abundancia la caña de que se hace el azúcar. Críase mucho ganado vacuno y son contrarios sus pastos y aguajes para la cría de los demás ganados. Este dicho valle está situado entre dos sierras, pero es muy alegre y ameno de muchas arboledas.

VALLE DE SAN MATEO DEL PILÓN

Entre oriente y sur de Monterrey, en distancia de 18 leguas. Frutos que en él se recogen, y con qué indios confina. Tiene su alcalde mayor.

El valle de San Mateo del Pilón, está situado entre oriente y sur de Monterrey, y en distancia de 16 o 18 leguas, al que se va por Cadereyta o valle del Guajuco. Rígese por un alcalde mayor, y en lo espiritual por un religioso de nuestro padre San Francisco. Termina esta jurisdicción por el oriente con las naciones que nombran

Narices, que todas estas naciones generalmente se les llama "pelones" por la especie de las rayas de sus rostros, que es el modo con que se distinguen unas naciones de otras de las que confinan con Cadereyta y Cerralvo. Y como llevo expresado, estas naciones viven entre las estancias y ganados que allí pastan. Es muy abundante de semillas, cañas, y de todo género de ganado mayor y menor, fertilizando a esta jurisdicción un río muy permanente, que pasa por el medio de sus haciendas y poblados del que sacan numerosas y abundantes acequias de agua para regar los sembrados.

VILLA DE SAN FELIPE DE LINARES

Con qué naciones confina. Frutos que produce. Tiene su alcalde mayor, está entre oriente y sur de Monterrey en distancia de 40 leguas.

La villa de San Felipe de Linares fue fundada en tiempo del excelentísimo señor duque de Linares, y por estar gobernando aquellos reinos, se le puso este nombre. Tiene su alcalde mayor, y en lo espiritual se rige por un religioso de San Francisco. Está situada entre oriente y sur, adelante del valle del Pilón, por donde es preciso pasar para ir a ella, y en distancia de Monterrey de 40 leguas. Abunda en semillas, y por lo más inmediato que se halla al mayor número de las naciones que se sublevaron, no crían sus moradores ganados sino con escasez, y aún con poca utilidad; pero pastan en sus términos, varias cabañas o haciendas de ganado de lana, por lo saludable y abundante de sus pastos. Cuyos ganados, para lograr de mayores aumentos y huir de las ásperas breñas y montes, los entran hasta los términos donde comúnmente residen las primeras naciones, que toda es tierra muy llana y de más abundantes pastos, que la que está ya poblada, los cuales habitan a la parte del oriente.

Y en ejecutando algún perjuicio, como está referido en la explicación de Cerralvo, se acogen a las sierras más inmediatas. Tienen lo más próximo la sierra de Tamaulipas, que por este motivo, y los minerales que en ella hay, ha tomado crédito y nombre, cesando los perjuicios que al presente se consideran por tales, con el pueble de aquellas fronteras y la calidad de congregar a las haciendas a cada una de dichas naciones, respecto de que los soldados presidiales podrán reducir a uno u otro al filo de la espada. Pero los vecinos, con el motivo de permanecer allí, ellos y sus descendientes, y con el trabajo y cultivo de sus labranzas, procurarán reducir, por la utilidad que se les sigue a toda una nación sin los inconvenientes que consigo traen otras desordenadas providencias; porque con el motivo de que dichos vecinos no tienen otro interés, desean con más veras su pacificación y quietud, como a la contra, los gobernadores y capitanes, no se debe creer desean estas reducciones. Y aún así lo están manifestando con los hechos; porque de pacificarse los indios se reformarán los presidios, como inútiles, y les sacará el provecho de los crecidos situados que perciben de la real hacienda. Y asimismo se debe tener presente que el dicho Nuevo Reino de León, para haberlo conquistado no fue menester más que a los vecinos pobladores, estando viviendo en aquel tiempo las naciones que preocupaban aquel ámbito, en la misma conformidad en que hoy se hallan las demás que subsisten en aquellas fronteras, a los que como está referido, para su reducción se tomó por providencia congregarlos y ponerlos al cuidado de los dichos pobladores, en cuya forma de gobierno se mantuvieron sin sublevarse,

como lo experimentó después que se les fundó y fueron puestos en los expresados pueblos.

VALLE DE SAN ANTONIO DE LOS LLANOS

Y jurisdicción de río Blanco. Tiene su alcalde mayor. Frutos, y naciones con quien confinan. Dista de Monterrey 57 leguas, y al sur.

El valle de San Antonio de los Llanos y jurisdicción de río Blanco, está al sur y distante de la ciudad de Monterrey 57 leguas, y de éste el río Blanco 18. Gobiérnase estas dos jurisdicciones por un alcalde mayor, y cada uno de los dos partidos por un religioso de nuestro padre San Francisco. Cógese en uno y otro, moderadamente las semillas, y en los términos de la jurisdicción del río Blanco se cría algún ganado vacuno, y pastan algunas cabañas de ganado de lana, estando de este paraje más inmediato que de ninguna otra parte del dicho reino de León, la Huasteca. El oriente de estas dos jurisdicciones es habitado de varias naciones de indios bárbaros, y en los términos de San Antonio pastan cuantiosas cabañas de ganado de lana, entre las primeras naciones de indios, como está referido. Termina la jurisdicción del río Blanco por el sur, con la del real y minas de Nuestra Señora de las Charcas, que pertenece a la Nueva Galicia, y de Charcas distará México 130 leguas, por ser paraje por donde los del Nuevo Reino de León, Coahuila y Texas regularmente pasan, aunque salgan por el camino de la villa del Saltillo, que es el más común.

VALLE, O PUEBLO DE LABRADORES

Dista de Monterrey 34 leguas al sur. Tiene su alcalde mayor.

El valle o pueblo de Labradores dista de Monterrey como 34 leguas al sur de dicha ciudad. Rígese por un alcalde mayor, y en lo espiritual por un religioso de San Francisco. Abunda en ganado cabrío, y proporcionadamente del demás ganado, y no abundante de semillas. Es su territorio muy áspero y montuoso, y aunque inmediatamente no tiene indios que residan en sus fronteras, suelen invadir esta jurisdicción algunos de los perversos que solicitan alguna venganza, por la lobreguez y serranía de sus tránsitos. Confina esta jurisdicción con la de Charcas y villa de Saltillo, con lo cual dan fin los poblados que hay en el dicho Nuevo Reino de León, con alcaldías mayores, que como se dice al principio, los eligen con grado de capitán a guerra los gobernadores, por lo que les dan, los que pretenden dichos empleos, la regalía según la utilidad que ofrece cada partido, debiéndose dar estos empleos a beneméritos para ello, por ser fronteras de enemigos, y que en la práctica y conducta de los que los gobiernan, consiste el pacífico estado de sus territorios.

HAY EN TODO EL DICHO NUEVO REINO DE LEÓN 12 PUEBLOS

Y lo inútil, y perjuicios que causaron sus fundaciones.

Hay asimismo en los términos y jurisdicción del Nuevo Reino de León, doce pueblos o misiones, que ocupan excepto uno, los religiosos de nuestro padre San Francisco de la provincia de Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas, en los cuales sólo se

puede decir, los ocupan los religiosos por el sublevamiento que se ha referido de los indios, para quienes fueron fundados, respecto de no ser éste el modo con que se han de reducir y contener, y sólo sí en el que antiguamente se ha referido, estaban congregados a las dichas haciendas. Y si estos pueblos que se refieren tuvieran más religiosos, y cultivaran las tierras de sus agregados, se pudieran nombrar unos ricos conventos, y no que por falta de operarios, para quienes fueron fundados, ni son misiones o pueblos ni conventos, como se dice, ni es mas que con este nombre de pueblos o misiones, tener tiranizado(s) a los vecinos, que con justo título y derecho poseían aquellas tierras.

Lo que manifiesta bien claro la ruina general que resultó contra los que gozaban las posesiones donde se fundaron, porque estos quedaron enteramente destituídos de los que gozaban por sus antepasados, sin recompensa alguna, y con el sentimiento de ver convertido en campo erizado, la tierra que antes ellos cultivaban para su mantenimiento, sin tener otra que beneficiar, y con el perjuicio de ver enemigos a los que antes tenían por domésticos de sus casas, y obligados a mantenerse con tantos quebrantos, destituídos de toda utilidad en aquel país, por la naturaleza que en él tienen, con que por todos caminos se manifiesta el grave perjuicio y agravio que le hizo a los moradores del Nuevo Reino de León, pues les quitaron las tierras que cultivaban, dejándolos por esta razón en una continua miseria, y a los que eran sus domésticos se los convirtieron en enemigos, que como prácticos de las entradas y salidas, ejecutan para su mantenimiento con menos desembarazo, los robos en los ganados.

Siendo de mayor consideración la ruina que han experimentado los miserables indios para quienes se fundaron los dichos pueblos, porque hallándose estos tan recientes en las cosas y misterios de la fe, luego que se vieron a su voluntad y libres del respeto que los contenía para que no continuaran en los abusos y costumbres de su gentilismo, pasaron con la misma libertad de que ya gozaban a practicar lo que ejecutaban antes de ser cristianos, por las reliquias que aún tendrían de sus recientes olvidadas idolatrías, respecto lo cual han quedado apóstatas, sin dar más esperanza de su conversión que la que, según la misma experiencia y razones, que para evitar tanto daño como el que se ha reconocido, se pretende.

EL NUEVO REINO DE LEÓN

Trato y contrato de que en lo general se compone el dicho Nuevo Reino de León.

El trato y contrato de que en lo general se compone el dicho Nuevo Reino de León, principalmente es de ganado cabrío, de que abunda mucho aquel país, como también en caballos, mulas y plomo, teniendo los caballos mucho consumo en las provincias de Coahuila y Texas, y el plomo en los reales de minas que se han referido, y las semillas que son: maíz, frijol o judías, como llaman en Castilla vulgarmente en sus mismos vecindarios y pastores de las dichas cabañas. Y aunque no faltan las dichas semillas, tienen más subido valor, que en muchas de las provincias de la Nueva España, que no gozan de tanta fertilidad, pero esta estimación y valor nace de hallarse preocupada, y sin ningún beneficio la mayor parte, y más pingue de lo laborío que hay en aquella jurisdicción, con la situación de los referidos pueblos, que se reduce todo su cultivo a lo que pueden beneficiar los pocos indios, que por viejos e impedidos quedaron en ellos, con los que mantienen el

nombre de misiones o pueblos, que de todos los dichos indios que hay en ellos se pudiera componer uno proporcionado.

LOS GOBERNADORES

Tratos de los gobernadores, y efecto de las visitas que hacen en sus distritos.

Los gobernadores del dicho Nuevo Reino de León, es público tratan y contratan por tercera persona con géneros de mercancía, de lo que resultan inconvenientes grandes en perjuicio de los que compran dichos géneros, y en atraso de lo que dichos vecinos están debiendo a los particulares del comercio, por ser preferidos los débitos de dichos gobernadores, aunque sean posteriores. Mayormente cuando pasa de veinte años a esta parte, que ninguno de los gobernadores que ha habido en dicho tiempo, aún no han dado residencia de sus empleos, con lo que se quedan sin dar satisfacción de los agravios o injurias que han cometido en contra de los vecinos y moradores de aquellas partes, ni estos tienen ante quién demandarlos, causando nuevas alteraciones en algunas de dichas naciones, que no hacen daño las extrañas e impremeditadas providencias que suelen dar algunos de los dichos gobernadores, llevados muchas veces de sus caprichos, con la poca inteligencia y conocimiento con que entran a estos empleos. Lo uno, por no hallarse ejercitados en ningún arte o disciplina militar; lo otro, que su mira y aplicación se dirige principalmente al trato y comercio para el aumento de sus bienes. Llegando a tal extremo, que sin parecer de letrado, ni dado cuenta a los superiores, como debieran ejecutarlo, han mandado dar tormentos, condenando a muerte a muchos indios de los recién convertidos, y otros estrépitos y violencias que han ejecutado con algunas naciones que se han hallado bajo del seguro y tranquilidad de paz, viviendo con sus familias descuidadamente, y de repente han experimentado notables perjuicios en sus personas. Y los que del peligro escapan, solicitan ocasiones para la venganza, atropellando los dichos gobernadores las leyes reales, que tanto prohiben y se oponen a estas violencias. Y pasando la voz de tales excesos a los oídos de los que no reconocen sujeción, les sirve de rémora para no reducirse, con la desconfianza que les queda de la seguridad de sus personas, en vista de semejantes tropelías.

Tienen por cosa asentada los referidos gobernadores hacer en el tiempo de su gobierno una visita general, que dicen ser para reconocer el territorio de su jurisdicción, y con este motivo remediar e informar lo que convenga. Esta fuera una diligencia que importara mucho si así lo observaran; pero valiéndose de estas circunstancias y pretextos, despachan por toda su jurisdicción, orden para que les tengan los caminos desmontados, y limpios, y los vecinos de cada partido nominados en lista, la gente noble en una y la plebeya en otra, y a lo que se reduce todo este aparato es, a que por la dicha lista se vayan llamando, para que conforme el posible de cada uno, contribuyan para el dicho gobernador, el más pobre con seis pesos, que es la cantidad que corrientemente está establecida; y si no tienen el dinero pronto, son apremiados a que hagan un vale por un breve término, los que se remiten con nueva amonestación para su más puntual cobranza a los alcaldes mayores, hechuras de dichos gobernadores, que porque los continúen en el empleo, y permanecer en su gracia, no omiten diligencia que conduzca a su co-

branza, siendo esto como una especie de tributo, indigna de que se practique con los vasallos de su majestad por ningún magistrado a su logro, como se deja conocer. Y los vecinos que sobresalen en alguna más moderada forma contribuyen con mayor cantidad, y de lo contrario forma sentimiento el gobernador, que actual está entendiendo en dicha visita. Y temerosos los expresados vecinos de no experimentar algún grave perjuicio, procuran contentarlos y gratificar, acaeciendo así mismo, que han de concurrir con dichos gobernadores, por complacerles, al juego de cartas, que nombran albures, y otros; admitiendo en dichos juegos a los mayordomos de las haciendas o cabañas de ovejas, y a otros que manejan hacienda ajena, de donde resultan quiebras y destruimientos, sacando dichos gobernadores de cada baraja diez o doce pesos, valiendo sólo seis reales, porque no se contentan con el sueldo que perciben en las reales cajas por cuenta de su majestad, que es considerable, y a más de dicho sueldo, los intereses que les resulta del trato y contrato, y utilidad del proveimiento de dichas alcaldías mayores. Y asimismo, que cada cabaña que entra a aquella jurisdicción, han de contribuir con cierto número de carneros para el plato de dicho gobernador, que ésta es otra especie de tributo que han introducido.

LOS PRESIDIOS

Motivos de que se fomentan nuevas situaciones de los presidios, y los intereses que de ellos resulta a particulares, con detrimento de la real hacienda.

Hablando generalmente de los que llaman presidios, sus nuevas situaciones son fomentadas por varios interesados, y es, que siendo comerciantes los dichos gobernadores y capitanes de ellos, tienen expendio de sus mercancías, pagando los sueldos a los soldados a precios muy subidos en cuatro varas de género, con lo que les empatan dicho sueldo, por lo que aunque hay una tasa, o reglamento para los precios de cada género, como aquella gente no tiene conocimiento de ellos, en mudando a estos el nombre, los ponen a la cuenta de dichos soldados al precio que quieren, y así se libertan de que por dicho reglamento se les pueda hacer ningún cargo, por no ser fácil averiguar si los soldados han recibido un género por otro, apercibiendo en las reales cajas, los dichos gobernadores y capitanes, o sus apoderados, todo el importe del situado en buena moneda.

Algunos mercaderes gruesos, que llaman almaceneros, de la ciudad de México, fomentan con empeños y dineros la introducción o permanencia de los dichos presidios, porque así tienen salida de los rezagos y géneros de sus almacenes, y quien sacía a tanta codicia e interés es la real hacienda, sin que se consiga el fin que son situados, según la mente de su majestad, y sólo sí se verifica, logran los interesados la suya muy por entero.

Y a más de los intereses que se expresan, han de contribuir los que entraren a servir las dichas plazas de soldados con cuarenta o cincuenta pesos para dichos gobernadores o capitanes, y por estos intereses reciben, para que sirvan las plazas, a muchachos y a otros inútiles que no son capaces, por no asistirles esfuerzo, ni punto para desempeñarse cuando lo pide la ocasión, desechando, porque no les contribuyen con dicha cantidad, a los que pretenden dichas plazas, de las circunstancias que para servirlas se requiere. Y como va referido, sólo reciben y conti-

núan en ellas a los que les contribuyen, porque todo lo convierten en propia sustancia los que en los dichos presidios tienen algún mando. Esto se entiende con los que manejan y reciben a dichos soldados.

Y como comúnmente suelen ser estos de la calidad que se expresa, en lugar de castigar y contener a los enemigos cuando los encuentran, los dejan en mayor orgullo y avilantez, porque o no les acometen, o si les acometen no salen con el aire que para ponerles terror y escarmiento se requiere. Y por decir que han estropeado enemigos, causan otras alteraciones que pudieran estar evitadas, avanzando a algunas de las naciones que se hallan por aquel rumbo, inocentes de haber ocasionado daño alguno, removiendo y originándose con estos desórdenes otros nuevos enemigos; porque a más de que les quitan la vida a muchos, les hacen presa sus hijos y mujeres, que es público se reparten entre los que han dado el avance a aquella nación, vendiéndolos o regalándolos, estando prohibida la esclavitud en los indios. Y así, ínterin de que no se tome la resolución de poblar aquellos terrenos, agregando a cada nación como se tiene dicho, ni nunca dejarán las inocentes naciones de aquellos gentiles de experimentar semejantes agravios, ni dichas fronteras, aunque más presidios se funden, se verán enteramente pacíficas. Y esto no habrá práctico experimentado que con razón lo contradiga.

Asimismo observan los dichos gobernadores, cuando vaca alguna de las capitanías que hay en su gobierno, proponer en la consulta que hacen al excelentísimo señor virrey, a aquellos que han sido, o son sus mercaderes en primer lugar; y a los que son más aptos y beneméritos por la práctica y experiencia que para ello les asiste, son propuestos en segundo y tercero lugar, por no ser comerciantes de dichos gobernadores, agraviándolos con anteponerles otros de menores méritos y servicios hechos a su majestad. Y en esta forma son gobernados los expresados presidios, con lo que no se ve en ellos sino una continua desorden y codicia en los que los manejan, como que se hallan absolutos en tan remotas regiones, y que lo que en ellos ejecutan no hay quien lo ponga en noticia de los superiores, que es el respeto que puede contener tanto desorden.

Las fronteras donde habitan todas las naciones de los indios gentiles, es por el oriente de Cerralvo, Cadereyta, valle del Pilón, villa de Linares, valle de San Antonio de los Llanos, y jurisdicción del río Blanco; de manera que Cerralvo está por el norte de dicho Nuevo Reino [de León] en el último término, y San Antonio y río Blanco por el rumbo del sur; quedando en medio de estas jurisdicciones Cadereyta, Pilón, y Linares, que son las jurisdicciones que manifiestan ser la frente con dichas naciones bárbaras; y el dicho Cerralvo, San Antonio, y río Blanco los cabos de este frente, siendo las primeras naciones de dichas fronteras las mismas que ahora veinte o veinticinco años estaban quietas y pacíficas al cuidado de los vecinos que las tenían a su cargo, antes de que se hubiesen puesto en los pueblos que se refieren.

Pasando estas primeras naciones se hallan otras, que son muy remotas, que se distinguen de los Fronterizos en las rayas de sus rostros, que las tienen más gruesas y diferenciadas, a modo de lazadas, y otras labores o entretejidos, sobresaliéndoles del cutis, a modo de angosto verdugón, los que unas veces residen en la costa del mar y orillas de aquellos ríos, en donde se mantienen con el pescado que sacan y frutas secas que han guardado, y otras en los campos donde se crían las frutas, pavos, jabalíes, conejos, venados, y otros animales, con que en dichos campos se sustentan, no asistiendo en la costa y orillas de dichos ríos hasta habérseles aca-

bado las frutas temporales, que regularmente es ya por tiempo de invierno. Y para coger el pescado fabrican unas redes muy largas y curiosas, que la materia de que las hacen parece un cáñamo muy suave, y no es sino de una especie que llaman pita, y quedan tan bien fabricadas que no se podrá escapar una sardina.

Las dichas naciones remotas son las que contienen a las fronterizas, porque no se les entrometan en sus términos y les perjudiquen en los alimentos, que de ellos esquilman para su mantenimiento. Observando cada nación, de por sí, no permitir que se les introduzca otra por las razones que se expresan, y por estas circunstancias viven siempre unos y otros tan divisos sin unirse de forma, que se ayudarán en las defensas y contiendas que entre unos y otros se ofrecen, siendo la de mayor número de cien indios, poco más o menos, y las de los Fronterizos de cincuenta o treinta lo más común. Y estos dichos Fronterizos son estrechados por la una parte, de los poblados de los españoles, y por la otra de las naciones opuestas, no teniendo estos dichos Fronterizos por suyo suficiente terreno que produzca aquello que necesitan para su mantenimiento, y así se ven precisados a ejecutar robos en los ganados que pastan en los términos donde ellos habitan, y en otros de aquellas cercanías. A esto se agrega ser muy dificultoso averiguar de qué nación han sido los agresores por la variedad de naciones que en tan cortos números están divididos.

Y para poner en práctica el remedio que más convenga en lo que se pretende, se necesita de las facultades y licencias necesarias, como también para repartir las tierras y aguas que se deben dar a los pobladores; y que dichas naciones, sea cada una agregada al cuidado de los dichos pobladores, por tenerse experiencia con la docilidad y respeto con que a ello se han avenido, obedeciendo los preceptos de los que los han tenido a su cargo, por no ser cada nación, por sí sola, capaz de sostener ningún movimiento, estando recomendados al cuidado de dichos pobladores, respecto la oposición, sus cortos números, ninguna seguridad de alimentos, y demás circunstancias que se han referido. Y que con los que estuviesen pacíficos, se podrán contener y castigar a los que no lo estén, que es una de las máximas que se deben observar, que los ya reducidos tengan parte en el castigo de los que no lo estén, para que siempre se persigan y lleven con general oposición, y así estarán continuamente divisos y con temor y recelo, los unos de los otros, y el que naturalmente les ha de asistir a unas y a otras naciones, de los españoles como nación dominante; de lo que resulta sus más breves reducciones e incorporo al gremio de los pobladores que son en los que hallarán todo amparo y quietud.

Requiérese asimismo, que ningún gobernador ni otro juez de aquellas inmediaciones ha de entrometerse ni perturbar el hecho de lo que se pretende. Y que de los productos de las salinas que hay en las tierras que poseen dichos bárbaros, se vayan soportando los gastos que para el más formal establecimiento de todo ello se ofrezca, porque para atraer con facilidad a reducción y quietud a dichas naciones, es necesario a los principios, agasajarlos con mañosidad, dándoles algún tabaco, listones y otras menudencias de poco valor, que es de lo que ellos se pagan mucho, y el modo más seguro para atraerlos a cuanto se pretenda, sin ninguna dificultad, por tenerlo así experimentado. Y bajo de estas circunstancias, se facilita, sin ningún inconveniente, el pueble y pacificación de aquellas fronteras, en las que asimismo hay muchas yeguas y caballos alzados, por lo que se ha de conceder puedan los dichos vecinos pobladores tener y reducir los que en aquellos campos pudieren coger, porque se necesita de licencia superior, para que ninguno

otro juez de aquellas cercanías quieran impedirlo o perturbar, si les toca o no dar a ellos dicha licencia, por el origen que de sus jurisdicciones puedan tener dichas yeguas y caballos cimarrones. Servirá asimismo, el que se pueblen las fronteras de aquellas costas, para que así se obvien las nuevas inconsecuencias e introducciones, que de las naciones extranjeras de Europa prudentemente se deben temer, porque acomodándose a lo licencioso y despoblado del terreno, pueden ocasionar algún grave perjuicio, como los que ya se tienen experimentados en la Nueva España y otros parajes de Indias de menos utilidades.

Queda el terreno que se pretende poblar, que habitan las dichas naciones de indios por su oriente la costa del mar Mexicano, y al sur en la orilla de dicha costa, Tampico; y al norte de Tampico, y de los expresados parajes, la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, que pertenece a la provincia de los Texas. Y la distancia que hay de dicha Bahía a Tampico, es lo largo del terreno que se refiere, que está norte sur, y por más arriba de Tampico, al mismo rumbo del sur, está situada la Huasteca. Y a la dicha parte del sur de una montaña larga, que llaman Sierra Madre, que desde la provincia de Coahuila y Nueva Vizcaya, viene ciñendo todo el rumbo del poniente y sur del Nuevo Reino de León, la que asimismo divide a la Huasteca de dichos terrenos; y esta dicha sierra en toda su latitud y longitud, es muy mineral, y de la que se originan muchos ríos por los crecidos manantiales que de ella salen. Por la parte del poniente de los expresados terrenos, queda el referido Nuevo Reino de León y Coahuila, aunque Coahuila en más altura y distancia. Y por la parte del norte la provincia de los Texas, con las que queda circunvalada por todos cuatro rumbos los referidos terrenos que se pretenden poblar y conquistar.

Para que así se transite desde México, unas y otras provincias sin rodeos, ni otros peligros de mayor consideración. Pasan por dicha distancia el río Grande del Norte, y otros que de la dicha Sierra Madre nacen, que por tiempos tienen vado en partes por donde se pasan, y abundan en mucho pescado de todos géneros y tamaños. Críase en dichas fronteras la grana silvestre que cultivada es lo mismo que cochinilla, por ser producida de la misma especie de planta que es el nopal. A la parte del norte del río Grande que se ha referido, están unas de las salinas que se expresan; y a la parte del sur, en distancia de más de 40 o 50 leguas, otras que se nombran de la Barra. El temperamento de aquel tracto es más templado que caliente, por lo rápido y desembarazado que le baten los aires del norte y oriente. Toda su distancia es tierra muy llana y abundante de pastos, con bastantes ríos y maderas para todo lo que se pretenda establecer.

Y para que se haga enteramente juicio de lo que distan de México las cabeceras del Nuevo Reino de León, Coahuila y Texas, se pone aquí en razón sucinta.

La ciudad de Monterrey, capital del Nuevo Reino de León, ya se tiene expresado el trato de que se compone su provincia, y lo que dista de México. El temperamento de esta provincia es templado, dista de esta ciudad, la cabecera de Coahuila, 63 leguas, y el presidio de San Antonio de Béxar, que es cabeza de la provincia de los Texas, 173. Esta jurisdicción del Nuevo Reino de León es algo breñosa, y con algunas serranías que penden de la dicha Sierra Madre, que se apartan de ella como ramos de un árbol.

La villa y presidio de Santiago de la Monclova es capital, como está dicho, de la provincia de Coahuila, Nueva Extremadura. Dista de la ciudad de México 258 leguas. Compónese esta provincia de tres presidios, que los son: el que hay en la misma capital, otro que se ha establecido el año de 1736, con el nombre de Sacra-

mento, que aún el año de 1738 no tenía situación de paraje, por los diversos pareceres que después de su nombramiento ha habido. Y por dichos nuevos informes y otras tibias providencias, ha gastado ya su majestad gran suma de real hacienda, sin que se cumpla su real mente, ni los moradores de la provincias experimenten alivio alguno, ni los enemigos se contengan. Bajo de cuyas experiencias se manifiesta ser las situaciones de dichos presidios, negociaciones de particulares, con capa de que conviene al real servicio, y adelantamiento de las provincias, que no hay duda así se verificará, si no pendieran sus construcciones de tantos interesados que por diversos fines y adelantamientos en sus caudales, pretenden parte en los expresados presidios. Y éstas son las causales, con lo demás que se tiene expresado, para que en el pueble y conquista de aquellos terrenos, sean más a propósito los vecindarios, que no los presidiales, así por lo que resulta a favor de la real hacienda, como por los mayores adelantamientos, que los vecinos han de operar con superiores ventajas a los presidiales, porque de ello les resulta su beneficio y utilidad.

El otro presidio se nombra San Juan Bautista del río Grande del Norte, el que está situado a dos leguas de dicho río Grande del Norte y dista de Coahuila 50 leguas. Asimismo hay en dicha provincia cinco o seis pueblos de indios.

El presidio de San Antonio de Béxar dista de Coahuila 112 leguas. Esta dicha provincia es de buen temperamento, y abunda en trigo, maíz, frijol, uvas, y algodón, menos en cría de ganados, por lo invadido que son sus términos de los indios de la nación Tobosos y Gavilanes. Rígese por un gobernador y cabildo, y en lo espiritual por un cura clérigo. Reconoce al excelentísimo señor virrey y real audiencia de México, y por lo espiritual al obispado de Guadalajara.

El presidio de San Antonio de Béxar es capital de la provincia de los Texas, Nuevas Filipinas. Tiene su capitán presidial con jurisdicción ordinaria y en lo espiritual se rige por un cura clérigo. Dista de México este dicho de San Antonio 360 leguas, y de éste dista el de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo 56 leguas. Este de la Bahía está situado a 20 leguas de la mar y en la ribera del río de Guadalupe, que con sus incorporos es caudaloso.

El otro presidio se nombra el de los Adáez, que dista del de San Antonio 216 que con 360 hacen 576 leguas, que es la distancia que hay del dicho de los Adáez a la ciudad de México, y este dicho de los Adáez está situado a 7 u 8 leguas del que se nombra de Nachitoos, que pertenece a los franceses de la Nueva Louisanne, los que se proveen de municiones y ropas del lugar que nombran la Nueva Orleans, que discurro será la capital de dicha provincia. Que para ir, o venir de Nachitoos a la Nueva Orleans, tienen que ir embarcados por el río de Nachitoos, distancia como de 200 leguas, poco más o menos.

Todo el tracto que de esta provincia de los Texas mira a la parte de su poniente y norte es muy dilatado, y habitado de numerosas naciones de indios bárbaros, siendo la de los Apaches los que causan algunos perjuicios que en ella se experimentan; y habiéndose vencido las dificultades que por dicho rumbo de su poniente se ofrezcan de distancia y demás, es constante se ha de encontrar con los términos de la Nueva México, y con parte de los más retirados al norte de la Nueva Vizcaya. El temperamento de esta provincia es muy parecido al de España, y aunque manifiesta su gran fertilidad, por lo muy llano de la tierra y variedad de ríos, que por su ámbito desembocan en el seno mexicano, se proveen sus presidiales de los alimentos de harina y vino que necesitan de la provincia de Coahuila, y de los ca-

ballos que necesitan sus presidiales del Nuevo Reino de León. Y el presidio de los Adáez se provee del dicho de Nachitoos de los franceses, que es mengua que los alimentos se suministren a expensas de los extranjeros, habiendo tierras a propósito que los fructifiquen en los términos de dicha provincia. Abundan estos países de un género de ganado cimarrón, que se nombran cíbolos, que es especie de vacas silvestres, y la manteca y carne de este ganado sirve para alimento. También produce dicha provincia osos, que con su grasa suplen la falta de aceite para la compostura de las viandas.

Rígese por un gobernador, que reconoce al excelentísimo señor virrey, y real audiencia de México, y en lo eclesiástico a la ciudad de Guadalajara, que dista de ella 460 leguas. Hay también algunas misiones de religiosos de los apostólicos del Colegio de la ciudad de Querétaro y Guadalupe de Zacatecas, los que se dedican con grande aplicación a la conversión de aquellos infieles.

Con la cual se da fin a la explicación de las tres provincias contiguas, y lo por conquistar y poblar que hay en sus fronteras y cercanías; siendo de todo lo que se contiene y expresa en este papel, buenos testigos, los vecindarios, republicanos, y curas de las dichas provincias, donde se experimenta lo [dicho] en el contenido. Y aunque también pudieran serlo los gobernadores y capitanes de las tales provincias, como quiera que son los unos de los otros sucesores, y que por los mismos pasos que los unos han ido, van los que les suceden en los empleos, procuran ocultar lo que les puede servir de obstáculo y perjuicio a sus negociaciones, y por este motivo en los negocios que toquen a las dichas provincias es más conveniente pedir los informes a los cabildos de ellas que a los dichos gobernadores y capitanes, así por estar dichos cabildos y curas en la inteligencia de lo que padecen sus moradores, como lo que es más conveniente para el alivio de todos, que es la mente de su majestad, por las ningunas negociaciones e inteligencias que estos; y ser tantos individuos de los que se compone un cabildo. Y sólo así se podrán evitar los perjuicios que resultan tan continuamente contra la real hacienda, y los que asimismo reciben los moradores de las expresadas provincias, por las introducciones de particulares fines, que intentan los que sólo anhelan al aumento de sus caudales, y no al de la real hacienda, ni menos al de las dichas provincias, ni de los que las habitan, etc.

III

The Role of the Private Army on the Northern Frontier (1742-1759)

In the documents that follow, the powerful and rich Conde de San Pedro del Alamo applies for permission to maintain a private army and to garrison the faltering presidio of El Pasaje. In 1741, when he made his application to the king, the conde had under his control more than ninety-five haciendas, vast herds of cattle and sheep, and almost fifteen million acres of rangeland. He was eminently suited to reinvigorate frontier defenses, yet he failed to keep his bargain with the king.

Since the mid-seventeenth century, the outpost of El Pasaje on the plains of eastern Durango had provided protection for the real de minas at Cuencamé and the cattle ranches south of the Río Nazas. Cuencamé had flourished briefly after its establishment in 1601, but by the 1650s, Indian attacks brought about its near abandonment. During this crisis, a *teniente de capitán general de las fronteras de Cuencamé* came to El Pasaje to take charge of Cuencamé's defense. It was not until 1680, however, that the king responded to the general uprising of Indians on the northern frontier and ordered the establishment of three new presidios, one of which was Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción del Pasaje. Although El Pasaje was initially garrisoned with only thirty-five soldiers, in 1686 Nueva Vizcaya's governor, who liked the security of having a presidio close to the capital of Durango, increased the troop to fifty.

In 1688, Viceroy Conde de Galve called for the replacement of the existing presidios by flying companies, but Governor Juan Isidro de Pardinas strongly urged the presidios' continuance, and they were not suppressed. By the early 1690s, continued Indian unrest led Spanish officials to adopt a more aggressive policy against groups of rebels. In May 1693, Governor Gabriel del Castillo used the fifty soldiers from El Pasaje in a two-month offensive against rebellious Indian groups, and in 1698 members of El Pasaje's troop accompanied Governor Juan Bautista de Larrea on his inspection of the Tarahumara Baja.

During much of the first two decades of the 1700s, El Pasaje had fewer than the fifty solders assigned to it. When Pedro de Rivera visited, he found only forty soldiers and recommended that the garrison be reduced to two officers and thirty-three enlisted men. Rivera even questioned the need to maintain the presidio

since the Cocoyames and Coclames, who had been the main threat to Spanish settlers in the area, were no longer rebellious.

In addition to the soldiers, the presidio occasionally had a religious staff. While El Pasaje was the site of a reducción for Cabeza and Babosariguarme Indians, two Jesuits served as chaplains for both the presidio and the Indian settlement. At other times priests from Cuencamé visited the presidio.

As mining at the real de Cuencamé declined, livestock grazing and wheat farming replaced mineral production as the area's chief economic activity. Isolated haciendas scattered throughout the countryside became the jurisdiction's centers of non-Indian population. Many of these were prepared for self-defense with fortifications dating from the conflicts of the seventeenth century. During the 1730s, Apaches moved down from the north and gradually replaced the Tobosos as the chief enemy of the Spaniards. By the early 1740s, Apache incursions revealed the inadequacy of defenses in the area that El Pasaje was supposed to protect. It was during this period of sporadic attacks that the king received an offer he could not refuse.

Establishment of the Presidio of El Pasaje near Santa María de Parras, 1742

In 1741, Francisco de Valdivieso y Mier, the first Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, submitted the proposal published here to take over support and staffing of the presidio at El Pasaje. Isolated hacendados in Nueva Vizcaya often found it necessary to provide for their own defense, and it was not uncommon for them to protect their haciendas and herds by maintaining small bands of armed men or small, informal private militias. The Conde del Alamo's request to formalize the militia's relationship with the crown was unusual, however. He offered to pay the salaries for a full complement of soldiers and requested permission to garrison them in a former crown presidio. More important, on this distant frontier where communication was difficult at best, he requested freedom to act without prior permission from any higher authority. He was, in effect, soliciting sanction for the creation of his own independent private army.

As one of the largest stockraisers in Nueva Vizcaya, the Conde del Alamo had access to all the resources necessary to maintain a small army. He had thousands of dependents, employed hundreds of mounted herders, and had vast herds of horses at his disposal. One of the wealthiest men on the northern frontier, the conde's entailed estate consisted of 1.2 million acres of grazing land. He had mining interests in Nueva Vizcaya; properties in Navarra, Spain; and mercantile enterprises in Mexico City.

The conde's vast landholdings centered around the hacienda of Santa Catarina and the hacienda of Alamo, both estates not far from El Pasaje. By 1735, the conde had entailed and permanently consolidated his properties through the creation of a mayorazgo. *Under this system, an estate could not be divided or inherited by a spouse. Immediately upon the death of an owner, the entailed property passed intact to a single heir, with provision for guardianship for minors. Although they usually consisted of real estate, mayorazgos might contain many other types of property, including mines, factories, livestock, slaves, vehicles, furniture, religious relics, chapels, and even offices. To create a mayorazgo, the founding individual had all properties assessed and real properties surveyed. The total property to be entailed was then divided into fifteen equal shares, one-fifth of which (three shares) became the* quinto, *or royal fifth. Four of the remaining twelve shares, or one-third of the property, became the* tercio. *Together the quinto and the tercio, equivalent to seven-fifteenths of the founder's property, constituted the entail. The remaining eight shares of "free" property could be sold in fee simple, mortgaged, and inherited by anyone.*

Born in 1683 in Santillana del Mar in Santander, Spain, the future conde achieved the rank of field marshal. He amassed these huge estates during his lifetime largely through advantageous marriages. On the death of his first wife, Luisa Antonia Sánchez de Tagle, the daughter of the second Marquesa de Altamira, Valdivieso inherited a sizable estate. It was Valdivieso's second marriage, however, that is important to the story of the El Pasaje presidio. In 1727,

Valdivieso married Josefa de Azlor, the third Marquesa de Aguayo, uniting two of the largest latifundia on the northern frontier. While Valdivieso brought his vast entailed haciendas to the union, his wife, the granddaughter of the first Marqués de Aguayo, had inherited entailed estates far larger than his. Marriage into the Aguayo family brought Valdivieso a huge increase in wealth and property and in 1734, in recognition of this new power, he received the title of Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, a title that carried exemptions from paying certain taxes, specifically the lanzas *and the* media anata.

A brief description of the wealth and power of the family into which Valdivieso married will serve to explain how well prepared he was to maintain a private army. The founder of the Aguayo empire, Francisco de Urdiñola, an obscure Basque soldier from Navarra, had gained great wealth in Nueva Vizcaya as a miner and rancher. As early as 1583, he began acquiring properties from the original settlers of Saltillo and Parras. While serving as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1603 to 1613, Urdiñola used proxy recipients to issue himself a number of land grants. In this way he assembled vast landholdings that extended from Saltillo, in present Coahuila, west to Parras and south to Mazapil, in the northeast corner of the present state of Zacatecas. By the time of his death in 1618, Urdiñola controlled some 11.6 million acres.

For several generations, the Urdiñola landholdings passed down through a series of female descendants. The heiresses proved to be effective managers and succeeded in enlarging the properties. In 1669, Urdiñola's great-granddaughter married a Spanish general and moved to Spain. In 1682, her husband obtained a title, in part because of her great wealth, and became the first Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo y Santa Olalla. The couple returned to New Spain, where the Marqués served as governor of Nuevo León from 1684 to 1687. After his death, the first marquesa created the mayorazgo of Aguayo. Her daughter Ignacia, the second Marquesa de Aguayo, inherited her mother's entailed latifundio. Ignacia married three times, each time to a Spaniard. Her third husband, Joseph Ramón de Azlor, the second Marqués de Aguayo, returned with his wife to Nueva Vizcaya, where their daughter Josefa, future wife of the Conde del Alamo, was born. Aguayo became an exceptionally competent administrator of his wife's properties. He also served as captain general and governor of Coahuila and Texas from 1719 to 1722, and led the famous Texas entrada that is described in the Texas section of this book.

Aguayo's management of his wife's latifundio was aggressive. In 1717, he obtained a composición, *or grant of clear title, from the king to all the water rights and lands included in the marquisate at that time. After securing the family's existing landholdings, he began a program of expansion, extending the western boundary of the latifundio from Parras to the Sierra de Mapimí, west of the present city of Torreón, through the acquisition of royal deeds to 2.2 million acres of unused crown lands. At Parras, he increased control of the land surrounding the town by appropriating the springs that supplied the residents with most of their water. At Monclova, he attempted to acquire land immediately outside the city, but relinquished his claim in 1733, when citizens contested his attempt to take lands they considered theirs. Instead, Aguayo acquired other land northeast of Monclova, which contained the only three water holes in the area. Aguayo may even have considered the marriage of his daughter Josefa to the Conde del Alamo*

as part of his expansion program, for it united the Aguayo properties with those of the second largest landowner in the north.

Of the many haciendas owned by the Aguayo family, two properties, the hacienda of Santa María de Parras, near the town of that name, and the hacienda of San Francisco de los Patos, approximately seventy kilometers west of Saltillo, constituted the core of the landholdings. Famed for its vineyards, Parras produced wine and brandy in addition to livestock and mules. The Marqués de Rubí reported that during his visit to the hacienda, 200,000 grapevines were under cultivation, yielding some 12,000 baskets of grapes annually. At that time, the distillery, which had its own distributorship in Mexico City, produced 1,000 barrels of aguardiente and 2,000 barrels of wine per year. The hacienda's harvest, in a normal year, consisted of 5,000 cargas of corn, 700 of wheat, and 150 of beans. At the headquarters of the Parras hacienda, two enormous buildings faced each other across a large irregular plaza. One of these, the principal residence, was so large that its chapel had two altars. The other consisted of the administrative headquarters, a distillery, and a series of workshops. The approach to these buildings was an avenue lined with enormous walnut trees.

Closer to Saltillo, the hacienda of San Francisco de los Patos was headquarters for one of the largest sheep runs on the northern frontier. Following the ancient Spanish practice of transhumance, herders moved flocks of drought-resistant churro *(merino) sheep to grazing areas with forage and climate appropriate to the season. The hacienda of Patos had the first* obraje *in Nueva Vizcaya, where workers produced coarse woolen cloth and felt hats. In addition to farming and stockraising, the Aguayos engaged in other small frontier businesses. They were, for example, the area's major suppliers of sheep shears, an essential item for the smaller* haciendas de ovejas *in the largely sheep-raising country.*

Each of the haciendas in the Aguayo-Alamo empire had resident laborers. By 1765, the hacienda at Patos alone had 1,200 inhabitants. The laborers, who worked under a system of debt peonage, received a weekly ration of corn and meat. They could make small purchases at the hacienda's tienda de raya, *where the debts of individual workers were recorded in* cuadrantes, *or ledgers. These cuadrantes might also list fees to the local curate or to the hacienda's tailor or cobbler.*

By 1741, when the Conde del Alamo applied to the king for permission to operate his own private army from El Pasaje, he controlled a combined empire worth millions of pesos. At the time of his proposal to the king, he had been running his and his wife's entailed estates in conjunction for a period of fourteen years. By the mid-eighteenth century, the combined latifundia consisted of three separate mayorazgos: the Alamo entail and two entails belonging to the Aguayos. The Alamo-Aguayo empire contained almost 15 million English acres, approximately 38,000 square kilometers (or 22,950 square miles, an area about two-thirds the size of Portugal), and ran some 213,000 head of livestock. Between 1735 and Mexican independence, the crown repeatedly assessed the combined Alamo-Aguayo fortune at more than a million pesos, an economic position that only a few of New Spain's richest families ever attained. Despite the immense revenues that the latifundia produced and the apparent energy with which the family conducted its businesses, many of the ninety-five properties in the combined latifundia were heavily encumbered by debt. Later generations of Aguayos

and Alamos chose to reside in Mexico City, where they owned four palatial residences. In 1818, the family declared bankruptcy and a group of creditors took over administration of the estates. At the death of the fourth Marqués in 1820, the entail of the combined latifundia was disestablished and the properties went into receivership.

It is evident from this brief history of the fortunes of the Alamo and Aguayo families that in 1741, when the conde requested permission to garrison a presidio at El Pasaje, he was financially able to do all that he promised: rehabilitate the old presidio buildings, pay the soldiers' salaries, supply weapons and ammunition, and provision the troops. Yet it is evident from the documents published here that he failed to fully meet his obligations. His son, José Francisco de Valdivieso y Azlor, the second Conde del Alamo, who also held the position of field marshal, inherited his father's vast estates in 1749, when he was only nine years old. Raised in luxury in Mexico City, Valdivieso had little interest in the protection of the northern estates. The second Conde del Alamo completely failed to fulfill his father's contract with the king, thereby exposing his properties and his retainers, as well as those of his neighbors, to Apache attack.

Repeated requests from governors of Nueva Vizcaya to properly garrison the presidio fell on deaf ears in Mexico City, where the young Conde del Alamo lived with his mother. Both the young heir and his guardian, the distinguished General Francisco Sánchez de Tagle, paid no heed to the persistent warnings that their failure to protect that portion of the frontier rendered it more vulnerable. By the 1760s, Apache attacks had intensified to such a degree that many haciendas, including the Aguayos' hacienda of Joya, the site of the only spring between Saltillo and Monclova, were abandoned. Despite negotiations for other arrangements to fulfill the Conde del Alamo's obligations, it is clear from the documents that the heirs to his entails felt little allegiance to their northern estates, which interested them only for the revenues they could produce. Eventually mismanagement, absenteeism, drought, Apache attacks, transportation problems, and lack of liquid capital took their toll. The Aguayo-Alamo empire ended in irresponsibility and financial crisis.

OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 1742

Offensive and defensive [maneuvers] against the apostate Indians who have rebelled and taken refuge at the locale of Santa María de Parras[1] in the province of Nueva Vizcaya.

You [the viceroy] reported in your letter dated September 27 of last year that the natives of that town and district were in absolute need of assistance in defending themselves against the hostilities and abuses of the aforementioned Indians, especially the Apaches, who were troubling them. You

1. Santa María de Parras, eighty kilometers west of Saltillo in Nueva Vizcaya, was founded in 1578. An important area for the cultivation of wheat and later grapes, Parras was ac-

told of the campaign that, in response to repeated appeals from the townspeople and with a mandate from the Audiencia de Guerra, your predecessor entrusted to the Conde [de San Pedro del Alamo] for this purpose in 1737.[2] This maneuver produced such favorable results that [up to the time of your letter], the Indians had not returned to the place from which they were driven, and the company assigned to defend Parras had not withdrawn for that reason. With respect to the war that the conde was conducting, you added that, although the manner in which it was conducted it was governed by the Reglamento of 1729,[3] [the campaign was] solely for the purpose of containing hostilities and attaining the peace now achieved, without employing the harshness [of war] or more than its apparatus in order to reduce and attract [the Indians] with the gentleness that I have always intended. You stated that [this policy] is still practiced in those cases where their tyrannies make a defense necessary.

In consideration of this and [the fact] that the conde has adequate means and wealth to execute his proposals, and because if others are inspired to follow his example other great benefits could be achieved, you have asked me to endorse this as a sound proposal. You have also requested authorization for what was done regarding the matter while you were awaiting better instructions. You gave me an account of everything, even though you said that there would be no discrepancies. My Council of the Indies has reviewed [the petition], along with its current antecedents and my fiscal's comments concerning it. In a letter dated August 25, 1739, the audiencia promised to provide a report of its investigation of the same issue, but it has not yet arrived. Nevertheless, as we are well informed of everything and find neither a discrepancy in what you advise in your letter nor any development that might compel you to alter your opinion, and as the opinion of the audiencia conforms with yours, we have decided to order and command you to act as you have. You are to arrange and facilitate matters so that the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo may proceed with conducting [campaigns against] the apostate Indians and [other rebels in the province of Nueva] Vizcaya [as a means of suppressing] the hostilities of the [enemy] Indians [against] the settlers in that territory, [providing that he is governed] in this by the laws, and providing also that you extend my special gratitude to the conde. This is merited by what he has already accomplished for such patriotic purposes and by what he offers to perform in the future, of which I shall be mindful and comforted. To this end, you shall propose the rank and honors that you deem fitting for the personage and merits of the conde. Under no circumstances, however, is he to undertake a campaign in that province without your express license and approval, or without consulting with you and taking the most appropriate measures by your agreement and consent, for such is

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quired by Francisco de Urdiñola. It subsequently became one of the most important haciendas of the Aguayo empire.

2. In 1737, the Conde del Alamo pursued the Apaches into the Bolsón de Mapimí.

3. The Reglamento of 1729 specifically stated that permission to wage war must be granted on each occasion.

my will. Upon receipt of this dispatch, you are to keep me apprised of any further developments whenever the opportunity presents itself.

Aranjuez, July 11, 1741

I, the King

By order of our lord the King,

Don Fernando Tribiño

[Sealed with three rubrics]

I, Father Superior Dámaso de Vargas,[4] appear before your honor on behalf of the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo within due process of law, *salvos los competentes*,[5] and [hereby] state [the following]: On July 11, 1741, his majesty (may God protect him) issued a real cédula providing that the Duque de la Conquista, with the concurrence of this Real Audiencia, inform him of the status of the campaign that the Conde de San Pedro has been carrying out, with authorization from the most excellent archbishop-viceroy and the approval of the minister of war, against the barbarian Indians who have overrun the district of Santa María de Parras and its surroundings. The same resolution [also provided] that the conde be assisted in conducting his campaigns against the Indians, stipulating that they be conducted in accordance with the laws,and that the rank and honors deemed appropriate for the conde's personage and merits be presented to his majesty. The cédula provided further that the conde is under no circumstances to conduct the campaigns without the express consent of your higher [authority]. Accordingly, in order that your honor might be [better] informed [about the contents] of the real cédula referred to, I must present the following [arguments]:

First, [the cédula's provision] that [the conde] under no circumstances is to [conduct campaigns against] the Indian barbarians [without the express consent of your] higher authority is impossible in practice. As is generally known, there is a distance of more than two hundred leagues between this city and the hacienda where the conde maintains the company that sets out on these expeditions.[6] If he is required to obtain prior permission from this higher authority, he cannot respond quickly to the hostile assaults that the barbarians inflict every day, which by their very frequency demand prompt correction. To delay in such cases is to lose the best opportunities. This is worth remembering, especially when those barbarians constantly launch hostile actions, confident that unless we pursue them immediately they can take sure refuge in the mountains surrounding those areas, which are impenetrable due to their ruggedness. The mountains and impenetrable places stand so close at hand that it is necessary to respond swiftly to

4. Dámaso de Vargas, possibly a Dominican friar, acted as legal representative for the Conde del Alamo.

5. Reserving personal rights, or reserving personal immunity.

6. "This city" probably refers to Durango, the official residence of the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and the closest city located more than two hundred leagues from the farthest of the Alamo-Aguayo haciendas.

any of [the Indians'] attacks. Even all this speed often proves inadequate, and precautionary measures must be taken to resist the hostilities that threaten daily. The barbarians are always waiting to attack at any moment when our guard is down; it is impossible to predict or to prevent their sudden assaults, and the mountains that are at hand to shelter them permit no delay in their pursuit. For these reasons, the conde rejects as impossible the order contained in the real cédula that requires the prior consent of this superior authority.

The second point I must present to your excellency is of great concern, as it demonstrates both the present status of these campaigns and the impossibility of carrying out the aforementioned orders. After the campaign that the conde personally made with his men at the beginning of 1738, during which he ousted the barbarians and forced them to withdraw, the entire vicinity remained so quiet and calm that no damages or hostilities were experienced in the course of three years, nor did one hear of any thefts or murders such as had previously been reported. Then in the past year of 1741, the captain of the presidio of Conchos[7] allowed the escape of Indians who had been detained and whom he had held in custody by order of his excellency, the archbishop-viceroy. As soon as they learned that the Indians had escaped, that the captain lacked the horses to pursue [the fugitives], and that various others had joined those Indians, increasing their number, Don Cristóbal de Cárdenas and the conde's men set out in pursuit. Although the conde's force managed to divest [the Indians] of the horse herd at the first [illegible], [they could not overtake] the barbarians, who took refuge in the nearby mountains.

The conde's men [lacked] Indian auxiliaries, who are always necessary because of their familiarity with the locales and all of the barbarians' places of entry, egress, and shelter, and because these Indian auxiliaries are the most suitable for spies. Thus, as long as [the conde] is not given the authority to take all the auxiliaries he needs, the conde's men cannot achieve complete success in all their campaigns. As he has promised and obligated himself to do, he would pay from his own holdings the wage of 2 reales per day to each [auxiliary], which is the customary wage and is what he has pledged.

This need for Indian auxiliaries returned to haunt the conde later on other occasions presented to his men by the same rebellious Indians. In June of last year, these Indians raided the grazing lands belonging to the town of Saltillo[8] and took a considerable number of the mules and horses kept there. The conde's men set out in pursuit and traveled for twenty-three days straight, seeking out [the Indians'] hiding places, until they reached the Sierra Mojada, which is part of the mountains of Parral.[9] There they picked up the Indians' trail, which they fol-

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7. The captain of the presidio of Conchos at the time was Joseph de Berroterán, who headed the presidio from 1722 to 1762. The presidio was established shortly before 1693 on the Conchos River. See Captain Berroterán's report in chapter 5 for another point of view regarding incidents such as this one.

8. Founded in 1577, the villa of Saltillo became an important supply center for the surrounding mines. Jurisdiction over Saltillo was transferred from Nueva Vizcaya to Coahuila in 1787.

9. The highest mountains in the area are twenty kilometers northwest of the city.

lowed to the Laguna de San Pedro,[10] where they lost the signs and were unable to find them again in all the ground they traversed. This would not have happened if the conde's men had had with them the Indian auxiliaries who had been promised by the governor of Parral[11] at the time of his visit to the pueblo of Santa María de Parras, but who had not been provided on this occasion.

Shortly thereafter, the same Indian rebels raided the hacienda called Coapas and stole most of the mounts kept there. The governor of Vizcaya, who was still in Parras, ordered the conde's men to go once again in pursuit, offering, if they did not succeed in their mission, to supply 150 Indian auxiliaries whom he had ready. The conde's men set out on that campaign and scoured the land for more than a month, but although they so advised the governor of Parral [Nueva Vizcaya's de facto capital], who had already left Parras for Durango, he did not furnish the 150 auxiliaries he had promised. Nor is there presently hope of the conde's men [receiving] any assistance, unless the conde is given full authority to recruit [auxiliaries] from wherever he wants at his own expense. From this [illegible], along with what the conde offered to place completely [several illegible words], he will prevent all the damage at the [settlers'] haciendas, such as that experienced at one of them just recently in the month of June this year, when the entire horse herd was taken. The constant hostilities, thefts, and ravages perpetrated upon the unfortunate settlers of the area will also be avoided, especially at Parras, whose inhabitants have sustained more than 4,000 pesos in damages since the flight of the Indians from the presidio at Conchos.

Nor is it to be expected that the governor or the captains of Vizcaya will ever take any measures to remove those Indians or to bring complete peace to the land. Because they collect the funds and wages that the royal treasury so readily supplies during war or peace, it is to the advantage of the governor and the captains to maintain a state of war. The peace that is desired can be attained only by someone who expects to benefit personally from achieving it, as the conde undoubtedly does. He expects to pacify those areas in the manner that I have proposed, by recruiting at a wage all the Indian auxiliaries he needs, and hopes not to be encumbered when the opportunity arises to campaign with his men by having to obtain prior permission from this superior government. For this it will be necessary for his majesty to approve or confirm the conde's ability to operate free of restrictions from the governors of Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas, and other areas.

In order to realize his goal of bringing peace and tranquillity to all the lands from Santa María de Parras to the haciendas of San Pedro del Alamo, a distance of more than one hundred leagues,[12] and so that his majesty might save the 13,420 pesos spent annually by the Real Hacienda in maintaining the presidio of El Pasaje, which is located on land belonging to the conde at his hacienda at Alamo,

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10. The Laguna de San Pedro is located east of the Nazas River, northwest of Parras in southern Coahuila. It is presently referred to as the Vaso de la Antigua Laguna de Mayrán.

11. The governor of Nueva Vizcaya during this period was Juan Bautista de Belaunzarán (1738–1742). The governors frequently resided in Parral, although it was not the official capital of Nueva Vizcaya.

12. The distance is slightly more than one hundred kilometers.

the conde offers to defend all that land at his expense if the area occupied by the presidio is returned to him and the presidio abolished. This proposal is extended on the condition that the conde and his soldiers will not be subject to the [governor] of Nueva Vizcaya nor to anyone else except this [captaincy general]. [Half of each line in the remainder of the paragraph is obscured by a water stain, effectively rendering the meaning unintelligible.]

Flores de Rivera [Dámaso] de Vargas[13]

We ordered that [the above], along with the *autos* pertaining to the matter, be reviewed by his majesty's fiscal in this Real Audiencia, who in his examination gave the following response:

My dear sir:

The fiscal has reviewed the preceding document and the accompanying royal dispatch that was submitted with it by the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, dated June 11, 1741, in addition to the autos that the *auditoría general* has issued since 1737 pertaining to provisions for the containment and mitigation of the hostilities and attacks perpetrated by the Indian barbarians in the area surrounding the town of Santa María de Parras in the province of Nueva Vizcaya. The *autos* indicate that the repeated campaigns and expeditions conducted on various occasions, either out of necessity or by order of the most excellent viceroys—with a growing cost to the royal treasury, at whose expense they have been carried out—have not been sufficient for the subjugation of the Indians and the defense of the settlers. The Indians enjoy the shelter of the rugged mountains, which are so easily passable for them with their agility and skill in ascent, but which are difficult for the soldiers, who of necessity are mounted on horseback and unfamiliar with the trails. Thus, although prisoners and stolen livestock have been recovered in some cases (which have been few), it has always been impossible to apprehend [the Indians] themselves. The principal cause of this is the lack of other, already reduced Indians who could help to guide the troops along the reliable and known trails and to achieve control of the enemies through punishment or reduction.

The governor of Parral and his lieutenant should have furnished the Indian auxiliaries on the occasions when they were requested by the conde, yet it is clear that they did not do so. Although the fiscal is not convinced that the motive has been to perpetuate the war, upon close examination of the very considerable damages, [the fiscal concludes that] their negligence has produced obvious effects, and even the deaths of some unfortunate settlers. Mainly as an interested party, in that the attacks the Indians carry out in future would be sustained by the settlers, their servants, and the livestock of their haciendas, the conde generously offered to make his wealth available for royal service. Informed of this and advised

13. Father Superior Dámaso de Vargas Flores de Rivera, who acted as legal representative of the Conde del Alamo.

by the late viceroy of the progress of the campaigns entrusted to the conde, his majesty issued the aforementioned real cédula, which your honor should now be familiar with. [The cédula] ordered that, barring any new developments or discrepancies that might affect the status of the matter, the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo was to be assisted in conducting his campaigns against the rebel apostate Indians in that province, with the proviso that the conde should contain his efforts toward ending the hostilities and securing the safety and tranquillity of the settlers in that territory, acting always within the confines of the law. [His majesty] also instructed that it be made clear to the conde how gratified he was with what [the conde] has accomplished and has offered to perform in the future for such laudable ends, and that [his majesty] would be mindful of and comforted [by the conde's offer], for which reason the rank and honors deemed appropriate for the conde's personage and merits were to be proposed to his majesty. The cédula concluded [with the admonition] that for each campaign, [the conde] must secure the prior authorization and approval of the most excellent viceroy, in accordance with this royal document.

In order to make his steadfastness of purpose understood, the conde presents his intentions to your honor in the cited document. He promises to dedicate himself to the pacification of the entire land at the expense of his own wealth and labor, under the [following] conditions: He is to be granted the power to recruit at a wage the Indian auxiliaries that he needs for both the normal and extraordinary campaigns and counteractions that may arise, paying them the usual daily wage of 2 reales. Orders are to be given to the governor of Parral and the other captains and ministers not to hinder the recruitment, but to assist [the conde] and cooperate in answering his calls without any excuses. Above all, [the conde] is to be subordinate only to this captaincy general, with absolute freedom from the governor [of Parral] and other ministers of those provinces. It will be [the conde's] responsibility to build, garrison, and maintain at his expense the presidio known today as El Pasaje, which is located on his lands, thus quenching or putting an end to its funding at his majesty's expense. Finally, he is to be authorized to conduct campaigns whenever appropriate without the need to obtain prior approval from this captain general's office, because the great distance of more than two hundred leagues from his haciendas does not permit it.

Having carefully reviewed the conditions proposed by the conde, the fiscal finds that [the conde's] offer is more comprehensive now than it was earlier. Consequently, what was agreeable to his majesty even under those earlier terms will be much more so now, in view of the obvious benefits that will result from ending the payment made from his royal coffers under the heading of [supplies] and annual gross wages [of the soldiers]. These warranting factors have convinced [the fiscal] that [the conde's] proposition should be accepted and put [into effect]. In fulfillment of his obligation, [the fiscal provisionally accepts the offer that the conde makes in his statement], inasmuch as the savings to the royal treasury will be considerable over the minimum of two years that notice of the king's resolution will necessarily be delayed. With regard to the condition that the conde is to be permitted to campaign at opportune times without the need to make a report and obtain prior authorization from this superior government, as he has in mind—although this goes against the literal provisions of the royal decree, it cannot

be against his majesty's intentions, for defense against sudden invasions and attacks by the enemies naturally requires that they be pursued into their mountains. Leaving aside the considerable distance to this capital, [obtaining] authorization would not be feasible even if the capital were close at hand or near the [place of] invasion, because waiting for authorization would always render the pursuit too late.

Thus it is necessary to understand his majesty's intention in the royal decree. The wording applies to those extraordinary cases, independent of sudden defensive measures, wherein plans are made to wage open war by entering into the mountains and keeping watch in order to capture or kill [the enemy]. Such cases require the conditions mandated by royal laws, along with the more mature deliberation of the viceroys in councils of war, as circumstances dictate, in order to remedy the irreparable damage caused by the barbarians' insolence. The latter [Indians] are confident of the protection [afforded by] Christian forbearance and tolerance, on account of not having been attacked at their center of refuge on the occasions when they have invaded Christian lands with their constant robbing and killing. Inasmuch as ordinary measures have not been sufficient to contain their savage audacity, such conditions make it necessary to have recourse to the extraordinary measure of invading their territory. The viceroys will have to determine which cases call for such action [and consider] the other valid or trivial circumstances. In addition, [with regard to] the governor and the other ministers, it is appropriate to grant [the conde] the authority he seeks, [under] the conditions that he proposes, while [half of each line in the remainder of the paragraph is obscured by a water stain, effectively rendering the meaning unintelligible.]

With regard to the royal decree's specific provision, the fiscal believes that in recognition of the conde's important service, in addition to his rank, personage, and the commendations he has earned, it is appropriate that he be granted the title of field marshal. His father, the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo,[14] received the same title for carrying out the difficult expedition to Texas that was entrusted to him by his excellency, Viceroy Marqués de Valero.[15] In order to encourage the conde's son to act with equal spirit and love for royal service in his life and death and to continue with the pacification of that vast province, he is granted the title of colonel with the option of his father's title.[16] It is fair and fitting of his royal

14. José Ramón de Azlor y Virto de Vera, the second Marqués de Aguayo, was the first Conde del Alamo's father-in-law. From November 1720 to May 1722, Aguayo commanded a large expedition into Texas, conferring with representatives of the French government while there. He received the title of field marshal for his expedition. His entrada resulted in the addition of two presidios, three missions, and one hundred soldiers at the Texas garrisons, assuring the continuation of Spanish domination in Texas. This expedition is detailed in chapter 9.

15. The Marqués de Valero, Baltazar de Zúñiga Guzmán Sotomayor y Mendoza, served as viceroy from 1716 to 1722.

16. A reference to José Francisco de Valdivieso y Azlor, born in Mexico City in 1740. The conde's son was a two-year-old child at the time the title of colonel was bestowed on him.

benevolence that [his majesty compensates] his vassals in a manner corresponding with and even exceeding their services, in order to inspire others and reward those who dedicate themselves to such laudable goals. With this his majesty is obeyed, and his royal order is duly completed with the fiscal's suggestion.

Mexico, August 29, 1742

Licenciado Vedoya

AGN, G.P. 33 160–66.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL
OFICIO DE GUERRA 1742

Ofensiva y defensiva a los indios apóstatas levantados y acogidos en el paraje de Santa María de Parras en la provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya.

Informasteis en carta de 27 de septiembre del año próximo pasado, ser cierta la necesidad que tuvieron de socorro y defensa, los naturales de aquel pueblo y su distrito, contra las hostilidades y vejaciones de los referidos indios, especialmente de los apaches que los afligían. Y disteis cuenta de la entrada que con este motivo, por los repetidos recursos de los pueblos y con dictamen de la audiencia de la guerra, había puesto vuestro antecesor el año de 1737 al cuidado del expresado conde; de los favorables efectos que produjo su práctica de no haber vuelto hasta entonces los mencionados indios al paraje de donde fueron arrojados, y de que no por eso habían retirado la compañía que armó en resguardo del referido pueblo de Parras; y añadís, que respecto de ser la guerra que pretendía hacer el conde, sin embargo del modo que se halla dispuesto en el reglamento del año de 1729, únicamente para contener las hostilidades y arraigar el sosiego que ya está conseguido, sin usar de su rigor ni más que de aparato para reducirlos y atraerlos con la suavidad que siempre ha sido de mi real intención, y expresáis se practica aún en los casos de la defensa a que obligan sus tiranías.

En esta consideración, y en las de ser suficientes los bienes y medios del conde para ejecutar lo que ofrece, y porque si a su imitación se moviesen otros podrán ser consiguientes otras muchas utilidades. Y me pedíais fuese servido de calificar si tenía lugar esta concesión y permiso, mientras mejor instruido, como esperabais estarlo, de lo que en el asunto se tenía actuado. Me dabais cuenta de todo aunque discurríais no habría discrepancia en lo referido, y habiéndose visto en mi Consejo de las Indias con los antecedentes de esta instancia y lo que sobre ella ha expuesto mi fiscal. Sin embargo, de no haber venido el informe que en carta de 25 de agosto del año de 1739 ofreció hacer esa audiencia de las noticias que quedaba indagando sobre el mismo asunto, ha parecido ordenaros y mandaros (como lo ejecuto), que mejor instruido de todo y no hallando discrepancia de lo que informáis en vuestra carta, ni novedad que os obligue a mudar de dictamen y conformándose el de esa audiencia con el vuestro, dispongáis y facilitéis que el Conde de San Pedro del Alamo prosiga en hacer [palabras ilegibles] los mencionados indios apóstatas y [palabras ilegibles] Vizcaya pero con la [palabras ilegibles] sobre esto por las leyes [palabras ilegibles] las hostilidades de los indios [palabras ilegibles]

de los vecinos hacendados en aquel territorio, previniendo también que manifestéis al conde referido la especial gratitud que me ha merecido, lo que ha ejecutado ya para tan leales fines, y lo que ofrece ejecutar en adelante, por lo cual será atendido y consolado, a cuyo fin me propondréis el grado y honores que os parecieren proporcionados y correspondientes a la persona y méritos del mencionado conde, el cual por ningún caso podrá hacer las entradas en aquella provincia sin expresa licencia y aprobación vuestra, y sin tomar con vos y de vuestro acuerdo y consentimiento las medidas que más convengan por ser así mi voluntad. Y que de recibo de este despacho y de lo que en su derecho se fuere adelantando, me deis cuenta en todas las ocasiones que se ofrecieren para hallarme enterado.

Fecho en Aranjuez a 11 de julio de 1741.

Yo, el rey

Por mandado del rey nuestro señor,

Don Fernando Tribiño

[Señalado con tres rúbricas]

El padre superior Dámaso de Vargas por el Conde de San Pedro del Alamo como mejor proceda en derecho, salvos los competentes, parezco ante vuestra altísima y digo que su majestad (que Dios guarde) se sirvió expedir su real cédula de 11 de julio del dicho año pasado de 1741 para que el excelentísimo Duque de la Conquista, con acuerdo de esta real audiencia, le informase sobre el estado de la campaña, que con licencia del excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey, y dictamen del señor auditor de guerra, ha estado ejecutando el referido Conde de San Pedro contra los indios bárbaros que han infestado los contornos y distrito del pueblo de Santa María de Parras; y para que con el mismo acuerdo dispusiese y facilitase el que el referido conde prosiguiese haciendo sus entradas contra los mencionados indios, arreglándose en esto a lo que sobre ello está dispuesto por las leyes, y que se le propusiese a su majestad el grado y honores que pareciesen proporcionados y correspondientes a la persona y méritos de dicho conde; previniéndose también en dicha cédula que de ningún modo pueda hacer las entradas sin la expresa licencia de vuestro superior [gobierno]. [Palabras ilegibles] conformidad y para que vuestra altísima se sirva de informar [palabras ilegibles] de la citada real cédula debo representar [palabras ilegibles] siguiente.

Primeramente que por lo que [palabras ilegibles] previene que de ningún modo pueda el [referido conde hacer las entradas] contra los expresados indios bárbaros [sin la expresa licencia de vuestro superior] gobierno, es impracticable en la ejecución porque como es notorio hay la distancia de más de doscientas leguas de esta ciudad a la hacienda donde mantiene el conde la compañía que sale a estas funciones, en cuya suposición si se hubiere de ocurrir previamente a obtener la licencia de este superior gobierno, no pudiera acudirse con presteza a las hostilidades y perjuicios que cada día causan aquellos bárbaros, los cuales por lo frecuente piden pronto remedio. Y de aquí se originara el que las mejores ocasiones se perdieran, lo cual es digno de advertirse especialmente cuando es constante que aquellos bárbaros se arrojan a cualquier hostilidad con la confianza de que si prontamente no los persiguen, luego toman las sierras cercanas de aquellos para-

jes que por su aspereza son impenetrables y por eso logran en ellas seguro abrigo donde guarecerse; y teniendo a la mano estas serranías y parajes tan impenetrables es necesario acudir con presteza a cualquier acometimiento de ellos, y aún muchas veces no es bastante toda esta diligencia, sino que deben prevenirse de antemano y poner reparo a las hostilidades que cada día amenazan por vivir ellos siempre acechando la ocasión de cualquier descuido para librar sus insultos, de modo que ni es posible prevenir, ni habitar los repentinos acontecimientos de estos bárbaros, ni permiten dilación alguna las serranías que tienen a la mano para guarecerse cuando los persigue; por lo cual reputa el referido conde por impracticable el orden que se proviene en dicha real cédula sobre la licencia previa que requiere de este superior gobierno.

Lo segundo que debo representar a vuestra altísima y que conduce mucho, no menos por manifestar el estado presente de dichas expediciones que la imposibilidad en la práctica de expresadas órdenes, es que desde la campaña que personalmente hizo el conde con su gente a principios del año de 1738, en que desalojó e hizo retirar a aquellos indios bárbaros, quedaron tan quietos y pacíficos todos los contornos que en el discurso de tres años no se experimentó perjuicio ni hostilidad alguna ni se oyó robo ni muerte como antecedentemente acontecía, hasta que por el año pasado de 1741 el capitán del presidio de Conchos dejó huirse los indios que habían quedado y tenía en custodia por orden del excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey. Y luego que la gente del conde tuvo noticia de esta fuga y que no había podido perseguirlos el capitán de Conchos por falta de caballos, y que se habían aumentado en número estos indios con otros varios que se les habían agregado, salió después don Cristóbal de Cárdenas con la demás gente del conde en seguimiento; y aunque lograron al primer [ilegible] quitarles la caballada pero no pudieron proseguir en su alcance así [ilegible] bárbaros [ilegible] tomaron [ilegible] la sierra cercana [palabras ilegibles] a la gente del conde indios auxiliares que son siempre necesarios por el conocimiento que tienen de los parajes, de todas las entradas, salidas y guaridas de los bárbaros, y porque son estos indios auxiliares los más a propósito para espías. Y así no puede la gente del conde lograr entera felicidad en todas las expediciones mientras no se le diere facultad para poder sacar todos los indios auxiliares que necesitare, pagándoles como desde luego se ofrece y obliga a pagarles, de su propio caudal, el sueldo de dos reales todos los días a cada uno, que es lo que se acostumbra y el que se les ha señalado.

Y esta necesidad de indios auxiliares la volvió a experimentar después el conde en otras ocasiones que se le ofrecieron a su gente con los mismos indios sublevados, porque habiendo estos, por el mes de junio del año pasado, dado en los potreros de la villa del Saltillo y llevándose de allí considerable porción de caballada y mulada, salió la gente del conde en seguimiento de ellos, y habiendo caminado veintitrés días continuos reconociendo sus parajes y emboscadas hasta llegar a la sierra que llaman Mojada, que es ya en las serranías del Parral, desde allí se cogieron el rastro y vestigios de ellos que siguieron hasta la laguna de San Pedro donde se les perdieron estas señales sin que pudiesen dar con ellos en toda la tierra que corrieron, lo cual no hubiera sucedido si la gente del conde hubiera tenido consigo indios auxiliares que ofreció darle, y no le dió en esta ocasión, el gobernador del Parral, que se hallaba a la sazón en su visita en el pueblo de Santa María de Parras.

Y habiendo resultado de allí a poco los mismos indios sublevados en la hacienda que llaman de Coapas y robado allí porción grande de caballos, el gobernador de la Vizcaya, que aún se mantenía en Parras, dió orden para que volviese a salir la gente del conde, ofreciendo el que si no lograsen buen éxito en su salida, les acudiría con 150 indios auxiliares, que para ello tenía aprontados. Y aunque la gente del conde salió a aquella campaña y corrió toda la tierra por el discurso de un mes y muchos días más, y se dió aviso al gobernador del Parral, que ya había salido del pueblo de Parras para la ciudad de Durango, ni dió providencia de los 150 indios [ilegible] auxiliares que había ofrecido, ni se espera ya que con éste [palabras ilegibles] a la gente del conde algún socorro de dichos indios [palabras ilegibles] sino se le concede amplia facultad para que de donde quiera las pueda sacar a su costa y sueldo como [de esta propuesto con lo que ofrecía] el conde poner en entera [palabras ilegibles] y evitará todos los perjuicios que suele experimentar en sus haciendas, como lo ha experimentado ahora últimamente por el mes de junio de este año en una de ellas, de donde se llevaron toda la caballada que había en ella y también se evitaron las continuas hostilidades, robos y perjuicios que reciben los miserables vecinos de aquellos contornos, especialmente los de Parras, quienes desde la fuga que hicieron dichos indios del presidio de Conchos, pasan de cuatro mil pesos los daños que han experimentado.

Ni hay que esperar que el gobernador ni los capitanes de la Vizcaya tomen la resolución alguna vez de extirpar estos indios o de reducir la tierra a una entera y cumplida paz, porque en mantenerse la guerra consiste la utilidad del gobernador y capitanes en lo que perciben de paz y guerra y de los sueldos que prontamente se pagan en las reales cajas. Y sólo podrá conseguirse la paz que se desea por medio de una persona que tenga o espere sus utilidades del mismo logro de la paz, como sin duda las espera conseguir el conde, y poner en quietud todos aquellos contornos, facilitándoseles en el modo que llevo propuesto el sacar a sueldo todos los indios auxiliares que necesitare y que no se le impidan las salidas que en ocasiones oportunas pudiere hacer con su gente, sin que sea necesario ocurrir previamente a obtener la licencia de este superior gobierno, para lo cual también será necesario el que su majestad apruebe o confirme la inhibición que tiene el conde de los gobernadores de la Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas y de otras cualesquiera.

Y para que dicho conde pueda lograr el fin que desea de la quietud y reposo de toda aquella tierra que corre desde el pueblo de Santa María de Parras hasta las otras haciendas de San Pedro del Alamo, que son más de cien leguas, y para que su majestad logre a más de este servicio el ahorro de 13,420 pesos, que anualmente gasta de su real hacienda en la manutención del presidio del Pasaje que se halla fundado en tierras propias del conde pertenecientes a su hacienda del Alamo, ofrece mantener en defensa toda aquella tierra a su costa, con tal que se le entregue el paraje donde se halla fundado dicho presidio, el cual se extinga; entendiéndose esta propuesta con la calidad del que no ha de quedar sujeto el conde y sus soldados al [gobernador de la] Nueva Vizcaya ni a otro alguno, sino sólo a este [palabras ilegibles] lo cual y todo lo demás que lleva [palabras ilegibles] vuestra altísima en cumplimiento de la citada [real cédula] [palabras ilegibles] con testimonio de ésta mi [palabras ilegibles] tome la providencia que [palabras ilegibles] a su real servicio por [palabras ilegibles] llevo pedido [palabras ilegibles].

Flores de Rivera [ilegible] de Vargas.

De que mandamos dar vista al señor fiscal de su majestad en esta real audiencia con los autos de la materia, quien en su reconocimiento dio la respuesta siguiente:

Muy preciado señor, vuestro fiscal en vista del escrito que antecede y del real despacho acordado que con el se presenta por el Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, su fecha 11 de junio [sic] de 1741, y teniendo presentes los autos que por auditoría general se han seguido desde el año de 1737 sobre providencias para contener y corregir las hostilidades e insultos que los indios bárbaros frecuentan en las inmediaciones del pueblo de Santa María de Parras en la provincia de la Nueva Vizcaya; dice que dichos autos acreditan no haber sido suficientes, a la sujeción de dichos indios y a la defensa de aquellos vecindarios, las frecuentes correrías y entradas que, obligados de la necesidad o movidos de órdenes de vuestros excelentísimos virreyes, se han hecho en su prosecución en diversos tiempos y ocasiones con crecido costo de la real hacienda, a cuyas expensas se han practicado. Porque amparados dichos indios de la aspereza de las serranías, ha sido tan fácil y transitable para ellos por su agilidad y destreza en superarlas, cuanto difícil a los milicianos, así por necesitar de ir montados, como por la falta del conocimiento de sus entradas y veredas; de lo cual ha resultado que si en algunas (que han sido pocas) se ha conseguido el quitarles las presas y ganados robados, ha sido en todas inaccesible aprehender sus personas, siendo la principal causa de esto la falta de otros indios ya reducidos que pudieran auxiliar, y guiando a los militares por sendas y caminos ciertos y conocidos, lograrse el seguro de los enemigos en su castigo o su reducción.

Pues aunque así el gobernador del Parral como su teniente debieran haber aprontado dichos indios auxiliares en las ocasiones que se les han pedido por el referido conde, es constante no lo hicieron. Y aunque no se persuade el fiscal que el motivo sea la duración de la guerra, lo cierto es haber sido el efecto que ha producido su negligencia y aún algunas muertes de miserables vecinos al reparo de daños tan considerables y como principalmente interesado el conde, en que lo tengan los insultos que en los vecinos y sus sirvientes, y en los ganados de sus haciendas, en lo de adelante pueden ejecutar dichos indios, se ofreció generosamente franqueando su caudal a fines tan del real servicio, de que noticioso su majestad, e informado por el excelentísimo virrey difunto de los progresos de las expediciones que a dicho conde había confiado, se sirve por la citada real cédula ordenar lo que hoy debe entenderse con vuestra altísima que, permaneciendo sin novedad ni discrepancia en el mismo estado la materia, disponga y facilite que el referido Conde de San Pedro del Alamo prosiga en hacer sus entradas contra los indios apóstatas y levantados en aquella provincia, con la calidad de arreglarse a lo dispuesto por las leyes, y conteniendo sus operaciones al fin de impedir sus hostilidades y conseguir la seguridad y quietud de los vecinos hacendados en aquel territorio.

Igualmente se advierte manifieste al referido conde lo agradable que le ha sido lo que éste ha ejecutado y ofreció ejecutarle en lo de adelante para tan loables fines, y que sería atendido y consolado, para lo cual se le propusiese a su majestad el grado y honores que parecieren proporcionados y correspondientes a su persona y méritos, concluyendo en que para las entradas que hubiese de hacer precediese

la noticia, licencia y aprobación y consentimiento de vuestro excelentísimo virrey en consecuencia de este real rescrito.

Y para dar a entender la perseverancia en los propuestos designios con que dicho conde se halla, las expone a vuestra altísima en su citado escrito, prometiendo dedicarse a la pacificación de toda aquella tierra a costa de su caudal y fatigas, debajo de las calidades de que se le conceda facultad de sacar a sueldo los indios auxiliares que necesitare para las entradas y repulsas ordinarias y extraordinarias que se ofrezcan, pagándoles el diario de dos reales acostumbrados y competente, dándose las órdenes al gobernador del Parral y demás capitanes y justicias para que no le embaracen el sacarlos, antes sí, le auxilien y cooperen a que sin excusa asistan a sus llamamientos y sobre todo a que sólo haya de estar subordinado a esta capitanía general con absoluta inhibición de aquel gobernador y cualesquiera otras justicias de aquellas provincias y haya de ser de su cargo el erigir, dotar y mantener a su costa el presidio que hoy denomina del Pasaje fundado en tierras suyas, extinguiendo o cesando así su erección como su dotación de cuenta de su majestad. Y finalmente que haya de poder ejecutar las entradas siempre que convenga, sin necesitar de previa licencia de esta capitanía general, por no permitirlo la grande distancia de más de doscientas leguas de sus haciendas a ella.

Consideradas atentamente las condiciones propuestas por dicho conde, advierte vuestro fiscal, que hoy extiendo su ofrecimiento a más de lo que entonces comprendía y consiguientemente, que si aún en aquellos términos fue agradable a su majestad, lo será hoy mucho más a vista del notorio beneficio y utilidad que resultara, suspendiéndose la asistencia que de sus reales cajas se hace con título de efectos de [palabras ilegibles] el anual importe de los sueldos de la [palabras ilegibles]. Lo uno y lo otro prueba y persuade [ilegible] [el que desde ahora se] admita la proposición y ponerla [palabras ilegibles] en cumplimiento de su obligación [palabras ilegibles] que vuestro fiscal no alcanza [palabras ilegibles] conde hace el ofrecimiento [palabras ilegibles] su declaración este ahorro a la real hacienda que es considerable en los dos años que a lo menos ha de tardar necesariamente la noticia de su real deliberación. La condición de que pueda dicho conde, como que tendrá la cosa presente, ejecutar las entradas en tiempos oportunos, sin necesitar de dar antes cuenta y obtener licencia de este superior gobierno, aunque en lo literal sea opuesta a lo prevenido en el real despacho, no lo es ni puede serlo a la mente de su majestad, para que en las invasiones repentinas y asaltos de los enemigos se deje la defensa natural de seguirlos y perseguirlos entrando en sus montes; pues prescindiendo de la considerable distancia a esta capital para la licencia, tampoco ésta sería practicable aún cuando esta capital estuviese a la mano e inmediata a la invasión, pues para el remedio de ella en seguimiento del enemigo siempre se hacía tarde y extemporáneo con aguardar la licencia para seguirle.

Y así es que en los términos que habla y se deba entender la mente de su majestad en el referido real despacho, es para aquellos casos extraordinarios que, independiente de la repentina defensa, se considerase hacerles guerra abierta entrando en sus montes, atalayando estos para conseguir los enemigos prisioneros o muertos, para cuyo caso se necesitan las circunstancias que previenen las leyes reales, y con el más maduro consejo de vuestros virreyes en juntas de guerra, según las circunstancias, a remediar el daño irreparable que la insolencia de los bárbaros dió margen por confiados del escudo de la tolerancia o sufrimiento cristiano, de no haberlos insultado el centro de sus retiros en las ocasiones con que

ellos han invadido la cristiandad con robos y muertes continuadas, en que ya los remedios ordinarios no han bastado a contener la bárbara audacia, hace preciso en estos términos deberse ocurrir con el remedio extraordinario de invadirles en sus tierras, el que se deberá determinar por vuestros virreyes cuando el caso lo pidiere [y fijarse de] las demás condiciones vanas y justas, como también [palabras ilegibles] aquel gobernador y demás justicias es conveniente [palabras ilegibles] se le conceda la facultad que solicita, en [palabras ilegibles] condiciones que propone, en el ínterin que [palabras ilegibles] motivos de su concesión resulte [palabras ilegibles]. Para lo cual se servirá [palabras ilegibles] sobre este punto.

Y en cuanto a lo que en dicha real cédula específicamente se le previene lo haga, considera vuestro fiscal que en remuneración de servicio tan importante, atendida la calidad, persona y recomendaciones granjeadas por el referido conde, será proporcionada y correspondiente remuneración el que se le conceda el título de mariscal de campo que obtuvo el marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, su padre, por haber desempeñado la laboriosa expedición de los Texas, que le fue encomendada por vuestro excelentísimo virrey, Marqués de Valero, como el que para alentar al hijo de dicho conde a que con igual esfuerzo y amor al real servicio en su vida y en su muerte concurra, y continúe en la pacificación de aquella tan vasta provincia, se le conceda el título de coronel, con la opción a la que dicho su padre hubiere obtenido por ser justo y propio de la real benignidad no sólo a correspondencia, sino aún con exceso los servicios de sus vasallos para aliento de otros y consuelo de los que a tan loables fines se dedican, con lo cual queda su majestad obedecido, y su real orden tiene el debido cumplimiento que vuestro fiscal pide.

México y agosto 29 de 1742.

Licenciado Vedoya

Attempt to Reestablish the Presidio of El Pasaje, 1753

The following document is an order from ministers of King Fernando VI to Viceroy Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Conde de Revillagigedo. The document reflects the crown's concern both for maintaining the line of presidios and, through rotating presidial captains, for stemming the corruption of captains and merchants, who frequently set exorbitant prices on merchandise that presidial soldiers were required to purchase.

In a past letter dated July 10, 1751, your excellency stated that you considered it appropriate to abolish the following five presidios that have protected Nueva Vizcaya:[1] Mapimí, El Gallo, Cerro Gordo, Valle de San Bartolomé, and Conchos. In their stead, a flying company was to be formed with a captain, two lieutenants, an alférez, two sergeants, and seventy soldiers. This company, separated into two divisions, would move continuously throughout the territory in order to deter Indian hostilities. Your excellency suggested establishing settlements where the presidios were located or in other suitable localities, dividing and selling the land to settlers and using the funds gained to cover the expenses of the company. Your excellency also notified the estate of the deceased Conde de San Pedro del Alamo[2] that it should bear the cost of five settlements in order to satisfy [the conde's] contracted obligation, which was to maintain the presidio of El Pasaje at his own expense. For the defense of the northern frontier your excellency agreed to establish a settlement at the site of either Ruiz or Casas Grandes,[3] the cost of which was to be allocated initially to the Real Hacienda and later to the miners and merchants of Chihuahua. A presidio with fifty soldiers

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1. In 1751, the viceroy's junta de guerra determined that five of the cordon of seven presidios guarding the northern frontier were unnecessary. These presidios were dismantled and replaced by a single flying company of seventy men.

2. The first Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, Field Marshal Francisco de Valdivieso y Mier, died in 1749, leaving his nine-year-old son, José Francisco de Valdivieso y Azlor, as presumptive heir to the title. General Francisco Sánchez de Tagle acted as guardian for José Francisco and his brother Pedro Ignacio, the future fourth Marqués de Aguayo. When José Francisco reached his majority in 1761 he became the second Conde del Alamo.

3. Ruiz, or Chavarría, a small settlement located a short distance south of the hacienda of Torreón in the Santa María River Valley of Nueva Vizcaya, was the last site of the presidio of San Buenaventura. Casas Grandes, near the site of a large, multistoried, pre-Columbian Indian dwelling located on the Casas Grandes River, approximately forty kilometers northwest of Ruiz, became a villa in 1778.

would be established at the site of either Cajón or Los Pilares, and a settlement was to be built in the meantime at San Elesario,[4] on the banks of the Río [Grande] del Norte. In addition, your excellency decided that the presidio captains should be rotated from one presidio to another, in order to avoid the harm that comes from their establishing themselves in one place. Toward this end your excellency had already applied this measure at the places mentioned.

In another letter dated October 29 of the same year, which accompanied the *autos* issued in response to the stated decisions, your excellency adds that although the executor of the estate of the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo is responsible for reestablishing the presidio of El Pasaje within two months, and the obligation of supporting the soldiers is to be dispensed with as the settlement is built, the determination of the conditions and the qualification for their admission has been reserved for his majesty. In the meantime, your excellency seeks to complete the reestablishment of the presidio within the time specified. Your excellency concludes by stating that, above all, you wish to be advised of how to proceed in this matter.

I have presented the contents of your excellency's letters and the accompanying testimonies to the king. In his wisdom, his majesty has decided to approve the change, terminating the five presidios of Nueva Vizcaya and substituting in their place a flying company with the number of positions and purpose that your excellency has indicated. His majesty also agrees to the rotation of captains from one presidio to another, without detriment to their honor or salaries. The presidio of El Pasaje is to be excepted. His majesty wants the conditions there to be examined first, as well as the circumstances under which, according to the agreement made by the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, his heirs are to continue supporting the presidio or the settlements. In this particular instance, his majesty will make the appropriate decision and will advise your excellency accordingly.

The settlements that, by your excellency's determination, should be established in the areas and sites you mention likewise have met with his majesty's approval, as has the establishment of the new presidio with fifty soldiers in the area between El Paso and the missions of La Junta,[5] either at the place named El Cajón or at Los Pilares. In addition, he approves the rest of the arrangements and expenditures that might be occasioned by the Real Hacienda. His majesty is of

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4. Cajón, also known as Los Pilares, was located near the paraje known as Paraje de San Diego, a half-kilometer southeast of the present Pilares, Chihuahua, which is seventy kilometers south of Van Horn, Texas. San Elesario, located near present El Porvenir, Chihuahua, approximately one hundred kilometers downstream from El Paso, Texas, on the Río Grande, received a garrison during the military reorganization that took place between 1773 and 1774. Troops were also stationed at Los Pilares at that time.

5. La Junta de los Ríos, at the confluence of the Río Conchos and Río Grande del Norte, was the site of a *doctrina* founded by the Franciscans in 1683. Located in an area that supported a substantial Indian population, it was the site of several intermittent Spanish missions. Five missions founded between 1714 and 1716 were abandoned and reoccupied before the Spanish deserted the area in 1766. The presidio of Nuestra Señora de Belén, established at La Junta in 1759, was relocated to Julimes in 1766 and then returned to La Junta in 1773, at which time it was called the presidio del Norte.

the opinion that it all conspires toward the reduction of the pagan Indians to our holy faith, the improvement and education of those already reduced, the expansion and strengthening of the monarchy, and the containment of hostilities suffered from the same infidel and apostate Indians. His majesty believes that with some outlay beyond what the five abolished presidios incurred, all the measures proposed by your excellency could be put into effect. His majesty recognizes your excellency's zeal and the activity with which you dedicate yourself to saving as much as possible for the Real Hacienda, cutting wrongful or unnecessary expenditures. Being especially gratified to observe the confidence that has countenanced your excellency's efforts and direction, his royal spirit is moved to extend his gratitude for your devotion and commendable actions in the royal service. His majesty expects your excellency to keep him informed at all times of any developments in this matter and to strive to see [the matter] through to its completion with efficient supervision. Because of the distance from this capital to the places where these measures are to be put into effect, if they are not encouraged with fervent and constant vigilance, their intended purpose will not be achieved.

As a result of the general inspection that Brigadier General Don Pedro de Rivera y Villalón conducted of the interior presidios in this realm of New Spain in 1730,[6] a reglamento was created with ordinances, restrictions, and penalties that [the presidios] did not previously have for their prudent management and the service and discipline of their garrisons; and the presidios are governed by it today. Four presidios were eliminated as superfluous, and with other measures that were taken the Real Hacienda saved more than 160,000 pesos annually, little of which had ever been used for the intended purposes after leaving the royal coffers.

In the previously mentioned reglamento, it was considered advisable to set the prices at which merchandise, provisions, equipment, and other items needed by soldiers for their apparel and sustenance were to be sold in each presidio. In calculating these, the distances to the nearest settlements were measured and the current [prices] there were taken into account, as was the near necessity of captains and merchants gaining some profit from the commerce. This [measure] effectively curtails the abuse of captains burdening their soldiers with extremely high prices.

In dispatches dated July 30, 1730, his majesty approved the stated reglamento and ordinances, stipulating that they were to carry the force of the law. Since then, experience has shown that the regulation of prices made at that time (which continues to this day) is largely exorbitant and oppressive to the soldiers. Legal prices at which equipment, merchandise, and provisions are to be bought and sold cannot be set in perpetuity, because time and circumstances cause variations in their value. When [the prices] were assigned, it was with the provision that they were to be adjusted in the future, but this has not been done.

Wishing to correct the harm caused the soldiers by the elevated prices, his

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6. Pedro de Rivera Villalón, promoted to brigadier general by Viceroy Casafuerte, made an inspection tour of the northern frontier between 1724 and 1728. The tour resulted in the Reglamento of 1729, the first general ordinance for the uniform regulation of frontier presidios. Several supplements to the reglamento were issued during 1730.

majesty has ordered me to advise your excellency to call a junta of the ministers of your choice, as well as other experienced individuals who are not merchants at present. They are to consider the prices set in the reglamento dated April 20, 1729, in order to examine their fairness for each presidio and determine whether they should be maintained (which does not seem to be the case); whether they should be modified or lowered, in part or entirely; and whether it will be to the soldiers' advantage to continue with fixed prices or to price the goods they need at the natural prices that are dictated by the occasion and by the location of each presidio. In the event that a new valuation of prices is judged to be less burdensome, then [the junta] must decide how long the valuation should last and when it should be adjusted. Certainly it is necessary to adjust it at least every six years, knowing beforehand what the goods and provisions are worth, because maintaining the same price on things can only be unfair, not to mention that it is very difficult to send each presidio the appropriate funds in coined silver. This is due to the risks and expenses of its transport (although these are not so great, for an arroba can travel over the greatest distance for 20 silver reales), and also to the near impossibility of the soldiers having a way to provide for themselves when the money is insufficient for their clothing and maintenance, inasmuch as this measure has never been tried or tested. It is his majesty's hope that the aforementioned junta will also consider whether or not it will be feasible—for he assumes that the congregation of tradesmen will bring this up—to sell the goods that are needed. In this way the interior commerce of the realm will be stimulated and many will remain and settle in the remote places where the presidios are located. Finally, his majesty wants the junta to discuss everything that speaks to the abuses recognized in the supply and maintenance of the interior presidios with regard to the consequences that the soldiers suffer as a result of the prices, as well as the means through which to root [these abuses] out and anything else in [the presidios] that is thought to merit correction. He also would like your excellency to put whatever is decided into effect with the same punctuality and exactitude that your excellency observes in all matters touching upon royal service. Your excellency is to keep him informed at all times of what is done by virtue of this command. May God keep your excellency for many years.

Madrid, January 20, 1753.

Marqués of [Buened]

[To:] Señor Conde de Revillagigedo

Mexico, May 16, 1753

In order that this royal order may be properly carried out, it is to be registered in the books of my higher government and two testimonials are to be taken, one to be placed with the *autos* created with regard to suppressing the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, and the other with those from the villa of the province of Sinaloa, including the reports that concern the location and improved regulation of those presidios. The originals are to be returned to my secretary of council.

Señor [illegible] Conde de Revillagigedo

This royal order has been entered into one of the books of this realm's office of government and war, in my keeping, and the two required testimonials have been taken.

Mexico, May 22, 1753
Sandoval

AGN R.C. 73, 7–15.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

En carta de 10 de julio del año pasado de 1751, participó vuestra excelencia había tenido por conveniente suprimir los cinco presidios nombrados: Mapimí, El Gallo, Cerro Gordo, valle de San Bartolomé y Conchos que cubrían la Nueva Vizcaya, subrogando en su lugar una compañía volante con capitán, dos tenientes, alférez, dos sargentos y sesenta plazas; para que dividida en dos trozos estuviese en continuo movimiento en toda aquella tierra, a fin de evitar que los indios enemigos la hostilicen. Que había vuestra excelencia arbitrado la erección de las poblaciones de vecindarios donde estaban los presidios y otros parajes cómodos, para que repartiéndose y mercenándose las tierras a los pobladores, se excusase en breve, el gasto de la citada compañía. Que había vuestra excelencia hecho notificar a la casa mortuoria del Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, costease cinco poblaciones y vecindarios para satisfacer la obligación que contrajo: de conservar a su costa el presidio del Pasaje. Que acordó vuestra excelencia erigir un vecindario en el paraje de Ruiz, o de Casas Grandes, para defender la frontera del norte; cuyo costo, por de pronto, le erogase la real hacienda, y que después le diesen los mineros y comerciantes de Chihuahua, y que se estableciese un presidio de cincuenta plazas en el paraje del Cajón, o de los Pilares, ínterin se erigía una población en San Elisario a las márgenes del río [Grande] del Norte. Y que también había determinado vuestra excelencia, que los capitanes de los presidios, se mudasen de unos a otros para evitar los daños que se siguen de arraigarse en ellos, y que a este fin había ya aplicado vuestra excelencia esta providencia en los parajes que expresa.

En otra carta de 29 de octubre del mismo año, acompañando vuestra excelencia los autos seguidos con motivo de las expresadas disposiciones, añade vuestra excelencia que aunque quedaba encargado el albacea del Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, de restablecer el presidio del Pasaje, dentro de dos meses, y que según se fuese erigiendo el vecindario, iría [dispensando] la obligación de mantener los soldados, se había reservado a su majestad la calificación de las condiciones y calidades de su admisión. Y que en el ínterin, solicita vuestra excelencia se cumpla el restablecimiento del referido presidio del Pasaje dentro del término asignado, y concluye vuestra excelencia con exponer que sobre todo esperaba se le advirtiese lo que debía ejecutar.

He hecho presente al rey el contexto de las expresadas cartas de vuestra excelencia y de los testimonios que las acompañan; y en su inteligencia, ha resuelto

su majestad aprobar a vuestra excelencia la reforma y extinción de los cinco presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya, y que haya subrogado en lugar de ellos, la compañía volante con el número de plazas y destino que vuestra excelencia le ha dado, como asimismo la mutación que ha hecho de capitanes de unos presidios a otros, sin detrimento de su honor y sueldos, a excepción de lo que será al presidio del Pasaje, pues quiere su majestad que primero se examinen las calidades, y circunstancias con que según la obligación que hizo el Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, deban seguir sus herederos en la manutención del presidio, o en la de las poblaciones, sobre cuyo particular queda su majestad en tomar la resolución que convenga y corresponda, y en avisar a vuestra excelencia lo que fuere.

Así mismo han sido de la aprobación de su majestad las poblaciones y vecindarios que ha determinado se plantifiquen y radiquen en los parajes y vegas que refiere vuestra excelencia, como también el establecimiento del nuevo presidio de cincuenta plazas en el intermedio que hay desde El Paso a las misiones de La Junta, en el sitio nombrado el Cajón o de los Pilares, con las demás disposiciones y costos que pueden haber ocasionado a la real hacienda, pues juzga su majestad que todos conspiran a la reducción de los indios gentiles a nuestra santa fe, al cultivo y enseñanza de los ya reducidos, a la extensión y aumento de la monarquía, y a obviar las hostilidades que se padecen de los mismos indios infieles y apóstatas. Y considera su majestad, que con algún gasto más de los que causaban los cinco presidios quitados, podrían tener efecto todas las medidas aplicadas por vuestra excelencia, y reconociendo el celo y actividad con que se dedica vuestra excelencia al ahorro posible de la real hacienda, cortando dispendios mal o inútilmente empleados, resulta a su majestad de especial complacencia de ver lograda la confianza que ha apoyado a la dirección y experiencias de vuestra excelencia, moviendo su real ánimo a manifestarle la gratitud con que se halla de su amor y acreditadas operaciones a su real servicio. Y que espera su majestad, de vuestra excelencia, cuenta en todas ocasiones de lo que vaya ocurriendo en esta dependencia, procurando seguirla con la eficacia que pide el cuidado de estar sobre ella hasta su perfección; porque de otra manera, la distancia desde esa capital hasta los parajes donde han de producir sus efectos las providencias, si no se avivan con fervoroso y continuo desvelo, no se conseguirá el fin que se ha pretendido con ellas.

De resulta de la visita general que en el año de 1730 hizo de los presidios internos de ese reino de Nueva España el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera Villalón, se formó un Reglamento con ordenanzas, prohibiciones y penas para la economía, servicio y disciplina de sus guarniciones que antes no tenían, y hoy se gobiernan por él. Se reformaron cuatro presidios por superfluos, y con otras providencias que se dieron, ahorró la real hacienda más de ciento sesenta mil pesos anuales, que saliendo efectivos de las cajas reales, no llegaba mucha parte al fin y destino de su aplicación.

En el expresado reglamento, convino por entonces señalar los precios a que en cada presidio se habían de vender los géneros, efectos, víveres, equipajes y otras cosas que necesitan los soldados para su vestuario y sustento; y en su tasación se midieron las distancias, se tuvo presente los que corrían en las poblaciones más cercanas, y la casi necesidad de que esta negociación produjese algunos intereses a los capitanes y aviadores, obligando a esto, el cortar el abuso de los muy subidos

precios con que gravaban los capitanes a los soldados.

Su majestad en despachos de 30 de julio del propio año de 1730, aprobó el citado Reglamento y ordenanzas, confirmando con la cláusula de que tuviese fuerza de ley. Después ha demostrado la experiencia que la regulación de precios que se hizo en aquel tiempo (que continúa ahora), es en mucha parte exorbitante y en agravio de los soldados, así porque no se puede poner precios legales a los efectos, géneros y especies para que se vendan y compren perpetuamente, por la diferente estimación que los da de más o menos, el tiempo y sus accidentes; como porque cuando se asignaron, fue con la reserva de que debían variarse en lo de adelante, cuya diligencia no se ha hecho.

Deseando su majestad reparar el daño que ocasiona a los soldados lo subido de los precios, me manda prevenir a vuestra excelencia que con una junta de los ministros que le parezca, y con sujetos prácticos que no sean actualmente aviadores, en que se tengan presentes los que se señalaron en el Reglamento de 20 de abril de 1729, para cada presidio, se vea y examine si es justa y conviene su continuación (que no se tiene acá por tal); [se vea] si en el todo o parte deben moderarse y rebajarse; si será de conveniencia a los soldados que se prosiga con el señalamiento de precios, o dejar que queden los géneros de que necesitan en el natural y corriente que los del tiempo en cada parte y lugar en que están los presidios. Si en el caso de que se juzgue por más acertado que la nueva tasación de precios que se haga sea menos gravosa, [se decida] cuánto habrá de durar, y a qué plazos importará variarse, pues se tiene por cierto que es preciso renovarla, con previo conocimiento de lo que valen los efectos y víveres, a lo menos cada seis años, porque la permanencia de un mismo precio en las cosas no puede ser sino injusta; y no obstante de tenerse por muy dificultoso enviar a cada presidio el situado que le toca, en plata acuñada, no sólo por los riesgos y costos de su conducción (aunque estos no son tan grandes que a la mayor distancia llegará la arroba a veinte reales de plata) y por la casi imposibilidad de que con el dinero tengan los soldados modo de proveerse por falta de lo que requiere su sustento, vestuario y conservación. Como quiera que sea no se ha intentado, y probado nunca este medio o diligencia. Es el ánimo de su majestad que en la expresada junta se confiera también si será o no practicable, porque supone que ocasionará el concurso de mercaderes, a vender los efectos que necesitan, de que se seguiría fomentar el comercio interior del reino, y facilitar que [se] quedasen y se poblasen muchos en las partes remotas donde se hallan los presidios. Y finalmente quiere su majestad que se trate en la citada junta, todo lo que dijere relación y medios con que desarraigar los abusos que se reconocen en el avío y manutención de los presidios internos, por lo que mira a los perjuicios que sufren los soldados en los precios, y a lo demás que se contemple digno de remedio en ellos, y que vuestra excelencia disponga la ejecución de lo que se resolviere con la misma puntualidad y exactitud que acostumbra vuestra excelencia y se experimenta de su conducta en cuanto toca al real servicio, avisando vuestra excelencia en todas ocasiones lo que en virtud de esta disposición hubiere practicado. Dios guarde a vuestra excelencia muchos años.

Madrid, 20 de enero de 1753.

El marqués de [ilegible]

Señor Conde de Revillagigedo

México, 16 de mayo de 1753.

Para que esta real orden tenga el cumplimiento que le corresponde, asiéntese en los libros de mi superior gobierno y se sacarán dos testimonios, poniéndose uno en los autos formados sobre la supresión de los presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya, y otro en los de la villa de la provincia de Sinaloa e informes en asunto a la situación y mejor régimen de aquellos presidios, devolviendo la original a mi Secretaría de Cámara.

Señor [ilegible] Conde de Revillagigedo

Queda asentada esta real orden en uno de los libros del oficio del gobierno y guerra de este reino de mi cargo y sacados los dos testimonios que se requieren.

México, 22 de mayo de 1753.

Sandoval

Termination of the Presidio of El Pasaje, 1759

Upon the recommendation of the Council of the Indies on July 23 of the year 1743, the king, Don Felipe V (may he be in divine glory) agreed to confer upon the Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, resident of the city of Mexico, the authority to conduct campaigns against the apostate Indians of Nueva Vizcaya.[1] His majesty also transferred the presidio of El Pasaje to [the conde] to maintain at his own expense, bestowing the rank of field marshal upon him, and that of colonel without pay upon his son.

By an order dated January 20, 1753, issued in strict confidence, Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo was advised (among other things) that the new agreement he had reported making with the heirs of the aforementioned conde was being examined. In this agreement, he was substituting the development of five settlements at sites that he named for the [the conde's] financial obligation of maintaining the presidio at El Pasaje. Once the council had examined the proposal, it issued a statement on August 23, 1753, that it would be more advantageous to the Real Hacienda and his majesty's service to concede to the new Conde de San Pedro del Alamo's[2] agreement to establish five pueblos with fifty families each instead of financially maintaining the presidio of El Pasaje, provided that its contingent of soldiers is released as [the pueblos] are built. Moreover, this new service would make the members of the conde's house and family deserving of any distinctions that royal grace might be pleased to bestow upon them.

His majesty, Don Fernando VI (may he be in glory), agreed with the council's opinion and doubtless the appropriate cédulas would have been drawn up if he had not had current and reliable information that the estate of the Conde de San Pedro has not entirely carried what was stipulated at the time the presidio of El Pasaje was transferred, nor at the time of establishment of the settlements. This arrangement was made with conditions that were very advantageous to that interested party but to the detriment of his majesty, who ceded an area with a considerable population of more than two hundred families. The grant included houses, workshops for refining silver by fire, grain fields, and other profitable ventures, along with the authority to appoint a captain and soldiers according to [the conde's] judgment. After the agreement was made, the families settled in El Pasaje were forced to leave through pressure and violence. They are now dis-

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1. A reference to the Apache Indians, who replaced the Tobosos as chief enemy of the Spaniards. Their raids intensified after 1740.

2. This refers to José Francisco Valdivieso y Azlor, who was thirteen years old in 1753 when the arrangements were made to continue the provisioning of the presidio of El Pasaje (referred to in the previous document). It must have been General Francisco Manuel Sánchez de Tagle who made the agreements with the viceroy.

persed on the banks of the Nazas River[3] and in other areas, where they have established homes and cleared fields for their subsistence. Houses belonging to his majesty and other private structures are abandoned and ruined, owing to the depopulation of an area that in time would have produced great profits for the Real Hacienda in royal fifths from the silver and other ventures.

For his majesty's part, everything stipulated earlier was carried out immediately. The presidio and its contents were turned over to the conde, the title of field marshal was conferred upon him, and that of colonel conferred upon his firstborn son. As for [the conde's] heirs, however, what has come about is quite to the contrary. Reports indicate that the presidio has not been properly maintained nor have [the heirs] completed the substitution of the five settlements, as was pledged subsequently.

In light of this information, and because it would be unjust to neglect this matter and let it arbitrarily run a course that is known to be detrimental to his majesty's interests, I am directed to advise your excellency of everything stated herein, so that your excellency will be informed without delay about the status of this business. After mature deliberation and with a well-developed understanding of the preceding conditions and circumstances, you may either further the completion [of the agreement], or furnish an equivalent by which another presidio could be erected in a place that is more suitable and necessary, considering that El Pasaje is useless at present because there are no gentile Indians for many leagues around, and the other [presidios] toward the interior of Nueva Vizcaya have been abolished for this reason. Your excellency is to proceed with everything justly and according to law, notifying us of the receipt of this order and of whatever you do in compliance with it.

May God keep your excellency for many years. Madrid, October 30, 1759.

Don Julián de Arriaga[4]

Copy:
Marqués de las Amarillas[5]

AGN, R.C.D. 107.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

A consulta del Consejo de Indias de 23 de julio del año de 1743, vino el rey don Felipe V (que santa gloria haya), en conceder facultad al Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, vecino de esa ciudad de México, para hacer entradas contra los indios apóstatas de la Nueva Vizcaya, y entregarle el presidio del

3. The Nazas River flows northeast through Nueva Vizcaya about thirty kilometers north of Cuencamé.

4. Julián de Arriaga served as both minister of the navy and minister of the Indies until his death in 1776.

5. The Marqués de las Amarillas, Agustín de Ahumada y Villalón, served as viceroy of New Spain from 1755 to 1758.

Pasaje para que le mantuviese a su costa, dándole su majestad el grado de mariscal de campo y a su hijo el de coronel sin sueldo.

Por orden de 20 de enero de 1753, dada por esta vía reservada, se previno (entre otras cosas) al virrey Conde de Revillagigedo, se quedaba examinado el nuevo convenio, que avisó haber hecho con la parte de los herederos del mencionado conde, subrogando la obligación de mantener a su costa el citado presidio del Pasaje, en formar de su cuenta cinco poblaciones en los parajes que se nominaba. Examinada en el Consejo la citada proposición, expresó en consulta de 23 de agosto de 1753, que no sólo tenía por más conveniente a la real hacienda y servicio de su majestad el que se admitiera, a la casa mortuoria, el allanamiento que hacía el nuevo Conde de San Pedro del Alamo, de establecer cinco pueblos de a cincuenta familias cada uno, subrogándose estos, en lugar de la manutención del presidio del Pasaje, con tal que conforme se fuesen construyendo, se hubiesen de ir extinguiendo el número de soldados de él, sino que por este nuevo servicio, se hacían acreedores los sujetos de la casa y familia del conde, a las distinciones que la real justificación fuese servido dispensarles.

Conformóse su majestad el señor don Fernando VI (que esté en gloria) con el parecer del consejo, y sin duda se expedirían por la vía de él las cédulas correspondientes, pero teniéndose al presente noticia y verídicos informes, de que la casa del Conde de San Pedro no ha cumplido enteramente con lo pactado al tiempo que se le entregó el presidio, ni menos con la formación de las poblaciones. Que este negocio se hizo con calidades muy ventajosas a aquel interesado, en perjuicio de su majestad, que cedió un lugar de más de doscientas familias, que formaban una considerable población, con casas, haciendas de sacar plata por fuego, labores de trigo y otras utilidades, con facultad de nombrar capitán y soldados a su arbitrio. Que consiguientemente al tratado, estrecharon a salir con apremios y violencia, las familias radicadas en el Pasaje, que se hallan dispersas en las orillas del río Nazas y otras partes, en que han formado habitaciones y abierto labores para su subsistencia; y que las casas propias de su majestad y las demás fábricas de particulares, están abandonadas y arruinadas a causa de haberse despoblado el citado lugar, que con el tiempo produciría muchas utilidades a la real hacienda en el derecho de quintos de las platas y otros ramos.

Que todo lo estipulado anteriormente por parte de su majestad se verificó inmediatamente, entregándose el presidio y cuanto contenía, al expresado conde; confiriéndosele el grado de mariscal de campo, y a su hijo primogénito el de coronel, sucediendo bien al contrario por la parte de esta casa, pues se tiene también noticia de que no se ha mantenido el presidio en la forma debida, ni se ha cumplido con la subrogación de las cinco poblaciones a que posteriormente se obligó.

En esta inteligencia, y no ser justo que este asunto se abandone y corra arbitrariamente en conocido perjuicio de su majestad, me manda prevenir a vuestra excelencia todo lo expresado, a fin de que sin dilación alguna, se instruya vuestra excelencia del estado de este negocio, y con precedente maduro examen y reconocimiento de las condiciones y circunstancias que hayan precedido, promueva su cumplimiento o proporcione un equivalente, con que se pueda erigir otro presidio en lugar correspondiente y necesario, en atención a que en el Pasaje es ya inútil del todo por no haber indios gentiles en muchas leguas de distancia, y estar extintos por esta razón los otros más internos de la Nueva Vizcaya, procediendo

en todo con justificación, y conforme a derecho, dando vuestra excelencia aviso del recibo de esta orden, y de lo que en su virtud se practicará.

Dios guarde a vuestra excelencia muchos años. Madrid, 30 de octubre de 1759.

Don Julián de Arriaga

Duplicado.
El Marqués de las Amarillas.

IV

Father Menchero's Plan to Reestablish Missions and Presidios on the Río Grande

(1747)

In the 1747 document published here, Father Juan Miguel Menchero, a Franciscan who had worked extensively in New Mexico for the preceding fifteen years, requests authorization to direct a military campaign and inspection of abandoned missions and presidios. He specifically requests that he be granted authority "independent from any other person" to establish a presidio at La Junta de los Ríos for the protection of the area's missions. The document indicates that, on occasion, the interaction between the Spanish church and military officials could be cooperative and mutually beneficial. The document also illuminates the antagonistic relationships that occasionally developed between friars, who attempted to protect Indian neophytes, and some of the more rapacious settlers, who wanted to remain free to exploit Indian labor. In this case, Menchero anticipated that the owner of the hacienda at El Carrizal, who had previously interfered with his establishment of a mission at that site, would attempt to obstruct the expedition Menchero was currently planning. Hacendados such as Mateo de la Peña, mentioned here by Menchero, frequently objected to the role Franciscan friars played in protecting native peoples.

Although Father Menchero's proposed expedition did not take place, his request to establish a presidio for the protection of the missions and settlements at La Junta de los Ríos demonstrates the attention and foresight that members of the church could apply to issues that appear to have only military consequences. This document implies his concern for the moral rehabilitation of frontier society and for the military protection of Indian converts.

Menchero's experience on the frontier began in 1731, when the Franciscan commissary general for New Spain sent him north as visitador to the *custodia* of New Mexico. He was later elected procurator in 1736 and served as censor for the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

When Menchero reached El Paso in July 1731, he issued an official announcement of his visitation. A throwback to the sixteenth century when more rigorous members of his order had pioneered the Christian faith in New Mexico, Menchero announced strict requirements for missionaries, including detailed accounting of expenditures and income from crops and livestock, a proscription against women cooks in the *conventos*, strict upkeep of mission buildings and agricultural infra-

structure, and the teaching of Spanish at every mission through use of catechisms and readers. Menchero lamented that no missionaries in New Mexico had produced a grammar of the "many and varied languages of the Holy Custodia."

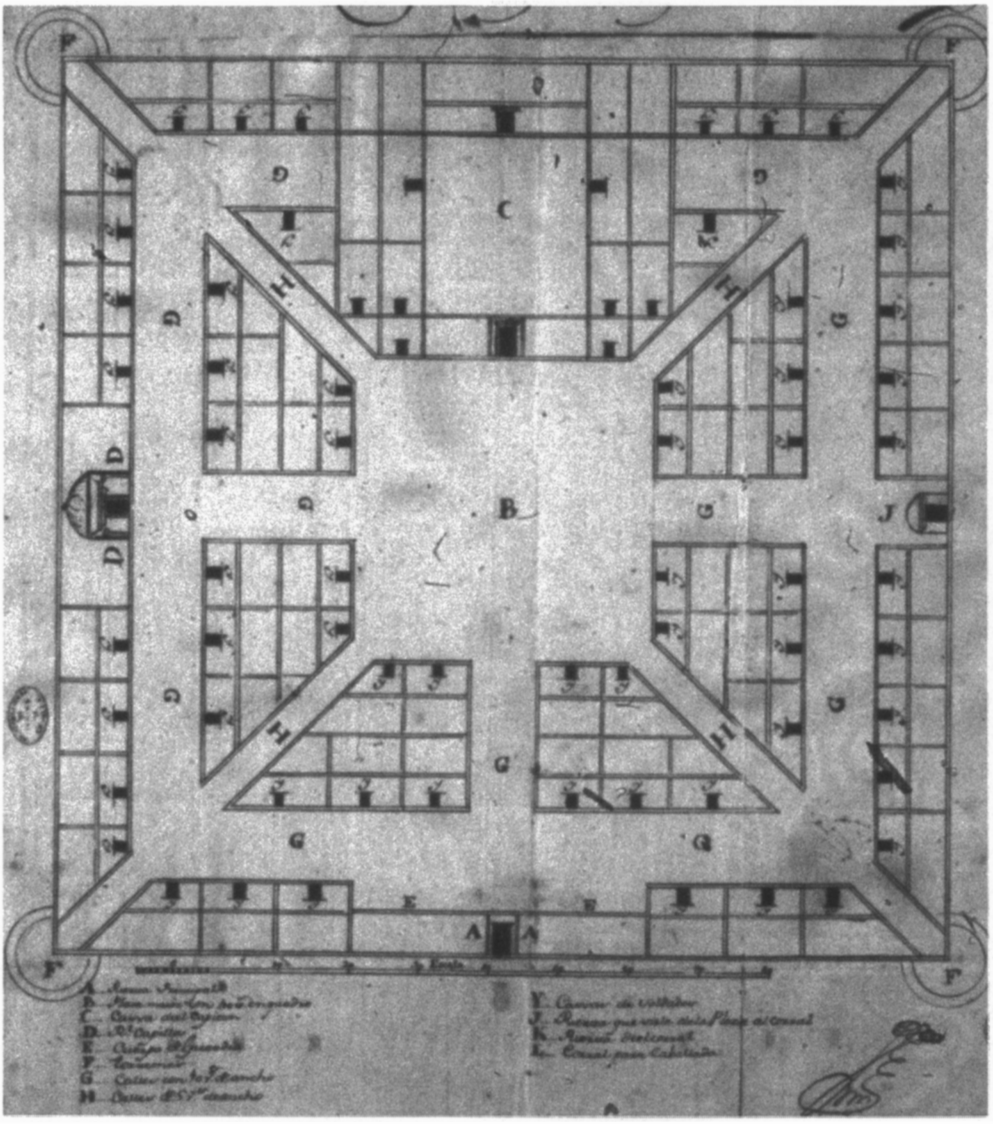
While in New Mexico, Menchero was remarkably energetic. In 1744, he wrote an *informe* on New Mexico that contained an abundance of statistics and other general information on the condition of the province. In 1746, the viceroy authorized the founding of four missions for the Navajos with a garrison of thirty men. Menchero promptly led an expedition into the "Moqui country." Continuing Fray Carlos Delgado's efforts to convert the Navajo, Menchero induced between five hundred and six hundred Navajos to move to the Acoma area, where he established two short-lived missions for them at Cebolleta and Encinal.

In 1747, Menchero helped coordinate a large-scale campaign against the Gileño Apache, with participation of detachments from the presidios of Janos, Corodeguachi, and El Paso. On this expedition, Menchero rode with the garrison from El Paso. Although his role in this failed military campaign elicited strong criticism from his more pacific brethren, the presence of a dedicated cleric may have served to prevent some of the excessive mistreatment and enslavement that often occurred on campaigns. His more pacific fellow Franciscans may have considered Menchero overly militaristic, yet he was by no means unique among Spanish churchmen. Menchero remained in New Mexico for more than thirty years and as late as 1761 was still serving as *padre procurador* for New Mexico.

Menchero's destination for the expedition described in this document was La Junta de los Ríos, at the confluence of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande del Norte. At the center of a wide area of extreme aridity and rugged terrain, La Junta de los Ríos had remained isolated from other Spanish settlements. Deep canyons along portions of the Río Grande prevented access by a route along the river. Yet the fertile floodplains at the confluence, which received seasonal floodwaters from the two largest rivers in Nueva Vizcaya, had attracted a large sedentary Indian population. In the late sixteenth century, members of Antonio de Espejo's expedition estimated the population of Indians in the immediate area of the confluence to be ten thousand, undoubtedly an exaggerated estimate but nevertheless one that indicated a relatively dense population.

Following the Pueblo uprising of 1680 and the expulsion of all Spaniards from New Mexico, Franciscans, who had been driven out of their northern missions, began efforts to congregate Indians from the numerous small tribes near La Junta de los Ríos into a series of mission communities. Friars from the custodia of San Pablo del Nuevo México founded a *doctrina* for the unconverted Indians of La Junta de los Ríos in 1683, but by 1688 they had abandoned the site. Between 1714 and 1716, friars from the same custodia returned to La Junta de los Ríos and succeeded in establishing five mission communities, four of which remained in operation for several decades.

On the right bank of the Río Grande (in present Mexico), the mission of Guadalupe was located below the confluence, while the mission of San Francisco was above it. On the left bank (in the present United States), the mission of San Cristóbal was situated directly opposite the confluence, while the mission of San Antonio de los Puliques was slightly downstream. Of the four missions, San Francisco del Río Conchos endured as a settlement during the eighteenth century and became a popular site for Indian trading. The final document in this series de-



The presidio of Nuestra Señora de Belén y Santiago at La Junta de los Ríos to be constructed in the year 1759. (Archivo General de Indias, M&P, México 621)

scribing Menchero's proposed expedition is a technical geographic description of the area near the Río Grande del Norte, the condition of the missions at La Junta de los Ríos at the time, and the need for another presidio at this site.

Without easy access into the area or formal military protection, these doctrinas proved difficult to maintain. In subsequent years, the doctrinas were abandoned and reoccupied on at least three occasions, and were moved frequently to several nearby locations. At times, five or six missionaries staffed the doctrinas, while at other times there was only one friar for all the facilities. Between 1766

and 1773, Spaniards largely abandoned the area. After that time, the military incorporated some of the former mission structures into a larger presidio. Franciscans from the province of Zacatecas continued to provide the presidio with chaplains.

La Junta de los Ríos, a strategic location for the protection of converted Indians, proved to be a difficult destination for a number of Spanish military expeditions. In 1729, Joseph de Berroterán, captain of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, led a reconnaissance of the Río Grande. Three nearby presidios provided small detachments for the exploration. The expedition departed from San Juan Bautista in March and traveled upstream along the Río Grande until May, when rough terrain and the absence of water sources away from the river forced Berroterán to abandon the expedition. Berroterán, who reported that the banks of the Río Grande were impassable, was reprimanded for his failure to reach La Junta de los Ríos. In 1735–36, Blas de la Garza Falcón, governor of Coahuila, and Joseph de Ecay Múzquiz, captain of the presidio of San Juan Bautista, made a further reconnaissance of Berroterán's route to locate a new presidio site. Although it did not attempt to reach La Junta de los Ríos, the second expedition reported similar difficulties. Both of these reconnaissances indicated that the river was not an advantageous approach to La Junta de los Ríos. During the winter of 1747–48, the governor of Coahuila, Pedro de Rábago y Terán, commanded a third expedition to the area, traveling overland from Monclova. The expedition departed from the presidio of San Francisco de Coahuila and successfully explored the almost impenetrable country near Santa Elena Canyon.

After his expedition, Governor Rábago y Terán strongly urged the establishment of a presidio at the confluence of the rivers. Although La Junta de los Ríos had a temporary presidio beginning in 1751, it was not until 1759 that Nuestra Señora de Belén, on the right bank of the river, near the present town of Ojinaga, Chihuahua, became a full-fledged presidio. The organized, directed establishment of a civilian community of fifty families at a nearby location accompanied the founding of the presidio. Between 1766 and 1773, the garrison moved to Julimes, south of Cerro Gordo on the Río Conchos. After the general reorganization of frontier defenses in 1773, troops returned to La Junta de los Ríos, and the presidio, now known as the Presidio del Norte, was expanded.

Mexico, May 31, 1747: To the fiscal

Most excellent sir:

Your excellency's superior judgment provided that the conditions and course of the Río [Grande] del Norte were to be reconnoitered as far as its juncture with the Río Conchos at the area commonly called La Junta de los Ríos, where the missions have been invaded by the enemy Apache and Suma[1] Indians. The said missions were to be reestablished, and their security and defense assured

1. The Sumas, like the Apaches, were nomadic groups of forager-raiders who preyed on Spanish frontier settlements. The Spanish used the term "Apache" to refer to a range of

for the future, which is advantageous to the service of both majesties and the public good. Appropriate orders were to be delivered to the lieutenant governor of Nueva Vizcaya, so that he might make arrangements with the captain of the presidio of El Paso [to be ready] as soon as I arrived at the presidio at the end of last August, at which time I was to have reclaimed for this court the missions I visited that year.

I was quickly to be given an escort of twenty soldiers and a corporal from the presidio to accompany me downstream to the missions along the course of the river. Exploring with great care, we were to take specific note of land conditions, settlements, rancherías, the diminishing number of missions, locations, names, families, individuals of both sexes, and nearby enemy Indian nations. We were also to carry out the other measures contained in the dispatch dated July 30 of last year, as well as those recommended by the auditor's astute opinion in the petition dated the twenty-seventh of the same [month and year]. None of this took effect, however, due to my return and my not having received notice either in Chihuahua or on the road in between. Furthermore, although I left instructions that another religious suitable to both me and my prelates should be responsible for constructing the presidio in the most favorable location, this did not take effect because the lieutenant governor of Vizcaya was informed that I was not present in that villa.

With respect to the journey I am to undertake to the places mentioned, and to other more remote ones, in the service of both majesties, I call upon your excellency to confirm this decision in the manner you deem best, according to your superior pleasure. I do so in view of the opportunity and time afforded me by the circumstance of the said resolution, and also because of the other dispatches delivered to me through your excellency's insatiable zeal.

The first dispatch was in compliance with the petition of the fiscal and the general auditor. It ordered the captain of the presidio of El Paso to notify Don Mateo de la Peña, owner of the hacienda known as El Carrizal,[2] that under no pretext was he to impede my efforts to resettle the mission that I founded in 1730, when I made my first entrada as visitador and *comisario general* of [the missions] and assembled some heathen Suma Indians at the spring called Santo Domingo. [The dispatch] grants free license to those Indians and Spaniards who wish to settle there, with a distribution of land and water in sufficient quantities to ensure their comfort and a more secure resettlement in the future.

The second dispatch [concerned] the appointment of a guardian for the aforementioned Indians of that district and its missions, to protect them against the oppression that they experience. I have thought carefully about what I learned from personal experience acquired on the two occasions when I have traveled the immense distances, as well as during the more than fifteen years that I have served as procurador general for the new conversions in New Mexico. Although the most

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hostile Athapaskan-speaking groups. The Sumas, unlike the Apaches, appear to have originally spoken a Uto-Aztecan language. Through a long period of alliance with Apaches, however, they eventually came to share a linguistic affinity.

2. The hacienda of El Carrizal probably refers to the settlement of the same name south of El Paso and Ciudad Juarez, near Villa Ahumada, Chihuahua.

excellent viceroys, whose apostolic zeal is as great as your excellency's, render the most propitious and devout judgments, [their directives] are apt to become ineffectual or even worse through misunderstandings or malicious distortions motivated by the individual purposes and passions of the persons commissioned to execute the higher decisions. This situation generally is difficult or impossible to remedy because of the distance over which appeals must reach your excellency. In my own case it is even more difficult, due to a lack of funds for the prompt delivery of mail and transmission of dispatches. Neither my ministry nor those devout religious who are gloriously exiled for the propagation of the holy faith and the greater increase of our sovereign's vassals have any revenue other than the alms and charity to which the benevolent, Christian munificence of the royal treasury is pledged.

For these reasons, and others I omit so as not to burden your excellency, I appeal to your devout consideration. It seems appropriate to me to convey this, in order that you might see fit, as you have until now, to protect these missions through me. Conferring [this task] upon me—independent of the caprice of others and of those who have been commissioned to carry out all directives—will most rapidly and duly achieve everything conducive to those most holy goals aspired to, which yield the highest honor and glory to God and additions to the dominions of our Catholic monarch. As his primary representative your excellency benefits from these outcomes, as well as from greater authority in similar future endeavors.

Although I cannot prove everything stated here, in all religious candor I find little utility in what has been accomplished until now. There is nothing fruitful in the inexplicable labors to which I have been and continue to be exposed. The innumerable risks and uncommon discomforts that are tolerated and suffered in the conquest of such vast provinces are indescribable, understood only by one who has experienced them.

As always, your excellency will decide what is most just, appropriate, and consistent with the service of both majesties.

The Hospice of Santa Bárbara,[3] May 27, 1747.

Postscript: Given the difficulty of recourse to your excellency, in the decrees and orders that would be delivered to me, please order the person or persons under whom I will execute whatever measures I feel to be of service to both majesties not to impede their execution, but rather to expedite their proper completion. If they have anything to report they should do so afterward in the presence of your excellency's higher administration.

Dated as above.

Most excellent sir, your most grateful chaplain kisses your excellency's hand.

Don Juan Miguel Menchero[4]

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3. The Hospice of Santa Bárbara was located in the town of Valle de San Bartolomé, near the former mining center of Parral.

4. Prior to the planned reconnaissance described in this document, Father Menchero served as the Franciscan priest at Abiquiu and oversaw the rebuilding of the town of Sandia, New Mexico. Later, between 1746 and 1749, he founded the missions of Cebolleta and

Opinion of the fiscal

Most excellent sir:

Having reviewed this report and the previous one from the reverend father Friar Juan Menchero, procurador general of the missions and recent conversions in the realm of New Mexico, and in consideration of the *autos* and testimonies that accompany [the reports], his majesty's fiscal finds that their contents can be reduced to two points. The first concerns the dispatch of July 1746, which ordered the captain of the presidio of San Bartolomé[5] to travel to La Junta de los Ríos del Norte with the escort of twenty soldiers mentioned, to find the reverend father there, and to assist him in reestablishing the missions. Afterward, the same captain was to remain there for the protection of [the missions] and that important frontier while a firm decision was being reached regarding the matter. This did not occur because the reverend father was unaware of the dispatch, as he came before it arrived. He therefore requests that your excellency vouchsafe to confirm this decision, so that it may be duly completed upon his imminent return to the aforementioned missions. Considering the consistent and astute appraisal given by the auditor on July 27 of the past year, which caused the dispatch to be issued, the fiscal finds nothing improper about this point. Therefore, it will serve your excellency to order that this higher government has decided to repeat the mandate, rather than issue another new one to the same effect.

The second point discussed by the reverend father is summarized as follows: He cites the separate dispatches that have been issued ordering the reestablishment and improved security of the missions. It is his experience that the just and prudent decisions of this higher government are often rendered ineffectual through misunderstandings or are maliciously distorted by the individual purposes and passions of the persons to whom they are commissioned. In order to prevent this from happening with the dispatches he mentions, [the father] requests that he be entrusted with their execution and that he be granted for that purpose a commission declaring him independent from any other person and ordering that his efforts should not be impeded in any way.

In light of the reverend father's prudent conduct and good standing with this superior government, it will serve your excellency to grant him the commission he requests for himself and, when necessary, whatever assistance he might require from any of the ministers or captains, upon penalty of 500 pesos. He is to execute all orders and whatever is aimed toward the goal of reestablishing, maintaining, and protecting the aforementioned missions, providing an account of everything he carries out to this superior government. Anyone hindering [the fa-

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Encinal among the Navajo. His tour as visitador of the ruined missions along the northern frontier of Nueva Vizcaya came after he served as visitador of the missions of New Mexico.

5. Father Menchero's letter refers to the captain of the presidio of El Paso, not San Bartolomé. It is not clear who is in error—the father, the fiscal, or perhaps a clerk. It seems likely, however, that the dispatch referred to the captain of El Paso, as that presidio was located at the west end of the river segment in question. At the time of this writing, the presidio of San Bartolomé was located at the settlement of the same name, having been moved there from Parral in about 1715.

ther] is subject to the same penalty, and will be prosecuted according to the full rigor of the law.

Mexico, June 5, 1747.

Licenciado Vedoya

Mexico, June 6, 1747: To the auditor

Most excellent sir:

The auditor agrees with the fiscal's request in the first point of his preceding response. However, after extensive deliberation today, the auditor offers a new proposal or plan with regard to the second point of the response, which pertains to the new presidio at La Junta de los Ríos. Should it please your excellency, with your consideration and superior authorization [the auditor] will be able to order a copy of [the plan] sent to the Reverend Father Menchero, and [the father] can attend to the appropriate formalities so that [this plan], or whichever your excellency might judge better, will be recognized by the *capitán comisario*.

Mexico, June 12, 1747.

The Marqués de Altamira[6]

Mexico, June 14, 1747: Per the auditor's opinion

Most excellent sir:

1. In these dominions, only the savage tribes of gentile Indians who are to the north of this capital of Mexico have not been reduced. Although those under the jurisdiction of New Mexico (located at 37½° latitude and 262½° longitude) have been reduced since 1602, they are not like our reductions below the latitude of 32°, which marks a general boundary from 250° to 284° longitude. At 17½ leagues per degree, that equals 595 leagues from west to east bordering on the abovementioned savage nations to the north.

2. The western portion of this frontier is guarded by four presidios: San Felipe de Jesús de Guevavi,[7] also known as Terrenate; Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, also known as Fronteras; Janos; and El Paso. All four are located near 32° latitude, and between 250° and 262½° longitude. Each [presidio] is comprised of a commander and fifty soldiers, who are still not sufficient to resist the sudden, scattered, and frequent invasions by the bordering, savage Indians.

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6. The first Marqués of Altamira was Luis Sánchez de Tagle, who arrived in New Spain in 1661 and soon accumulated a large fortune through his commercial ventures. King Felipe V gave him the title Marqués of Altamira in 1704. This title passed through his daughter to his son-in-law (and nephew), Pedro Sánchez de Tagle, the second Marqués of Altamira. His eldest daughter, Manuela, married Pedro Pérez de Tagle, the third Marqués of Altamira, who is the probable author of this document.

7. San Felipe de Guevavi, or Terrenate, was founded as a presidio in 1742. It was located at the junction of the Santa Cruz River and Sonoita Creek, in present-day Arizona.

3. From the farthest reaches of the jurisdiction of New Mexico, the mighty Río [Grande] del Norte runs for more than 160 leagues from north to south. Its course veers to the southeast at the presidio of El Paso, at 32° latitude and 261½° longitude, forming the northern border of the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya; the town of San Felipe el Real, whose recent population was considerable, and the mines of Chihuahua[8] lie some eighty leagues toward Mexico. The six presidios of Conchos, Valle de San Bartolomé,[9] Cerro Gordo, El Gallo, Mapimí, and El Pasaje are all located still farther along the road between the aforementioned town in Chihuahua and this capital of Mexico City.

4. Various rivers of Nueva Vizcaya unite into a single river called the Río Conchos, which joins the Río del Norte at the place known as La Junta de los Ríos, about seventy leagues east of the presidio of El Paso and the aforementioned town in Chihuahua. These three places form a triangle, and there, before the junction of the two rivers, this humble province of Mexico held the six missions that belonged to its custodia of New Mexico: San Francisco, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Cristóbal, San Juan Bautista, Santa María la Redonda, and San Pedro Alcántara.[10] [These missions have experienced] an increase in the number of reduced Indians and frontier Christians among the gentile Apaches, Natagees, Faraones, Sumas,[11] and other Indian nations located on the far side of the Río del Norte.

5. This [river] continues its course from La Junta, cutting through the mountains that separate and divide Nueva Vizcaya from Coahuila, where, because of those mountains and the roughness of the terrain, many leagues of the mighty Río del Norte's passage have not yet been seen or explored. It then flows into the jurisdiction of Coahuila and runs even more directly toward the south, bounding all of Coahuila and continuing three leagues further than the presidio of San Juan Bautista[12] del Río Grande, situated at 28°40′ latitude and 272°5′ longitude. In the

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8. From 1718 on, San Felipe el Real was the administrative center for the two mining camps of Chihuahua and Santa Eulalia, the mines of Chihuahua referred to here. By 1734, San Felipe was a settlement of as many as twenty-five thousand people, though the town declined in importance as the mines played out. At the time this document was written there were still two thousand Spanish families living there, along within an unknown number of mestizos and mulattos.

9. In 1715, the garrison at Parral moved to the Valley of San Buenaventura where it remained until 1751.

10. The first mission, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, was established in 1659 in the Río Abajo region near El Paso. Las Llagas de San Francisco de los Sumas was founded the following year. After the Pueblo rebellion of 1680, surviving missionaries and Indians who remained loyal to the Spanish fled to these mission communities.

11. The Natagees, Faraones, and Sumas were desert-dwelling foraging and raiding groups native to the area around La Junta de los Ríos. Sumas initially spoke a Uto-Aztecan language, but through association with Athapaskan-speaking groups such as the Faraones, they eventually came to share this linguistic affiliation. Little is known about the Natagees, who, like the Sumas and Faraones, did not survive as a distinct ethnic group under Spanish colonization.

12. The presidio at San Juan Bautista was located along the Río Grande, northeast of Monclova. It was established in 1701, following the establishment of a mission at the same site.

kingdom of Nuevo León, the river empties into the Gulf of Mexico, in the north sea, at 26° latitude and 277° longitude.

6. Thus, the mighty Río del Norte (by itself at first, and then joined with the Río Conchos) forms the border for the two jurisdictions of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila and their intermediate mountains, from 261°40′ longitude at the presidio of El Paso to 272°5′ longitude at the presidio of San Juan Bautista del Río Grande. In the more than 180 leagues that lie from west to east between the presidios of El Paso and San Juan Bautista del Río Grande, there is no other presidio on either side of the Río del Norte. This being the case, this [river] has been the boundary and limit of all our reductions in that region for many years. It cordons them off and functions as a kind of wall or barricade. Not even these, however, are enough to resist enemy invasions should there be a lack of other military protection.

AGN, Mexico City, Provincias Internas, Vol. 035, ff. 303–330.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

México, 31 de mayo de 1747: Al señor fiscal

Excelentísimo señor:

Habiendo dignádose la soberanía de vuestra excelencia de que para el reconocimiento de las situaciones y márgenes del río [Grande] del Norte, hasta donde se une el de Conchos por esta unión, vulgarmente llamado este paraje Junta de los Ríos, situaciones donde se hallan las misiones invadidas de los enemigos indios apaches y sumas, como para el restablecimiento de dichas misiones, su seguridad y resguardo, para en lo de adelante. El que por ser conveniente al servicio de ambas majestades y causa pública, el que se librase el oportuno recaudo al teniente de gobernador de la Nueva Vizcaya, para que dispusiera con el capitán del presidio de El Paso, para que luego que yo hubiera llegado a este presidio por fines de agosto pasado, por cuyo tiempo me había de haber reducido a esta corte, cuyas misiones visité dicho año.

El que se me aprontase una escolta de veinte soldados de aquel presidio para que con un cabo bajase por las márgenes de dicho río hasta las mencionadas misiones, explorando con la mayor comprensión e individualidad, las calidades del terreno, poblaciones, rancherías, describiendo el número de las misiones, ubicaciones, nombres, familias, personas de ambos sexos, naciones enemigas circundantes, con las demás providencias que en el citado despacho se contiene. Su fecha 30 de julio próximo pasado. Y las que consultó la acertada consideración del se-

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Because missions and latifundia claimed control of the best irrigable lands from the beginning, few settlers stayed in this remote frontier location. Despite a lack of Spanish villagers, however, the settlement held its own against a series of attacks from local Indian groups who resisted Spanish domination. These groups were rounded up and deported in the 1720s, although Apaches and Comanches raided in later years as far south as Monclova. Today San Juan Bautista is known as Guerrero, Coahuila.

ñor auditor en el pedimento de 27 del mismo. Lo que no hubo efecto a causa de mi regreso, y no a haber tenido noticia ni en Chihuahua, ni en el intermedio del camino. Y aunque di las providencias para que otro religioso de mi satisfacción, y de la de mis prelados, entendiese en la más segura construcción del presidio, en el paraje más cómodo, no hubo efecto, por haber informado el teniente de gobernador de la Vizcaya no hallarme en aquella villa.

Y respecto a que estoy para a hacer viaje, así a los citados parajes, como a otros más remotos, en servicio de ambas majestades, con este motivo lo consulto a vuestra excelencia para que, siendo de su superior agrado, revalide esta providencia en el modo que hallare por más conveniente, atento a que la oportunidad y tiempo me ofrece la ocasión de la resolución dicha, con el motivo también de habérseme librado por el insaciable celo de vuestra excelencia los otros despachos.

El uno, en que se sirvió conformándose con el pedimento del señor fiscal y dicho señor auditor general, por el que se mandó al dicho capitán del presidio de El Paso, notificara a don Mateo de la Peña, dueño de la hacienda nombrada del Carrizal, que con ningún pretexto me impida el repueble a misión nueva que fundé por el año de 1730 en que hice la primera entrada de visitador, y comisario general de ellas, congregando a algunos indios sumas y gentiles en un paraje y ojo de agua, nombrado Santo Domingo. Concediendo franca licencia a los indios y españoles que allí quisieren avecindarse, con el repartimiento de tierras y aguas, suficiente para su comodidad y más seguro restablecimiento en lo de adelante dicho.

Y el segundo, para la erección de protector de los mencionados indios de aquel recinto y misiones, para su asilo contra las vejaciones que experimentan. He considerado el que según la inventada práctica personal que he adquirido en las dos ocasiones que he vencido las inmensas distancias, y en el prolongado tiempo de más de quince años de procurador general de las nuevas conversiones de la Nueva México; que aunque los excelentísimos señores virreyes, tan celosos y apostólicos, como vuestra excelencia, libran las más oportunas piadosas y arregladas providencias, suelen regularmente volverse ilusorias o ya por mal entendidas, o maliciosamente invertidas por los particulares fines y pasiones de las personas comisarias, ejecutores de las superiores providencias. Cuyo remedio regularmente se imposibilita o dificulta, por las distancias de los ocursos a vuestra excelencia, y en mí, con mucha mayor razón, por carecer de facultades, la procuración para la aprontación de correos y repeticiones de despachos, pues no tiene otro mayorazgo mi ministerio, y aquellos piadosos religiosos gloriosamente desterrados por la propagación de la santa fe y mayor aumento de vasallos de nuestro soberano, que la limosna y caridad a que está hipotecada la cristiana, piadosa magnificencia del real herario.

Por cuyos motivos, y demás que libro a la piadosa consideración de vuestra excelencia, que omito por no molestarle su superior atención, me ha parecido conveniente representarlo para que le sirva, como hasta ahora, proteger dichas misiones en mí. Confiriéndome, sin dependencia de arbitrio de otras personas y de las a quienes se ha cometido la práctica de todo lo providenciado para que tenga la más pronta y debida efectuación, todo lo conducente a los fines tan santos que se pretenden, como que ceden en la mayor honra y gloria de Diós y aumentos de los dominios de nuestro católico monarca, de quien siendo vuestra excelencia su primera representación, goza de éstas, y mayores facultades, para semejantes eventos.

Pues no siendo la comisión de todo lo expresado verificable en mí, hallo con la ingenuidad religiosa que profeso, poco útil lo resuelto hasta ahora, y nada fructuosos los inexplicables trabajos a que me he expuesto, y que de nuevo me expongo a tolerar y sufrir, en el vencimiento de tan vastas provincias con tan innumerables riesgos, y no vulgares incomodidades, que solamente sabe sentirlas quien las ha experimentado, pero ninguno explicarlas.

Vuestra excelencia como siempre, providenciará lo que fuere más justo, arreglado y conveniente al servicio de ambas majestades.

Hospicio de Santa Bárbara, y mayo 27 de 1747 años.

Otro si digo: supuesta la dificultad del recurso a vuestra excelencia que en el recaudo o recaudos que se me hubiesen de librar, mande a la persona o personas ante quienes se ejecutare cualesquiera expediciones que me parezcan del servicio de ambas majestades, no impidan su ejecución sino que se lleve apuro y debido efecto; y si hubieren que representar, lo hagan después ante el superior gobierno de vuestra excelencia.

Fecha [ilegible] suprema.

Excelentísimo señor, beso vuestra mano de vuestra excelencia su más reconocido cap[ellán].

Don Juan Miguel Menchero

Parecer del señor fiscal

Excelentísimo señor:

El fiscal de su majestad en vista de ésta y de la anterior consulta del reverendo padre fray Juan Menchero, procurador general de las misiones y nuevas convenciones del reino de la Nueva México, y teniendo presentes los autos y testimonios que les acompañan, dice que a dos puntos se reducen sus representaciones: el primero, que habiéndose librado despacho por julio del año pasado de 1746 a fin de que el capitán del presidio de San Bartolomé, pasase con la escolta y destacamentos de soldados que se refiere, a la Junta de los Ríos del norte, para que hallándose allí dicho reverendo padre, concurriese con él al restablecimiento de dichas misiones, y que después se quedare allí el mismo capitán para el resguardo de ellas, y aquella importante frontera, ínterin se tomaba providencia fija sobre el asunto. No tuvo efecto, a causa de haberse venido dicho reverendo padre, sin tener noticia del despacho antes que éste llegase. Por lo que pide se digne vuestra excelencia revalidar esta providencia para que tenga su debido cumplimiento en la ocasión presente que pasa a dichas misiones; sobre cuyo punto no halla el fiscal inconveniente, atendida la sólida y acertada narrativa del dictamen del señor auditor de 27 de julio del mismo año pasado, que motivó la expedición del despacho. Por lo que se servirá vuestra excelencia, mandar que hallándose en este superior gobierno, se sobrecarte, y de no se libre otro de nuevo en la misma conformidad.

El segundo punto sobre que consulta dicho reverendo padre, se reduce a hacer presente, que habiéndosele librado diferentes despachos que cita, dirigido al restablecimiento y mayor seguridad de dichas misiones, teniendo experiencia de que algunas veces suelen quedarse ilusorias, las justas, prudentes, y arregladas determinaciones de este superior gobierno, por mal entendidas, o maliciosamente invertidas, por los particulares fines y pasiones de las personas a quienes se come-

ten; para que esto no suceda con los despachos que refiere, pide se le cometa su ejecución, confiriéndole para ello, comisión bastante, con independencia de otra cualesquier persona, mandando no impidan en modo alguno su ejecución.

Sobre lo cual, atendiendo a la prudente conducta de dicho reverendo padre, bien acreditada en este superior gobierno, se servirá vuestra excelencia, concederle la comisión que pide para que por sí, y auxiliándole en caso necesario, cualquiera de las justicias o capitanes a quienes requiere pena de quinientos pesos; practique todo lo providenciado, y aquello que se dirigiere al fin de restablecer, conservar, y resguardar dichas misiones, dando cuenta a este superior gobierno de lo que así ejecutare, a lo cual no se le ponga embarazo por persona alguna bajo de la misma pena, y de que procederá contra el que lo pusiere por todo rigor de derecho.

México y junio 5 de 1747.

Licenciado Vedoya

México, 6 de junio de 1747: Al señor auditor

Excelentísimo señor:

Subscribe el auditor a lo pedido por el señor fiscal en el primer punto de su precedente respuesta. Pero en dilatada consulta de este día hace el auditor nueva proposición o proyecto en cuanto al segundo punto de dicha respuesta en orden al nuevo presidio de La Junta de los Ríos, de cuya consulta y superior determinación de vuestra excelencia, a ella podrá mandar dar copia si la quisiere al reverendo padre Menchero y que pueda éste concurrir y solicitar las diligencias prevenidas, a que sea admitido por el capitán comisario o lo que vuestra excelencia mejor estimare.

México, junio 12 de 1747.

El marqués de Altamira

México, y junio 14 de 1747: Como parece al señor auditor

Excelentísimo señor:

1. Sólo no se han reducido en estos dominios las bárbaras naciones de indios gentiles que están al norte de esta capital de México, y aunque los de la gobernación del Nuevo México (constituidos en treinta y siete grados y medio de altura y doscientos sesenta y dos y medio de longitud) se hallan reducidos desde el año de 1602, no parezcan en lo común nuestras reducciones de los treinta y dos grados de altura, siendo ésta, como general frontera desde los doscientos cincuenta grados de longitud a los doscientos y ochenta y cuatro, que a diecisiete leguas y media por grado, hacen quinientas noventa y cinco leguas de frontera de poniente a oriente, contra las referidas bárbaras naciones del norte.

2. Hállase resguardada dicha frontera por la parte de hacia su poniente con los cuatro presidios de San Felipe de Jesús de Guevavi, alias Terrenate; de Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, alias Fronteras; de Janos, y de El Paso. Que todos cuatro están casi en dicha altura de los treinta y dos grados, y están los doscientos cincuenta a

doscientos sesenta y uno y medio de longitud; compuestos cada uno de dichos presidios de un capitán y cincuenta soldados, que aún no bastan a resistir las prontas, dispersas, frecuentes invasiones de dichos bárbaros indios sus fronterizos.

3. Desde lo último de dicha gobernación del Nuevo México baja por más de ciento sesenta leguas, de norte a sur, su caudaloso río llamado del Norte. Y en dicho presidio de El Paso, y altura de los referidos treinta y dos grados, y doscientos sesenta y uno y medio de longitud, tuerce su curso para el sudeste, cerrando por el norte la gobernación de la Nueva Vizcaya, cuya última considerable población de la villa de San Felipe, real y minas de Chihuahua, queda para acá internada como ochenta leguas, y muchas más los seis presidios: de Conchos, valle de San Bartolomé, Cerro Gordo, Gallo, Mapimí, y el Pasaje, que están en el camino desde dicha villa de Chihuahua para esta capital de México.

4. Varios ríos de la Nueva Vizcaya, unidos ya al de Conchos, y con sólo este nombre, se incorporan al [río Grande] del Norte en el paraje por esto llamado la Junta de los Ríos, como setenta leguas al oriente de dicho presidio de El Paso, y de la referida villa de Chihuahua; con quienes forma como triángulo dicha Junta, y allí, antes de unirse los dos ríos, tenía esta seráfica provincia de México por pertenecientes a su custodia del Nuevo México, las seis misiones intituladas de San Francisco, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Cristóbal, San Juan Bautista, Santa María la Redonda y San Pedro Alcántara. Con crecido número de indios reducidos y cristianos fronterizos de los gentiles apaches, natages, faraones, sumas y otros que están a la otra banda de dicho río del Norte.

5. Prosigue éste su curso desde dicha Junta, cortando las serranías que median y dividen la gobernación de la Nueva Vizcaya de la de Coahuila; y por dichas serranías y asperezas, no se ha descubierto hasta hoy ni reconocido debidamente por muchas leguas el curso del citado caudaloso río del Norte, hasta que después entra en dicha gobernación de Coahuila, y endereza todavía más su corriente para el sur, incluyendo toda la dicha gobernación de Coahuila, y pasado tres leguas más adelante de su presidio de San Juan Bautista del río Grande en los veintiocho grados y cuarenta minutos de altura, y doscientos setenta y dos grados, cinco minutos de longitud, desembocando después por el Nuevo Reino de León, y su costa del mar del Norte, seno mexicano, en los veintiséis grados de altura, y doscientos setenta y siete de longitud.

6. De forma, que dicho caudaloso río del Norte (ya por sí solo, ya unido después con el crecido de Conchos), cierra dichas dos gobernaciones de Nueva Vizcaya y Coahuila y sus intermedias serranías, desde los doscientos sesenta y un grados, cuarenta minutos de longitud de dicho presidio de El Paso a los doscientos setenta y dos grados, cinco minutos también de longitud de dicho presidio de San Juan Bautista de río Grande, sin que en las ciento ochenta y más leguas, que hay de poniente a oriente, desde dicho presidio de El Paso al referido de San Juan Bautista de río Grande, haya algún otro presidio intermedio a una ni otra banda de dicho río del Norte. Siendo así que ha muchos años, que éste es el término lindero y fin de todas nuestra reducciones por aquella parte, las que con su natural curso, acordona dicho río y les sirve como de muralla o estacada; que ni aún éstas bastan a resistir las invasiones enemigas, si carecen de otros militares resguardos.

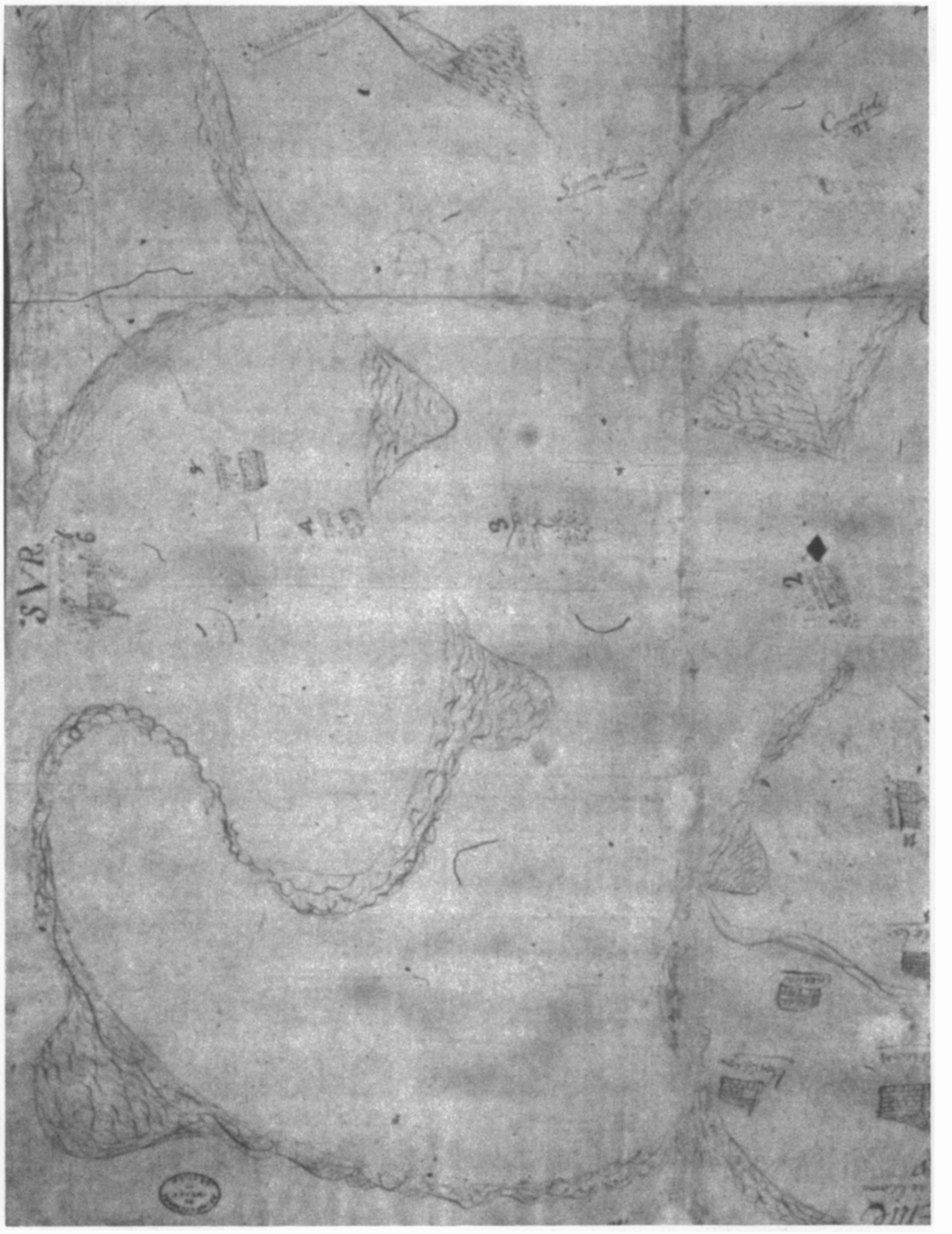
V

Captain Berroterán's Report on the Condition of Nueva Vizcaya (1748)

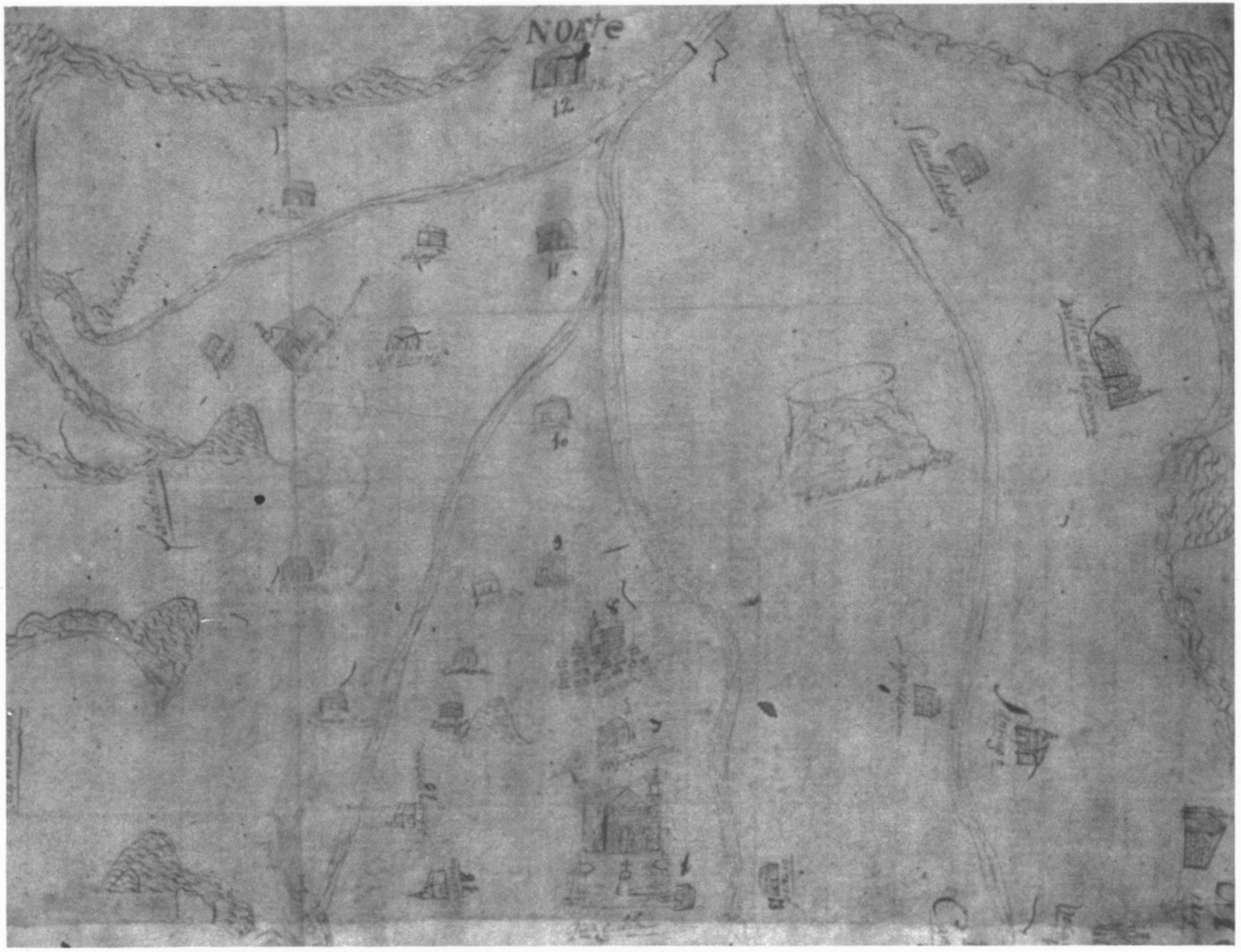
Captain Joseph de Berroterán knew the intricacies of the northern frontier like few other Spaniards. Of Vizcayan origin, Berroterán entered the military early in life and quickly attained prominence as a local military leader and landowner. His family became so well known in northern Chihuahua that the mountain range now known as the Sierra del Carmen bore the name Berroterán until the late eighteenth century. During the early 1720s, Berroterán received his first appointment as captain at the presidio of Mapimí. Within a few years, he was transferred to the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, where he became capitán vitalicio (captain-for-life), a position he still held when the presidio was suppressed in 1751.

As captain of the Conchos presidio, Berroterán was responsible for supervising military protection for the vast area that extended northward to the Río Grande and westward to the Tarahumara region. By 1748, the year in which the following document was written, his thirty-five years of service had given him a detailed knowledge of the lands and peoples of the region. His wide range of experience on the frontier made him both an asset and a liability to colonial administrators in Mexico City and Spain. The extensive network of contacts he had developed with both Spanish residents and local Indian groups permitted him to pursue his own interests, occasionally in opposition to those of the metropolitan officials he had been hired to serve.

In 1729, Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera, who conducted presidial inspections throughout the north between 1724 and 1728, chastised Berroterán for his failure to complete an exploration to the Río Grande, an area of rough country frequently used as a refuge by Indian raiders. Rivera did not accept Berroterán's excuses that a major drought and the condition of his soldiers' horses had prevented the successful completion of the campaign. Instead, Rivera chastized Berroterán for having abandoned the expedition after losing only twenty-five horses, while the commanders of two previous campaigns, Domingo Terán de los Ríos and the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, had lost 500 and 800 horses respectively on



Map of the province of Coahuila by Juan Ignacio de Castilla y Rioja, 1741.
(Archivo General de Indias, MeyP, México 146)


Norte

highly successful expeditions.[1] Rivera believed that rather than securing new ground for the empire, Berroterán had been content to explore trade routes between Chihuahua and the haciendas and mines of Coahuila.

Colonial officials condemned Berroterán's exploration for its additional failure to make a reconnaissance north of the Río Grande to search for evidence of French penetration into the fringe areas of Spanish occupation. Metropolitan fears of an imminent French invasion of the interior provinces must have seemed laughable to Berroterán and other presidial commanders. Their previous forays into the basins and ranges east of Chihuahua and Durango had demonstrated the difficulty of carrying out large military campaigns in that arid region. The uninhabited Bolsón de Mapimí, the former territory of the Tobosos, a tribe that the commander himself had helped to round up and send in chains to Mexico City, was becoming a haven for Athapaskan-speaking Apache bands, even more tenacious and unpredictable than the Tobosos had been. Their mastery of horsemanship had allowed the Apaches to develop an economy based largely on raiding Spanish settlements. For Berroterán, establishing peaceful relations with the Apaches presented a more immediate goal than the defense of an uninhabitable frontier against a rival European crown.

Despite these conflicts with higher officials, Berroterán retained his position at the presidio of Conchos. When Berroterán received the order to write a report on the condition of the northern frontier in October 1747, he had spent most of the preceding eighteen years campaigning against hostile Indians in all parts of Nueva Vizcaya and in neighboring provinces as well. He was in a position to provide his superiors with valuable information that could not be obtained from other sources. In his report, Berroterán continually emphasized his unequaled knowledge of the frontier.

As a regional military commander and a large landowner, Berroterán was aware of the political and ecological conditions that spurred the shifting alliances between the bands of native peoples in the Bolsón de Mapimí. Unlike the conquistadors and missionaries who preceded him in exploring the desert wastelands east of the Sierra Madre, or the colonial administrators who hounded him to pacify the region, Berroterán realized that complete military or spiritual conquest of the nomadic indigenous groups who migrated southward to inhabit that desolate, inhospitable area was next to impossible. Instead, he acted to establish a negotiated peace backed by the force of arms. This required a balancing act for which Berroterán was uniquely suited. As captain-for-life of the presidio of Conchos, he served as protector of haciendas and settlements on the desert frontier to the east of the camino real that linked Chihuahua with Mexico City. At the same time, however, he was the well-known *compadre* of at least one prestigious Apache leader and acted as a middleman for trade and gift giving with several other unconquered indigenous groups that had recently migrated into the area. Through personal negotiation, Berroterán managed to increase his individual influence within a volatile native society and at the same time to reduce the dependence of indigenous groups on raiding Spanish settlements.

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1. The complete inventory appears in AGI, Guadalajara, 513, and in the Bancroft Library, M-M 1784.

Despite the successful balance they achieved, Berroterán's negotiations and personal deals were at odds with the administrative reforms implemented by the Reglamento of 1729, which had followed Rivera's inspection. The reforms had decreased royal payments to presidios and transferred military personnel into smaller, more mobile "flying companies." These quick-response teams were designed to engage Apaches wherever they struck and then pursue them into their areas of refuge. When Berroterán wrote his report, he was struggling to provide protection for the vast area for which he was responsible under the restrictions of budgetary and personnel decreases imposed by military reorganization.

A year after he submitted the report reproduced here, Berroterán was again chastised for his actions during an exploration of the Río Grande conducted in October and November 1749. He was placed under arrest and, in the course of placing an embargo on Berroterán's possessions, government officials made an inventory of his real property and movable goods. The inventory provides a remarkable insight into the material culture of the northern frontier and into the potential for monetary accumulation available to ambitious military officers.

At the time of his arrest, Berroterán owned two substantial haciendas and a smaller ranch. At the *estancia* of San Luis, eight leagues from the presidio of Conchos, Berroterán raised cattle and mules and operated a water-powered flour mill. His employees included a foreman, several vaqueros, a miller and his son, and fourteen laborers, whose accrued debts were entered into the hacienda's ledger. The ranch had five thousand head of branded cattle, four herds of mares for breeding mules, more than two hundred riding horses and pack mules, several small adobe houses, stockyards, and a large wooden rodeo corral.

The hacienda of San Antonio de la Ramada, some twenty leagues from San Luis, was Berroterán's residence. The hacienda had an extensive farm, with irrigation water taken directly from the Río Florido, which encircled his land. In addition to 146 *fanegas* of wheat and 2 fanegas of corn under cultivation,[2] the farm had 10 milk cows, 70 plow oxen, 10 herds of mules, more than 2,000 head of sheep, almost 1,000 head of goats, and a herd of cattle of unstated size. The hacienda's eighteen-room adobe house was practically new, plastered and whitewashed. The inventory noted that all its windows were movable and all doors had hardware with locks and keys. Household furnishings included a painting on cloth of the Virgin of Guadalupe, oil paintings of the four *santos doctores*,[3] a table and bench, and three "French-style" wooden chairs. The hacienda had an area for soap processing, a fully equipped carpenter's shop, a full supply of farm implements and tools, and many storage areas. The chapel contained two statues of San Antonio, several sets of vestments, a hardwood altar with altar cloths, an hourglass, and silver vessels and candlesticks. The hacienda's sixty-five peons, whose encumbrances were logged in the account book, lived in twenty small houses and huts.

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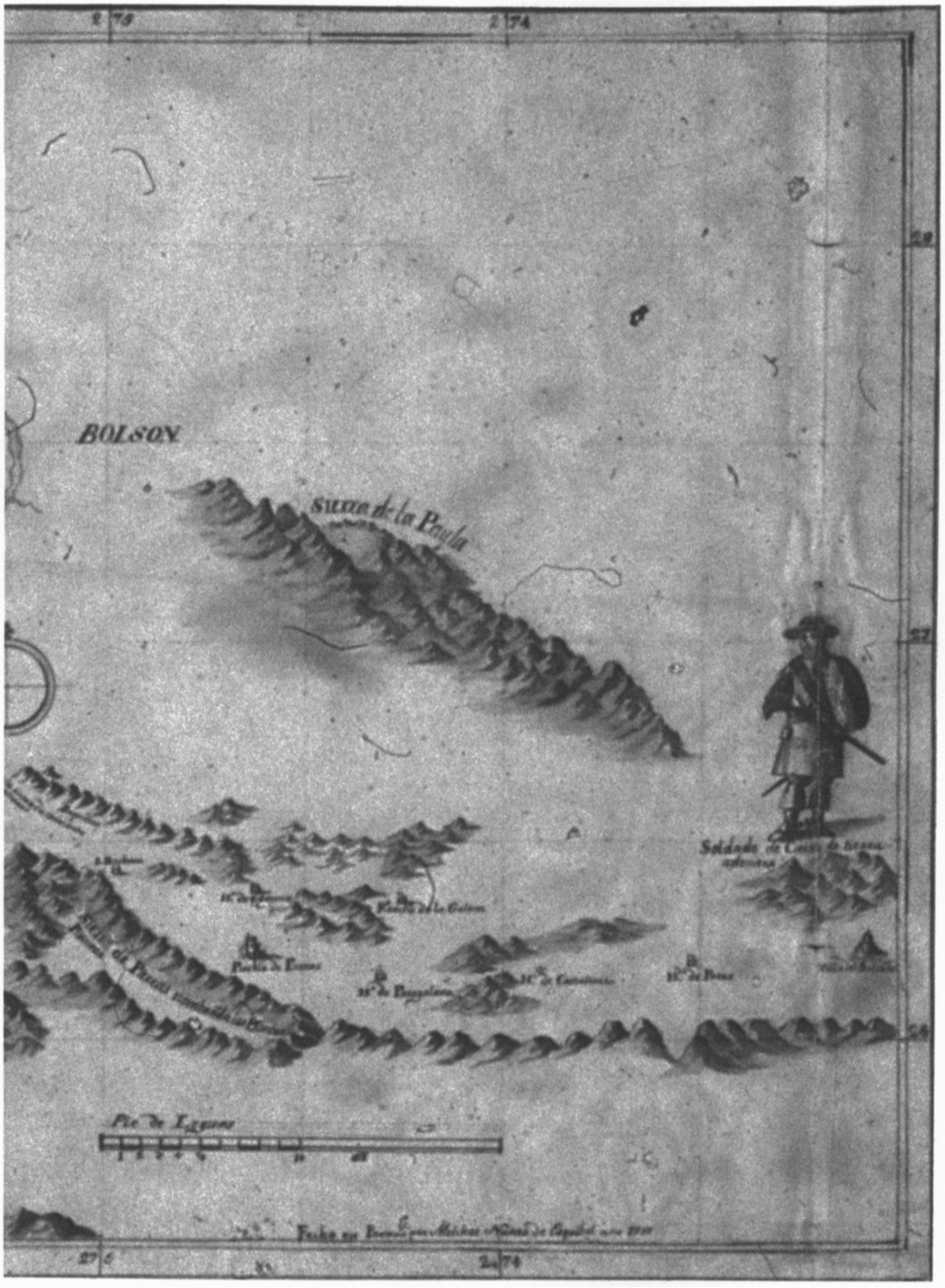
2. In agrarian land measures, a *fanega de sembradura* is equivalent to 3.57 hectares (8.81 acres). Therefore, Berroterán had about 522 hectares (1,286 acres), cultivated in wheat and slightly more than 10 hectares (17.26 acres), planted in corn.

3. The santos doctores of the church were Saints Augustine, Gregory, Ambrose, and Jerome.

The Bolsón de Mapimí, Saltillo, and Parras in Nueva Vizcaya, 1787. (Archivo General de Indias, M&P, México 410)


BOLSON
Sierra de la Paula
Soldado de Cuera de tierra adentro
Pueblo de Parras
Pie de Leguas

Berroterán's wife, Margarita de Ugarte, promptly protested her husband's arrest and the confiscation of property that she claimed belonged to her, rather than to her husband, noting that it was common knowledge that her husband had been poor when they married. Berroterán managed to recover his property and his captaincy, and his children and grandchildren appear as officers in the military rosters of northern presidios until Mexican independence.

When he wrote his report on the condition of the province in 1748, Berroterán took the opportunity to respond to some of the criticisms that were being mounted against him at the time and that were to lead to his arrest shortly after the report was submitted. In addition to defending his personal reputation, Berroterán also used the report to present his evaluation of the administrative reforms implemented by the Reglamento of 1729. To his detailed observations of the area's diverse native settlements and populations, Berroterán added his pessimistic opinion that the reforms would diminish the ability of presidial commanders to maintain Spanish domination over indigenous groups. The final section of the report contains Berroterán's attempt to influence his bureaucratic superiors against the reforms.

In the end the protests that Berroterán raised were vindicated, for Rivera's reforms proved to be ineffective. The new flying companies were unable to contain the Apaches. Increased raiding offset any potential financial gain that might have been achieved by decreases in presidial expenditures. By the 1770s, many of Berroterán's self-serving unofficial actions aimed at gaining "peace by purchase" had been incorporated into official colonial policy. His 1748 report influenced the establishment of new presidios at Guajoquilla and La Junta de los Ríos, and Commandant General Teodoro de Croix incorporated many of Berroterán's suggestions into the offensive policy he adopted after 1776.

Most excellent sir,

Presented herewith is the report that, through your excellency's honor,[4] was ordered to be drawn up. It is hoped that the reliability of its evidence will counter any defect that its brevity may produce, and that it will obtain your approval through its contribution to the glory of God.

I, Don Joseph de Berroterán, captain-for-life of the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos in the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya, place myself at your excellency's feet and, with the greatest deference and in the best manner that the law permits, state [the following]: I have been ordered by your excellency to make a report on the state of this realm, the condition of its presidios, and all the enemies on its frontiers, and to include within it all the information acquired during the time that I have carried out my office and continued to endure the hostilities of the Indian savages, along with whatever else I did to this purpose. In duly attempting to carry out your superior orders with the greatest of care and the most diligent investigation, I have tried to recall everything that has come to my attention while

4. Addressed to Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Marqués de Casafuerte, who served as viceroy from 1746 to 1755.

I have been in this region and everything that has happened during my term of office, in order to compile (as I have done with the greatest accuracy and legality) [the report] that I hereby present in thirty written pages, attested to with the requisite solemnity, so that after reviewing it your excellency might render whatever decision you deem appropriate, overlooking any defect my brevity may have caused with your well-known accommodation.

Therefore, the report having been presented, I humbly request your excellency to order whatever action you may judge to be just. [To all of this] I swear in due legal form.

Joseph de Berroterán

November 24, 1751

(Testimony received in duplicate)
Most excellent sir:

Your excellency has seen fit to send me orders by a decree dated October 10, 1747, wherein you concurred with the auditor's suggestion of requesting a report from me, as well as other just and legal decisions that affect me. Although the reasons why I am considered an interested party in the matter could compel me to request of your renowned authority that I be released from making [the report], I find it advisable to obey—despite the stigma I may suffer for being in the present position of defending my dedication and conduct, which [someone] has attempted to blacken. My actions have been twisted and misinterpreted, and it has been intimated that they are improper and contrary to my proper duty.

However, several legal documents from your higher government, with the authority of your excellency's respected predecessors as viceroy, have sanctioned our operations and the various commissions that I have executed and completed, and they have conferred approval upon me and given me thanks. Based on this, I do not hesitate to proceed in complying with your excellency's order and presenting to your celebrated wisdom everything that my slight understanding has been able to notice, observe, and examine over the course of the thirty-five years that I have served his majesty (may God keep him) in his royal presidios of Mapimí and Conchos. Although my small talents have not been given the best demonstration and for this reason my lengthy narrative may cause your excellency some bother, I assure you I have no other motive than to give an account vested in complete truth—the greatest proof of which will be seen in what I relate with regard to the assignment of land parcels. I confess that from this point on, in the process of attempting to connect the dates, cite the orders, and compose my information, I will make errors in some instances. Because I have lived without the need to coordinate all the events and occurrences of my life—attention to war having been my destiny—I have been concerned not with the details, but with carrying out my duty. In addition, I will refer to past events purely for information, because they occurred long before I was relocated from the realms of Spain to this one.

The royal presidios of El Pasaje, El Gallo, and Conchos were established by the real cédula of his majesty (may God keep him), signed in Madrid on September 22, 1685. Each [was assigned] fifty soldiers due to the grave alarm in the realm that

was caused by the uprising of eighty-five nations from among the pueblos on the Nazas River and its Laguna de Parras,[5] and other places. The vestiges of the ruins from [these uprisings], as well as from the depopulation of the mining settlements of Santiago de Mapimí, Jimulco, and Casco,[6] remain today. This evidence gave rise to fears that the same situation might occur among the remaining Tepehuán and Tarahumara people, who had already been catechized and reduced through the apostolic zeal of the reverend missionary fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus and the Order of Our Father Saint Francis. [These Indians had also been settled] at the mines of San Juan Bautista de Indé, Guanaceví, Santa Bárbara, and Parral,[7] and were producing large profits for the community and taxes for the royal treasury. Moreover, they provided protection for our Holy Gospel and its practitioners, and the realm itself served as a defense for that of Galicia. Because of reports and statements from Don Gabriel de Niza y Quiroga,[8] governor of the realm, [his majesty] judged the aforementioned presidios to be insufficient and, Catholic piety overriding his [personal] interests, ordered two others built at Casas Grandes and Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi,[9] with the same number of officers and soldiers. Thus our reduced settlements were made secure and a front was formed against all our apostate and gentile enemies.

With the presidios established for their respective purposes, we began to curb the attacks against our settlements by pursuing the enemy with detachments of

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5. The Nazas River drains an area of present southern Coahuila and northern Durango. The Laguna de Parras was a shallow lake in the center of the Bolsón de Mapimí, fed by the floodwaters of the Nazas.

6. The mines of San Lorenzo del Casco were worked from the time of Francisco de Ibarra; the real de Mapimí was founded shortly after 1589; and Jimulco was another mining settlement located near the Río Aguanaval, between the Río Nazas and Río Santiago.

7. All these mines were located in the Tepehuán territory south of Parral near the Río Florido, in present-day Durango. The mining camp at San Juan de Indé (or Indehe) began operations in 1567. Five hundred Tepehuanes were settled there during 1602 and 1603. It later served as a Spanish fortress during the Tepehuán Revolt of 1616–18. Guanaceví is located in the heart of the Sierra Madre, south of the Río de las Nazas. The mines, which may have been settled as early as the 1570s, thrived until 1616, when many of the Spanish settlers were killed during the Tepehuán uprising. Santa Bárbara, the least successful of these mining camps, was southwest of Parral on the headwaters of the river of Valle de San Bartolomé. It began operations as a mining camp in 1567; by 1707, mining activities had subsided. In 1631 the discovery of rich silver deposits at Parral, on the headwaters of the Río San Gregorio in south-central Chihuahua, resulted in a mining boom. Because mining here required skilled labor, the settlement attracted a larger Spanish population, and the town served as the unofficial capital of Nueva Vizcaya until 1739.

8. Don Gabriel José de Neyra y Quiroga served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1784 to 1788.

9. The fifty-man presidio of San Antonio de Casas Grandes was established in 1686, in western Nueva Vizcaya. A larger presidio was established nearby at Janos in 1691. The presidio of Corodéguachi, subsequently known as Fronteras, approximately 250 kilometers west of Janos in the northeastern corner of Sonora, was not physically established until 1692; prior to this it was a compañía volante, ordered by Governor Neyra y Quiroga as Berroterán suggests.

twenty-five soldiers or more, depending on the size of the enemy group as indicated by their tracks. Through this indescribable toil, their reduction to settlements was effectively achieved.

In the years 1690 and 1691, it became necessary for the missionary fathers to correct the Indians' idol worshiping, ascribing [their actions] to the "thorn of the sweet vine" of the Gospel message by which they hoped to subject [the Indians] to Christian teachings, civility, and policy. As soon as this happened, the populations of the Tarahumara Alta—as lovers of their savage freedom, and in spite of there being so many presidios and numerous soldiers who were continuously moving against the enemy—murdered several priests, burning the churches, and then retreated to the cliffs and canyons. In response to these unexpected events, and by order of the governor of that realm, all the presidios dispatched as many soldiers as they could, amounting to between 150 and 200 including the subalterns, under the command of Captain Juan Fernández de Retana.[10] The force also included at least five hundred Indian auxiliaries from the nations of Chisos, Conchos, Tapacolmes, Norteños, Cíbolos, and Tepehuanes,[11] whose participation lasted approximately two years at a considerable cost to the treasury, as can be imagined.

After the Tarahumaras were pacified, campaigns with 50 to 80 soldiers and 150 Indian auxiliaries were conducted every year during the months of September and October, that being the season during which it was possible to penetrate the terrain and the mountains where the enemy lived. Each one would set out in a different direction. On one occasion in the Sierra Mojada,[12] three troops together encountered the Cocoyomes and the Acoclames, who lived there. More than two hundred Indian auxiliaries and seventy soldiers were sent into the mountains after them, but they succeeded only in capturing one Indian woman, and they lost two Tlaxcaltecan soldiers from the company maintained by that nation at the pueblo of Santa María de Parras.[13] They were forced to abandon the campaign because of [the area's] sterility and lack of water, which have always impeded our forces' operations. [These conditions] leave most of the terrain open to the enemy, who, observing the movements of our troops, would enter our settle-

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10. Born in Spain, Juan Fernández de Retana was the first captain of the newly established presidio of Conchos in 1685. He continued to serve as its commander until his death in 1708. A veteran Indian fighter, he eventually achieved the rank of general.

11. The Tepehuanes described here were probably the eastern extension of this widely dispersed agricultural group who inhabited the area near the Santa Bárbara district in present-day southern Chihuahua. The Conchos Indians were concentrated along the Florido, Conchos, San Pedro, and Chuvíscar River systems. The Chisos Indians, an eastern extension of the Conchos Indians, gave their name to the Chisos Mountains of Big Bend National Park in Texas. Uto-Aztecan speakers, all these groups were hunter-gatherers who practiced some limited horticulture.

12. The Sierra Mojada is a small, ragged mountain range rising out of the Bolsón de Mapimí.

13. Santa María de Parras is approximately twenty-five leagues west of Saltillo, in present-day southern Coahuila. The Tlaxcaltecan colony was founded at Parras in 1598. Epidemics devastated the native population of Parras during the seventeenth century.

ments with great ease to steal the horse herds, secure in the knowledge that our forces were well within their territory and that because of the great distances and extensive lands they have in their mountains, our settlements were helpless. The result was that they succeeded in attacking wherever they pleased with impunity.

Every year the presidio of Conchos carried out an inspection of the reduced Tarahumara settlements with fifty soldiers. In view of this and the recent punishment [the Tarahumara] had suffered in retaliation, the captain went with Indian auxiliaries into their cliffs and canyons and extracted all the Indians he found, conducting them to his presidio. He established them as a pueblo and supplied them with everything they needed from the funds for war and peace, so that the reduced Indians might acquire whatever was necessary for their settlement and maintenance through their labor. This system was followed throughout the life of Captain Retana, and the settlements were no longer inspected—either because they were believed to be very obedient to his majesty and the missionary fathers or because large forces of the enemies on the frontier began hostilities. [These enemies] attacked the convoys on the camino real with no fear of their size or the escort of sixteen soldiers that accompanied them, and killed the soldiers and several passengers. Overpowering the convoys at the site called El Arroyo de Baus, which is midway between the presidios of San Bartolomé and Cerro Gordo,[14] they carried off the horses and mules, clothing, and some silver.

After this beginning (without precedent until that time), [the Indians] continued their hostilities on the road that goes from the presidio of Cerro Gordo to El Gallo,[15] killing [the larger part of] a squad of sixteen soldiers that was returning to [El Gallo] after leaving the convoy at Cerro Gordo. Twelve to fourteen soldiers perished at the hands of the enemy at a place near Los Patos. The same thing happened at Agua Nueva to another squad from Cerro Gordo, which was returning after having left the convoy in El Gallo. Ten soldiers from the presidio of Cerro Gordo perished.

Because of these unfortunate events, the governor of Vizcaya[16] arranged for the convoys entering Nueva Vizcaya to set out from the presidio of El Pasaje at the beginning of each month throughout the year; those leaving would depart from Valle de San Bartolomé. They were to be accompanied by an escort of twenty-five soldiers and an equal number of auxiliary Indian archers, to be paid from the aforementioned funds for war and peace. In this way the possessions of

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14. Valle de San Bartolomé, approximately twenty kilometers southwest of Parral, is located in present-day south-central Chihuahua. The settlement was first a Franciscan convento, becoming an alcaldía mayor in the 1640s. From 1715 to 1751 the garrison, which had formerly been at Parral, was stationed at San Bartolomé, commanded by the local magistrate, who was designated capitán de guerra. Cerro Gordo, in north-central Durango twenty leagues southeast of Parral, was established as a presidio in 1646 by Governor Luis de Valdés of Nueva Vizcaya. It remained a presidio until 1751.

15. San Pedro del Gallo, formerly an hacienda, served as a presidio from 1687 until 1751. Southwest of Mapimí and north of the Río de las Nazas, it is approximately one hundred kilometers southeast of Cerro Gordo.

16. The reference is to Juan Isidro de Pardiñas, who served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1688 to 1693.

the merchants who entered and left that kingdom were protected, and the working of the mines—as well as the discovery of new ones, such as the mine at San Felipe that was discovered in the year 1707—were facilitated. There are many more besides that can be gained once the territory is advanced, mines as rich in minerals as those in the Tarahumara region, where veins of silver are found at every step. Although they are not worked today, due to the sparse population, they could be reopened in time. This has not occurred to date because of the laws, which do not foster the interests of the discoverers, who desire profits in return for their risk and fear of the enemies, and because of what unreliable subjects the reduced [Indians] are.

With this part of the enemy secured and intimidated by means of the preceding measure and the great numbers in the convoys, many of the assaults against [the convoys] were curbed. The [Indians] began to attack the haciendas and the sheep and cattle ranches, entering houses and burning many of them, and causing many deaths at the [town] of San Gerónimo. Because of this deplorable hostility Don Juan Felipe de Orozco y Molina,[17] as lieutenant governor and interim captain general, personally took charge of exacting revenge against these foes with a force of more than 120 soldiers and settlers, along with 150 Indian auxiliaries. [The enemy Indians] were found in the Sierra Conula, where they sought shelter for their families, forming a front against our force. Our men decided to retreat, securing their horses and the provisions that drew enemy raids, without having succeeded in anything more than recovering the plunder left in [the enemy's] ranchería. The auxiliaries availed themselves of this as their payment, and the stolen horses were restored to their owners.

In the year 1711, by order of the most excellent Duque de Linares,[18] the presidio of Mapimí[19] was established with twenty-five soldiers detached from the presidios of El Pasaje, El Gallo, Cerro Gordo, and Conchos, and nine others from the presidio of San Sebastián in the Valle de Santiago Papasquiaro.[20] The mine at Mapimí was operating with seven or eight smelters in which a great deal of lead ore was extracted, along with silver of legal standard, precious metals, and many alloys needed to make other valuable metals useful. It is located some twenty-five to thirty leagues north of the [presidio] of Pasaje and about sixteen leagues northeast of the mining town of El Gallo.

In 1714 or 1715 the governor was succeeded by Don Manuel de San Juan y

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17. Juan Felipe de Orozco y Molina served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1712 to 1714.

18. Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, Duque de Linares y Marqués de Valdefuentes (1641?–1717) served as viceroy from 1711 to 1716.

19. This document gives a definitive date for the establishment of the presidio of Mapimí.

20. The Valle de Papasquiaro is in present northwest Durango state, on the Papasquiaro River. A military force was established at San Sebastián in the late 1590s. The presidio of San Sebastián, however, was later moved to Chiametla, at the modern site of Concordia, Sinaloa. After 1693, a capitán de guerra was stationed at Santiago Papasquiaro and a presidio was located at nearby Santa Catarina de los Tepehuanes. Civilian militia replaced presidial troops after 1711.

Santa Cruz.[21] During his term in office, seventy-five hostile Cocoyome, Acoclame, and Coahuileño Indians lay in wait for the convoy at the place called Santo Domingo, at the beginning of the camino real that leads to the presidio of Cerro Gordo, seven leagues from El Gallo. On this occasion the captain of El Pasaje, Don Martín de Alday—accompanying the illustrious Don Pedro Tápis,[22] former bishop of Durango, on his general inspection—arrived with twenty-five soldiers from his presidio and ten from El Gallo. They marched to the aforementioned site of Santo Domingo, where they stopped to spend the night. During the afternoon, while walking and entertaining his excellency with the guns, they ventured close to the place of the ambush. By divine providence, or out of respect for the dignity of his excellency, the enemy did not wish to attack him. This incident, as told by the enemy, occurred at Acatita la Grande,[23] where they portrayed his excellency with his coach and coachmen in the same posture they had observed, with one coachman tugging at the mules' halters and the other putting on their blinders. The captain and his soldiers likewise were clear of this imminent danger, although the illustrious minister was frightened because he had been unaware of the situation.

A few days later the captain of the presidio of Mapimí was marching to the mining town of Indé to be married and stopped to rest at this site, accompanied by a guard of sixteen soldiers and an equal number in his retinue. [The enemy], who were lying in wait, observed how few were in the traveling party and attacked, killing the captain and twelve soldiers. They carried off one prisoner, but set free the others, whose number included the chaplain. All were stripped and sent off on foot to the hacienda of San Mateo de la Zarca, midway between the presidios of El Gallo and Cerro Gordo. The entire herd of transport animals was stolen.[24]

Upon hearing this news the governor, using the 30,000 pesos from the funds for peace and war that were turned over to him from the royal treasury in Durango (which he was entitled to after five years of service), formed a company with eighty soldiers, twenty-five settlers from the district of Indé, and one hundred Indian auxiliaries under the command of the captain of El Gallo, Don Juan Bautista de Lizasola. They succeeded in reaching the place called Salinas de Machete (four degrees northeast of the presidio of Mapimí, a distance of about fifty

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21. Manuel de San Juan y Santa Cruz served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1714 to 1720.

22. Alday later served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1720 to 1723. Pedro Tápiz served as twelfth bishop of Durango from 1713 until his death in 1722.

23. Acatita la Grande, (Acatita meaning "place where cane grows") was the site of a water hole and later of an hacienda. Located in the broad valley between the Sierra de Tlalhualilo and the Sierra de las Delicias, about eighty kilometers northeast of modern Torreón, it was used as a staging point for expeditions into the Bolsón de Mapimí, including those of the governor of Coahuila, Juan de Ugalde, during the 1780s. The pictographs above the water hole at Acatita la Grande were locally famous for centuries and remained visible until recent years.

24. This attack is described in "Attack on the Hacienda of La Zarca, 1715" in chapter 1.

leagues), where they captured between twenty-two and twenty-six prisoners of all ages and [both] sexes. [The governor] continued successive campaigns under the direction of other subaltern presidial captains, using the aforementioned 30,000 pesos and an equal amount that the settlers of that realm contributed toward the war, in addition to volunteering themselves. In this way the settlers bore the expense of the campaigns, as well as of the convoys and shipments of silver.

While the second force was out in enemy territory under the command of the captain of Valle de San Bartolomé, Don Juan de Salayses, the ranchería of savages remounted and rode to our lands; they surrounded the hacienda of Ramos[25]—the house of which is equivalent to a presidio, fortified with armies of *vaqueros* and herders under the command of an administrator and overseers. The vaqueros were inside the house and had a herd of mules closed up in the corral for the night. Using the strategy of hiding behind a stone corral that faced the gate, six of [the Indians] hid to one side of the mule corral and crawled into it. When they heard the vaqueros saddling their horses, [the Indians] opened the gate and began to drive the mules out, in full view so that everyone in the house would follow them. Unfortunately the administrator, the overseer, and all the men—more than twenty-five—rode off in pursuit, leaving only two men in the house with their families.

At this opportunity, the hostiles advanced toward the house, and the families took refuge in the fortified tower, to which they escaped with one of the two remaining men. [The Indians] disregarded the other, allowing him to catch a horse and ride bareback to inform [the Spaniards] that they should return to help, which they did. Riding out to meet them [the Indians] killed sixteen or eighteen people, including the administrator and overseer, and carried off all the clothing they found in the house. Because of this incident the hacienda was deserted by Don Antonio de la Campa, who was its owner.

This event was followed by a campaign of Don Joseph de Berroterán, captain of the Conchos presidio.[26] Using the same number of soldiers as in the earlier campaigns, he succeeded in capturing twenty-four or twenty-five [Indians] of all ages and [both] sexes. Provoked, the enemy sought the destruction of the presidio and its captain and soldiers. They came on the following moon, more than 120 in number, and fell upon the sixteen soldiers who were guarding the horse herd. Killing twelve and wounding the others, they carried off the entire herd of more than seven hundred horses. All the while the Indians were expecting the relief [party of soldiers] to follow them, which would allow them to execute the same strategy [as at Ramos] and achieve the satisfaction of devastating the presidio as planned, without injury.

Next, they came to the presidio of Cerro Gordo and used the same [strategy] with the guards of its horse herd, killing four to six soldiers and stealing the

25. The hacienda of Ramos is located along the river of the same name upstream from its junction with the Río Nazas, within the alcaldía of Real de Oro in the present-day state of Durango.

26. At this point Berroterán begins his eyewitness testimony.

horses. Because of our experience at Ramos and the limited number of men at the presidio who could counter enemy attacks, no punishing action could be executed with the necessary speed. Formal campaigns were then attempted, with forces greater than those of the enemy; however, the sterility and roughness of their territory favor [the enemy] just as they rebuff the troops, who have no wish to subject themselves uselessly to a death with no honor. As they withdraw their movements are observed by [the Indians], who have thus succeeded in acquiring and taking away the horses for their own use, leaving the companies in their respective presidios. For this reason, [the campaigns] in most instances have been undertaken without the results striven for, and the same losses have been occurring to the horse herds at El Gallo and Mapimí.

In 1720 the aforementioned governor, Don Manuel de San Juan [y Santa Cruz], was succeeded by Don Martín [de] Alday, captain of the royal presidio of El Pasaje. Informed of this and having experienced his valor, the enemy feared that as governor he would drive them to their ultimate destruction. They set out on the road to the mining town of Parral, [meeting the governor] six leagues from the presidio of Cerro Gordo. They begged him for peace and for a pueblo in which to settle down. In compliance with his majesty's orders he received them and ordered them all to go to the presidio, where he would furnish them with everything necessary for their support from the funds for peace and war. They lived in this way for some six months, traveling freely throughout our settlements, haciendas, and ranches.

During September of that year, it was rumored that there was unrest in the pueblos at the confluence of the Río [Grande] del Norte and the Río Conchos, and that this had caused the missionary fathers to leave. It was decided that Captain Don Juan Bautista de Lizasola should set out with a detachment of seventy or eighty soldiers and a similar number of Indian auxiliaries to investigate and determine the cause of the unrest. According to the captain's verbal report, the unrest arose when Reverend Father Lipián, their vice-custodian, ordered the Indians of those settlements to clean out the ditches for the cultivation of their fields. They obediently complied and worked on the ditch for more than one league, which was all that the seasonal rise of the Río Conchos permitted. At the first flood the banks of the irrigation ditch were washed out, along with all the work they had done.

Moving to another location judged by the father [to be better], the Indians worked obediently doing what the father ordered them to do—just as well or even better than before—and the same thing happened again. The third time this happened, in view of their experiences and their lost labor, the leaders of those settlements and their people advised the reverend father that, if he would request that the governor of [Nueva] Vizcaya send them a skilled person to determine by the rising and falling [floodwaters] where the irrigation ditch could be placed and its banks maintained, they would gladly contribute their personal labor and toil. To that end they dispatched their chief with a petition to the governor. [The chief] ignored this task; perhaps because of his practical knowledge of farming in the Valle de San Bartolomé, where he had grown up, he believed the proposal to be impossible and did not deliver it. For this reason [the Indians], lacking the decision they had hoped for—along with the materials with which to put it into

practice, to be obtained from the funds for peace and war—resolved to depose their chief from his position because he did not attend to matters vital to their preservation and well-being, as this [incident] demonstrated. The reverend fathers inferred that [the Indians] wanted to rebel and attempted to secure themselves at the villa of San Felipe el Real.[27] All the priests' successors have done the same, entering [the region] only briefly, and the Indians have always received them without trouble. The captain's formal report of these events was found by that government, as well as your excellency's higher government, to be consistent with the account that the aforementioned governor would give to the captain general's office.

With the previous order carried out, [the governor] set out for the presidio of Cerro Gordo (accompanied by me). Upon our arrival there the inhabitants of the ranchería, located at the arroyo some 2½ leagues below the presidio, withdrew to the [arroyo's] mouth about twelve leagues away and took refuge in the mountains, afraid of being captured in that flat land. They were on their guard, lacking faith in the promise given to them that they would have a pueblo and would not be punished for the crimes they had committed, all of this being the effect of their bad propensities and consciences.

On the day following the governor's arrival, the chief who commanded these nations, Don Juan de Lomas,[28] came with others to excuse the earlier action, saying that he had been away from the ranchería. His people had risen up and had followed their trail to reach the previously mentioned mouth [of the arroyo]. The chief [said he] was on his way to see them and would confer with his people on establishing the conditions they desired. He immediately set out and, after meeting with them, returned to the presidio of Cerro Gordo, then continued on to Parral. [The Indians] followed him that far, observing his movements. They took more than three hundred horses from the hacienda of Antonio [illegible], in the jurisdiction of Valle de San Bartolomé, after which [the Indians] abandoned their ranchería and went to join the Coahuileño Indians who had come to stir them up.

In the year 1721, leaving their families safe in the Sierra de Chocamueca,[29] [these Indians] went together to the presidio of Coahuila in the town of Santiago de Monclova.[30] There they raided the horse herds and killed the guards, with the exception of one whom they permitted to escape so that he would go to the town with the news. On hearing of the attack, all the [men] there set out to the rescue.

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27. The mines at San Felipe el Real, the present-day city of Chihuahua, became a villa in 1718.

28. Juan de Lomas seems to have first come to the attention of the Spanish during a campaign carried out against the Cocoyomes in 1716.

29. The Sierra de Chocamueca (or Sierra Prieta) is one of the various ranges in rugged north-central Coahuila.

30. The villa of Santiago de Monclova was founded in 1689, though Spanish *encomenderos* had worked the area since the sixteenth century. The garrison of San Francisco de Coahuila in Monclova did not become a presidio until 1775. The commander of this garrison usually served as governor of Coahuila as well.

Opposing them on the road [the Indians] killed them all—including the lieutenant, the last killed, at the entrance of [the town]. They succeeded in plundering the houses and the store of the governor, who at that time was the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo,[31] who was away on the Texas expedition. The families [of the townsmen] retreated into the church with the parish priest, while the captain from the presidio of San Juan Bautista, Don Joseph de Caimurguia [Ecay Múzquiz],[32] and other settlers defended the church and the families.

In the same year, 1721, [at the end] of June or the beginning of July the Indians traveled to the pueblo of Santa María de Parras. Employing the same method at the site of Las Cruces, they killed more than twenty-four of the most prominent men of the area (who came out to reclaim the horse herd), including the alcalde mayor; this misfortune is still mourned today. They took prisoner Don Francisco Santalla and two others, who, seeing that they were threatened with death at the hands of the Indians, induced them to go on to Parral, telling them that the governor would give them all the clothing they might want as a ransom in exchange for the three captives, including Don Francisco. The Indians accepted the proposal and set out for the borders of Parral.

These misfortunes were reported to the governor, Don Martín de Alday, who was in the city of Durango performing his inspection. They also advised him that Don Pablo, leader of the Coahuileños, had sent two Indians to his brother, who was settled with his people in the pueblo of Cinco Señores,[33] so that he would rise up and join them. [The messengers] were to tell him what had been carried out in Coahuila and Parral and say that all of them together would put an end to all the presidios and towns. To prevent this from happening, the governor took all the necessary protective measures in the presidio of El Pasaje, and his captain and soldiers did the same at [Cinco Señores]. There the convoy of soldiers stood guard at the site that was overtaken and captured everyone, as well as those who came later. They brought the Indians to the presidio, where they were imprisoned and chained.

With this action completed, the governor proceeded against the offenders, launching a campaign with soldiers from all the presidios. Informed by the captain of Valle de San Bartolomé and the document written by Don Fernando Santalla [of the three Spaniards held for ransom], the governor set out, ordering the captain to advise the Indians posthaste that they should come down to the Río

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31. The Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo in 1721 was José Ramón de Azlor y Virto de Vera, one of the largest landowners in Mexico. He maintained his principal residence at Patos, Coahuila. In 1719 he was appointed governor and captain general of Coahuila, and in 1720 he led an expedition to Texas to reoccupy the east Texas missions abandoned during the French invasion of the preceding year. As a result of the expedition, the number of missions in Texas was increased from two to ten and the military presence was strengthened, establishing a definitive Spanish claim to Texas. The marqués remained in Texas until May 1722, when he was replaced as governor.

32. Joseph Antonio de Ecay Múzquiz served as governor of Coahuila from 1716 to 1717. Earlier he had witnessed the founding document for the villa of Santiago de Monclova.

33. Cinco Señores, a settlement on both banks of the Río de las Nazas in northern Durango, was established in 1678. It was a dependency of the El Pasaje presidio.

Florido with their captives, and that when the governor arrived he would grant them everything they requested.

Notified that the governor had arrived at Parral, the Indians came down to the pueblo of Atotonilco[34] with Santalla and his companions, and [the captives] were exchanged for the requested clothing. The governor warned them that they should all come down together with their families [to settle] close to the town in a suitable site of their choosing; if they did not, he had orders from his majesty requiring him to bring in by fire and blood any Indians who abused his clemency, due to the deceptions [the Indians] had practiced upon the governor and his predecessors with similar peace treaties, when they enjoyed the benefit of the royal treasury, in that they were supported and received clothing for themselves and their families. Henceforth, if they did not keep their agreement, they would receive the punishment prescribed by [his majesty's] order.[35] To this the Cocoyomes and Acoclames responded that they would not have broken the agreement had the Coahuileños not stirred them up. They stated that, assuming they found all [the Coahuileños] to be together with them, they would send them in to be outfitted with clothing. In view of what [the Coahuileños] were wearing, it would not be against their interest to come down into the governor's sight where he could capture them, as he did without bloodshed. The Cocoyomes and Acoclames made this malicious proposal in order to keep the Coahuileño women, whom they desired for themselves, to replace those who had been taken in previous campaigns against them.

With the Coahuileños secured in the Parral jail, and those from Cinco Señores at the presidio of El Pasaje, the assistance [to the Cocoyomes and Acoclames] was continued with the provision that they congregate in a pueblo. Atotonilco was urged upon them; they had lived there in an earlier period during which they were supported by the funds for peace and war, which paid for their crops of corn and wheat and other needs.

They accepted [the governor's] proposal, and he placed them under the supervision of the reserve captain, Antonio Rodela,[36] who was to supply them with food while they were settling into the pueblo. Rodela continued in this capacity, for he understood their language, and while standing as godfather for two of them, they let him in on the secret that the tribe was making bows and arrows in order to rise up in rebellion. When he received this news and had seen it for him-

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34. Atotonilco is located on the Río Florido, in the southeast corner of the present state of Chihuahua. It was established as a settlement for migrant desert tribes sometime before 1604. Along with San Bartolomé, Atotonilco served as a labor depot for the area's Spanish ranchers and miners. Enslaved Indians from the Tepehuán, Conchos, Toboso, and other tribes were distributed to Spaniards from these commercial centers. Although a Franciscan friar was usually present at Atotonilco, the settlement had an erratic and violent history and was sacked and abandoned several times.

35. War would be made against rebellious Indians, and they would be sold into slavery if captured alive.

36. Antonio Rodela served for many years in the presidios along the camino real to Chihuahua and was instrumental in the eventual reduction of the Acoclames and Cocoyomes to pueblos. In 1704 he was an alférez, and by 1728 he had achieved the rank of captain.

self, he reported it to the governor who, as a soldier of great experience, issued secret orders to assemble the troops stationed in the immediate area, whose settlers are renowned for their valor and use of weapons. With troops numbering more than four hundred, in addition to the Indian auxiliaries from nearby pueblos, [the governor] surrounded the flat terrain where the enemies were situated. He ordered Antonio Rodela to go to their ranchería to reproach them and induce them with gentle means to surrender. They did not give up, however, and took their weapons in hand. Forty savages escaped the skirmish along with many women, but the rest were captured and taken to the prison in Parral.

Having imprisoned them in that jail, the governor then singled out an Indian who was thought to be more faithful and more sincere than the other prisoners. Speaking with this man at times, and with an elderly Indian woman at others, the governor [urged] the Indians to bring those who had escaped down to congregate in the pueblo, for the liberty of the prisoners depended upon it.

The [governmental authorities] thought to secure all of them with this incentive. When they had no success after some months, however, it was ordered that Don Joseph de Alday and I, who were both captains at the time, one at El Pasaje and the other at Mapimí, should set out on a campaign with fifty soldiers. During [this campaign] we captured fifty-seven *piezas* ["pieces"][37] of all ages and both sexes at the spring of Carmen, which is sixteen leagues northeast of the presidio of Cerro Gordo and almost the same distance from the camino real, forming a triangle with the presidio of El Gallo.[38]

The prisoners were conducted to the royal presidio of Cerro Gordo and secured in chains. Informed of this, the governor gave us orders that [Captain] Alday was to go to the mining town of San José del Parral, to remove the chained prisoners from the jail there and conduct them to this court, due to the many expenses that the rest of them caused the royal treasury. I, Captain Joseph de Berroterán, was to go to [the presidio] of Mapimí, which was under my command, to wait for the Indians and their families whom Antonio Balduz, a prisoner I had freed, had offered to bring in with his missing family and as many others as he could. He did so, bringing in eighteen Indians with their women and children. After I informed the governor that they had all been secured in the royal presidio of San Pedro del Gallo, he ordered me to set out in search of Rivillas, who was missing along with twelve others.

For this endeavor I took along two of the prisoners as guides, and with their aid I captured Rivillas and seven others in the Sierra de las Hornillas,[39] which is ten leagues north of the camino real and a little farther from the presidio of El Gallo. Six escaped by staying away from our patrol. The records of the judicial investigation, which were sent to the office of the captain general along with the Indian captives, will verify their considerable numbers and the expenses to the treasury.

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37. *Piezas* was a common euphemism for human captives.

38. This description places the spring within the Sierra del Diablo, a desolate region of dunes and dry mountain ranges west of the Bolsón de Mapimí.

39. This may refer to the variously named small mountains that lie immediately north of the present-day village of Ceballos, on the highway between Torreón and Ciudad Jiménez.

In the year 1723, Don Joseph Sebastián López de Carbajal[40] became governor, and even though the realm was considered free of hostiles with the extent of the previous [measures], it was decided in a junta de guerra to send out two detachments of troops during the month of September, each with forty soldiers and twenty Indian auxiliaries. One troop was to ride out along the frontier from the presidio of Conchos under the command of Lieutenant Don Antonio Molina,[41] and the other from the presidio of Mapimí under my command, each [troop] following its route to its end at Acatita la Grande. The two troops together were then to scout the Sierra de Chocamueca and the rest of the territory between Coahuila and Vizcaya. The inspection could not be carried out, however, because the lieutenant was held up at Acatita with the capture of the Indian called Bautista, along with the horse herd from the hacienda of Torreón and the rest of the prisoners. These had fled into the inhospitable place of Maltrata after being turned over in the town to the captain of the company there by order of his excellency. The same thing happened to me at Aguachila,[42] also known as "the armpit of Don Bartolo," which is ten to twelve leagues, more or less, north of the Laguna de Parras. There I encountered seven Indian nomads with fourteen women and children, making a total of twenty-eight piezas. I took them to the mining town of San José del Parral, and, in compliance with the governor's orders, I turned them over at the jail to the alcalde mayor, who sent them to this capital.

In the year 1724, while Governor Carbajal was conducting his general inspection at the hacienda of Ramos—which had already been resettled after the prisoners were taken away—some killings occurred on the road that goes from that hacienda to the Valle de Santiago Papasquiaro.[43] According to a captive who had been in the enemies' power but escaped while they were fighting with the people killed, the Indians in question had their ranchería at Acatita la Grande. The governor arranged to wage the campaign personally, with the settlers and soldiers, but when he arrived at the presidio of Mapimí he had an accident there, and he ordered me to set out in pursuit of the enemies with twenty-five soldiers. I arrived at [Acatita la Grande], but did not find them there; I turned back and came across their trail heading toward our territory. I overtook them at Pozo Hediondo,[44]

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40. Joseph Sebastián López de Carbajal served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1723 to 1727.

41. Antonio de Molina first served as lieutenant in 1725. He continued to serve in that capacity for at least forty years. In 1767 he petitioned for a promotion based on his years of military service on the northern frontier.

42. Berroterán visited a site called Aguachila on his 1729 exploration to the Río Grande. He mentions stopping there on January 15, at which point he would have been south of Agua Grande, at a basin now called Valle el Sobaco.

43. Santiago Papasquiaro was founded as a Jesuit mission in 1597. It is located approximately five leagues south of Atotonilco on the Río Papasquiaro, a tributary of the Río Ramos, in the present state of Durango. The mission was on the Topia Road, the preferred route between Durango and the Pacific coast.

44. Pozo Hediondo, Stinking Well or Stinking Water, was a common name for springs containing sulfur or other minerals that gave the water a strong unpleasant odor.

which is about thirty leagues north of the presidio of Mapimí, and a little farther from the camino real and its presidios, with the exception of Conchos. I took all the horses that they had on the plain, but I did not see [the Indians] because they were hidden in the mountains. Using the trick of keeping fires burning in their ranchería until eight at night, and then retreating to the mountains, they avoided a dawn attack by the soldiers.

In the year 1726, during the month of March, the news arrived that the [illegible] Indians had advanced as far as the presidio of El Paso with the Apaches and Cholomes who come from the Río Puerco[45] where it joins with the Río [Grande] del Norte from its confluence with [the Conchos?]. They [the first group of Indians] came from Coyame—better known by this name than by that of [illegible]—which is eight to ten leagues away from the junction of the Río [Grande] del Norte and is numbered among [the pueblos of La Junta de los Ríos]. Two Franciscan missionary fathers and two of their servants were at this mission. [The Indian allies] killed [the servants] and seized the reverend fathers, planning to kill them as well. They would have done so had not the principal leaders of La Junta [de los Ríos] come to the rescue of the fathers. These, seeing that their forces were too weak to counter the superior [force] of the enemies, stated that [the fathers] should be taken alive to La Junta, for they and their people also wanted to take part in the killings and scalp dances.

Using this strategy, the *norteños* managed to take the priests to their pueblo, San Francisco.[46] Assembling their people together, they started a war against their former allies, killing some and capturing others. When they informed the town of San Felipe el Real of this, the settlers set out in considerable numbers under the command of their corregidor and alférez, Don Joseph Aguirre. Twenty-five soldiers from the presidio of Conchos arrived at La Junta with their lieutenant (and a few settlers following them) and, with many norteños helping, they removed the fathers to the pueblo of Coyame,[47] where the entire rescue party from the aforementioned town was. They turned over the fathers, along with the Indian prisoners, and the norteños returned to their pueblos to defend themselves from the enemies. Even today the hostility continues and there is war between these [Indian] nations.

For these reasons, his excellency the Marqués de Casafuerte was advised by Brigadier General Don Pedro de Rivera and the residents of the town of San Felipe el Real that it would be advantageous to have a presidio of fifty soldiers at La Junta [de los Ríos]. Furthering his distinguished conduct in the service of both majesties, he decided that [soldiers] were to be detached from the presidios from

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45. The Río Puerco flows northward and empties into the Río Grande southeast of the confluence of the Río Grande and the Río Conchos.

46. The village of San Francisco was established in conjunction with the missions at La Junta de los Ríos.

47. Coyame is located twenty kilometers west of the point where the Río Conchos skirts the Sierra Cuchilla Parado in present-day Chihuahua. In 1782, the presidio of El Príncipe was relocated from Los Pilares, on the Río Grande above La Junta de los Ríos, to the pueblo of Coyame.

El Pasaje to Conchos and were to assemble at San Felipe el Real, where they would meet the captain of Janos, Don Antonio Becerra,[48] and fifteen of his men. Together they were to proceed—along with Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, who was returning from the interior presidios—to scout out a suitable location and proper situation for the construction of [the proposed presidio].

All the detachments remained together at this town for four months until the brigadier returned. As soon as everything was learned, they immediately came to an agreement that the aforementioned number of soldiers was insufficient and the more than one hundred settlers promised for the founding were [inconceivable]. After further deliberation, the reconnaissance and founding [of the presidio] were suspended because another fifty soldiers—or at least thirty more—would be needed.

In July and September of the year 1728, by order of Governor Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia,[49] I undertook two campaigns in which I captured seventeen piezas and recovered three Spanish captives and their horses. At the same time, the most excellent Marqués de Casafuerte planned the formation of two detachments, one with sixty soldiers, that would march through Mapimí to the villa of Monclova and presidio of Coahuila.[50] Fifteen soldiers were to be selected from this detachment, along with fifteen others from the presidio of San Juan Bautista del Río Grande and forty Indian auxiliaries from the pueblos of Santiago de la Candela, Caldera,[51] and Peyote.[52] Together all these troops were to reconnoiter the banks of the Río del Norte as far as its junction with the Río Conchos. This action was executed from January until May 1729, without success because of the reasons

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48. In 1686, under the command of Juan Fernández de la Fuente, Antonio Becerra took part in founding the presidio of Janos. He became captain of this presidio in 1706 and subsequently directed many expeditions against raiding Indian groups from this post. He served as captain of Janos until his death in 1734.

49. Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1728 to 1733.

50. The presidio of Coahuila was located at the present site of the city of Monclova, Coahuila. The villa of Santiago de la Monclova, founded in 1689, was the capital of the government of Coahuila. The garrison established in 1675 at San Francisco de Coahuila later became the presidio of Monclova.

51. San Bernardino de la Candela, twenty-five leagues east of Monclova, was one of the four Franciscan establishments founded by the provincia of Santiago de Jalisco sometime after 1674. The adjoining settlement, Santiago de Valladares, was a doctrina, or secular Indian mission. Tlaxcaltecan settlers were brought to both mission sites. Berroterán confused the names for two reasons. First was the close proximity of the two missions. Second, La Caldera was the original name of San Bernardino de la Candela. The Indian pueblo of La Caldera was founded by the governor of Coahuila, Antonio Valcárcel Rivadeneira y Sotomayor, in 1675. Its population was entirely Indian, and its first missionary was Fray Esteban Martínez. Governor Alonso de León was forced to put down an uprising against the Indian governor of La Caldera in March 1688. At the time of the uprising, some of the Indians were moved to the site called Santiago one league distant, where Fray Esteban Martínez later established the mission of San Felipe y Santiago de Valladares.

52. The mission of Dulce Nombre de Jesús de los Peyotes, in the vicinity of modern-day Villa Unión, Coahuila, was founded by Franciscan friars in 1698. It is ten leagues west of San Juan Bautista in the valley of San Bartolomé.

recorded in the journal that was sent to the office of the captain general and to which I refer.[53]

A month after the first detachment left Mapimí another was to set out with forty soldiers and a corresponding number of Indian auxiliaries, commanded by the captain of the presidio of El Gallo. They were to take control of the approaches used by the Indian fugitives from the area mentioned. Both [actions] were carried out, but with no results other than to travel through and reconnoiter the places referred to, and to temporarily intimidate the Indians who lived there.

In the month of July of that same year, the governor ordered me to make an inspection of the presidios in the Tarahumara [territory], where the Indians, agitated to the point of rebellion, were not obeying their missionary fathers. I was thus occupied with fifty soldiers until the month of October, removing the Indians from the canyons where they lived in idolatry and arresting the leaders who were stirring up [the people]. Taking more than 120 families from these and from the aforementioned pueblos, I kept them at my presidio for several months, supported by the funds for peace and war that the governor provided. I [then] settled them at the pueblo of Cinco Señores, supplying them with all the necessary implements. A report was made to his excellency, on whose orders this was done.

The reverend missionary fathers, having been in the immediate area, could recount from their own experience the excellent results that this campaign produced and the negative consequences that would have resulted had it not been continued.

Should not the governors who have ruled the realm of Vizcaya—from whom Ordinance 173 originates[54]—respond to this charge, rather than the captain of Conchos, to whom they have attributed all the misfortunes of that realm as though [the ordinance] was his doing? In this case, [however], the aforesaid governors and their presidial captains will probably be exonerated, as the inclination is to absolve them of the misdeeds and hostilities that the enemies carry out on their respective frontiers.[55]

In the year 1730, as I recall, the new reglamento[56] brought the change whereby forty-four soldiers' positions were eliminated in this realm, as were

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53. This is the failed expedition for which Berroterán was severely chastised by Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera.

54. Ordinance 173 of the Reglamento of 1729 states that the governor of Nueva Vizcaya will send the captain of the presidio of Conchos on an annual expedition through the area of Santa Cruz de Tarahumara, continuing on to the pueblos of Nonoava, Norogachi, Cuiteco, Cerocahui, Lorichiqui, Guadalupe, Santa Ana, Loreto, Témoris, Yepachi, Tutuaca, Cocomórachic, Mátachic, Yepómera, Santo Tomás, Papigochic, Pachera, Temechic, Carichíc, San Borja, Las Cuevas, and Babonoyaba.

55. At this point in the document, Berroterán is attempting to shift any blame for Indian disturbances away from the presidial captains and onto the bureaucrats in charge of governing Nueva Vizcaya.

56. Loosely based on the earlier Reglamentos de Habana of 1719, the new military regulations of 1729 were meant to remove outlying presidios from the control of self-interested presidial captains and to place them more securely under the bureaucratic control of the colonial state.

4,000 of the 6,000 pesos on hand for the fund for peace and war. It brought other necessary actions as well, including the inspection of Tarahumara country, and the war against the frontier enemies in the basin or pocket of land that lies between the two realms of Coahuila and Vizcaya and the Río [Grande] del Norte. The heathen enemies, unconverted and apostate, come from settlements tucked away there, and their movements will always continue like the waves of the sea—when one ends, another follows.

For with the suppression of all the [Indian groups] prescribed by Ordinance 187[57] of the reglamento (except for six that remained), more than four hundred Apaches have overrun the area, penetrating close to our frontier settlements. They apparently have not begun to rob and murder yet, due to the peace that their chief, Pascual,[58] has made with me and the friendly relationship that we have entered into, in accordance with Ordinance 193.[59] However, we must be on our guard against them because of their number, audacity, inconstancy, and secrecy. They keep to themselves until they are able to enter and leave the area and secure themselves in the mountains.

Governor Don Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia was followed by Don Juan Francisco de Vértiz y Ontañón.[60] It was during the latter's term of office that the first invasion was made by the Sizimbres in alliance with the Coahuileños and the Cocoyomes,[61] who had fled from San Juan de los Llanos. They killed some eigh-

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57. Ordinance 187 of the Reglamento of 1729 states that the captains of the presidios from El Pasaje to Conchos should attempt to suppress the Cocoyome, Acoclame, Tripa Blanca, Terocodame, Zizimbre, Chiso, and Gavilan nations, sending captives to the vicinity of Mexico City.

58. Chief Pascual and his band of Apaches apparently penetrated the area of Nueva Vizcaya at this time, and eventually reached as far south as the Tarahumara region and southwestern Chihuahua. Until this time, Chief Pascual's group, living in the Bolsón de Mapimí on the periphery of Spanish settlement, had committed only minor depredations. They gradually began to displace the former native inhabitants of the area and increased their raids against Spanish settlements.

59. Ordinance 193 of the reglamento states that any hostile Indian who comes into a presidio asking for peace should be treated with friendship, in the hope that he will influence other members of his nation.

60. Juan José Vértiz y Ontañón served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1733 to 1738.

61. The Sizimbres (also Zizimbres or Sizimbles), were a subdivision of the Chisos nation who inhabited the territory northwest of the Tobosos, along the Conchos and Río Grande Rivers. This group probably spoke a Uto-Aztecan language and may have been related to the Conchos Indian nation. They were extinct by the 1740s. Coahuiltecan groups inhabited an area between northeastern Coahuila and present-day San Antonio, Texas. During the seventeenth century, approximately thirty-nine Indian groups spoke a similar language, identified as Coahuiltecan by missionaries Damián Mazanet and Bartolomé García. Often associated with the Coahuileños and the Zizimbres, the Cocoyomes were apparently one of the migratory Indian groups who inhabited the Bolsón de Mapimí and western Coahuila during the seventeenth century. They may have lived in the Batopilas district before the rebellion of 1616–19. Some members of their band were settled at Atotonilco in 1646. Numerous reports of their depredations can be found in colonial documents. In 1693, Captain Juan de Retana settled Cocoyome Indians at La Junta de los Ríos.

teen people in the Cañon del Casco[62] and stole the pack train, destroying the equipment and supplies. Some people who had dug in among the equipment to defend themselves perished in the fire's fury. Thereafter, [the Indians] frequently stole horses from the jurisdictions of Indé, Parral, and Valle de San Bartolomé,[63] and later continued on to Parras and Saltillo,[64] as will be shown in the following chapter.

As a result of the repeated requests made to the captain general's office by the Spanish settlers of Santa María de Parras, as well as by the governor, the magistrate, and the regiment of Tlaxcaltecans, I was commanded by the most excellent archbishop-viceroy, Don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Equiarreta[65]—in a letter dated July 8, 1736, with an order included—to set out on a campaign with sixty soldiers and seventy-five Indian auxiliaries from the realm of Vizcaya. Our force was joined by a detachment from the vicinity of Parras, and with the two together I carried out the campaign, paying the Indians and supplying all their provisions and equipment at the expense of his majesty (may God keep him). The events of the campaign are recorded in the *autos* and the daily log I sent to the captain general's office.

In a letter of December 2, I was ordered by the most excellent gentleman referred to [the archbishop-viceroy] to continue that campaign. While doing so I received another [letter], dated February 2, 1738. [It stated that] a gentleman of great rank and laudable circumstances would carry out the aforesaid campaign, having offered in this court to do so at his own expense, with no cost to the royal treasury. All the necessary authority was to be conferred upon Captain Juan García, a resident of Nuevo León, and the appropriate dispatch had been sent. With this news, keeping in mind the savings to the royal treasury and in order to incur no more [expenses] than those of my withdrawal, I sent a report to his excellency, along with the *autos*, the daily log of our actions, and the expenses incurred.

The campaign of Captain Juan García went so quietly that nothing is known in the realm of Nueva Vizcaya regarding its expected progress. [Information] may be available in the office of your excellency's higher government, contained in the daily log and the report that Juan García would provide, as required.

In the same year of 1738, I received a dispatch from the lieutenant to the governor and captain general, Don Manuel de Uranga.[66] It was sent by Don Juan

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62. Casco (Caxco) is located west of San Pedro del Gallo, just off Mexican Highway 45, about ten kilometers north of the point where this road climbs over a low mountain range heading toward the Río Nazas. Casco was first settled by the Spaniards as a mining district in the sixteenth century. Continually attacked during the seventeenth century, the mines were eventually abandoned. During the eighteenth century, an hacienda was reestablished at Casco.

63. This would be in an area east of Parral, including the headwaters of the Río Florido and continuing south to the Río de las Nazas, in present northeastern Durango.

64. These raids took place in south-central to southeastern Coahuila.

65. Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Equiarreta served as viceroy from 1734 to 1740, and as archbishop of Mexico from 1731 to 1747.

66. Manuel de Uranga served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya for part of 1738.

Bautista Belaunzarán[67] (with sufficient authority) on August 29. I was to set out on a campaign during the month of September, which I proceeded to do, advancing as far as Coahuila. While I was passing through that realm, Governor Don Clemente de la Garza,[68] overtook me at the Río de las Sabinas,[69] and together we followed the trail for eighteen leagues to the area near the presidio of Sacramento. There I captured thirty-two Indian piezas of both sexes, including some of those who had fled from custody at the presidio of Conchos.

In 1740, the last missing Indians were reduced to the pueblo of Conchos. In that same [year] fifty presidial soldiers, a number of settlers who enlisted at the villa of San Felipe el Real, one hundred Indians from La Junta del Río [Grande] del Norte, and fifty more from the pueblo of San Francisco de Conchos, among them twelve of the rebels who went with the rest of the allied Indians—a total of three hundred—participated in subduing the general uprising of Fuerteños, Mayos, Yaquis, Pimas Bajos, and other nations in the provinces of Sinaloa, Ostimurí, and part of Sonora.[70] The Indian auxiliary troops from Vizcaya also served during this expedition, until the rebellious Indians were reduced to their pueblos. The governors of Vizcaya and Sinaloa would know the amount of money that this uprising cost his majesty, because of what they contributed.

In the year of 1741, after the twelve Indians mentioned had returned from the expedition with their families, they left the pueblo of Conchos for the vicinities of Saltillo, Parras, and Coahuila, where they supported themselves by committing murders and robberies at the borders. In their last [attacks] near the presidio of Sacramento, also known as Santa Rosa, they captured Juana Guerra, a resident from the realm of León who had come to act as *madrina* in a betrothal that was being celebrated at that presidio.

I had given orders to Pascual, one of the Apache chiefs (who was living in the pocket of land that was free of hostile Indians), to investigate whether the twelve Indian fugitives from the pueblo of Conchos were nearing the immediate vicinity of the presidio under my command, so that he might attempt to catch them. While Pascual and his [men] were carrying out this assignment, he came upon the aggressors in the Sierra Mojada, and in the skirmish that ensued between them

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67. Juan Bautista Balaunzarán served as governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1738 to 1742.

68. Sergeant Major Clemente de la Garza Falcón, son of former Coahuila governor Blás de la Garza Falcón, served as governor of Coahuila from 1735 to 1739. Claiming descent from the first settlers of Nuevo León, Garza Falcón obtained a large land grant in the Sabinas Valley at the time the presidio of Sacramento was established.

69. The Sabinas River, a tributary of the Río Salado (which is in turn a tributary of the Río Grande), flows southeastward across the northern portion of the state of Coahuila.

70. Centered in the area of southern Sonora and northern Sinaloa, the Yaqui and Mayo revolt of 1740 began among the Mayos as a revolt against Governor Manuel Huidobro. Within a few months the Yaqui leader, Juan Calixto, with an Indian army of six thousand, had taken possession of most of the towns on the Mayo and Yaqui Rivers. When Governor Huidobro offered no resistance, the revolt moved northward into the Pima Bajo territory, where Lieutenant Agustín de Vildósola broke the Indian resistance in several decisive battles. The revolt took the lives of more than one thousand Spaniards and five thousand Indians.

one of Chief Pascual's men was killed. On January 20, 1743, aggrieved by this incident, the Apaches requested my assistance in taking revenge. Giving them 104 pesos, 7½ reales in goods, horses, and provisions at the expense of the funds from peace and war, as provided in Ordinance 193, I sent them off. At the same time, I arranged for a detachment to ride out on February 10 under the command of my lieutenant, Don Juan Joseph de Basterrachea, to combine forces with [Pascual and his men] on February 12 at the site of Venado, about twenty-five leagues east of the presidio of Conchos. This action resulted in the capture of nineteen Indian piezas, and their female prisoner was restored to her husband, father, and brothers, who came for her. The dispatch from the captain general's office, dated October 14 of the same year, ordered that the [prisoners] in question be sent to this court along with the *autos* and daily log, which I have remitted.

Everything related up to this point sufficiently demonstrates the past and present need in Nueva Vizcaya for its respective presidios with their captains and soldiers. They have not wasted their time in idleness, as is assumed and ascribed to them. The brief intervals of respite that the savage, pagan Indians permit this realm to enjoy—as at the present time—may have that appearance, but these should be regarded prudently as periods of convalescence from a bad illness and preparation for another more serious one threatened by the Apaches, who have penetrated [the presidios'] frontiers, and the many others who can follow them northward. With these [presidios] eliminated (should they give cause for it), the Apache Indians would have completely free access to the more than 180 leagues that stretch from the presidio of San José del Paso to that of San Juan Bautista del Río Grande. This has happened with others who have inhabited that refuge, which accommodates not merely several but thousands of enemies. All the mountains and rough country are impassable to our [forces] but accessible to the enemy. Once they penetrate and move into that long, narrow strip, they will occupy almost all of the eastern side of Nueva Vizcaya and the western side of Coahuila, and will easily destroy both these important jurisdictions.

Given these facts, we must examine the advantages or disadvantages to his majesty (may God keep him) that have resulted from the savings to his royal treasury from the time of the reduction in military positions at the presidios up to the present. Taking into account only those events that have had the greatest effect, we are disillusioned with the majority, if not all, of them.

By means of the new reglamento of April 20, 1729, 4,000 pesos were kept back from the 6,000 that his majesty had designated for the funds for peace and war in that realm. Eighteen years have passed between then and now, and it is clear that 72,000 pesos have been saved for his majesty in that time. However, between the years 1737 and 1743, more than 120[,000 pesos] were spent in pacifying the pueblos in Sinaloa. The governor of that jurisdiction and [the governor] of Vizcaya, Don Juan Bautista de Belaunzarán, who expended [the funds], will provide an extensive accounting, which I add to in a similar fashion, according to what my personal experiences in the campaigns have taught me. In addition to the amount mentioned, I disbursed some 20,000 pesos worth of goods that came from the quincennium of Don Juan Bautista de Belaunzarán.

Likewise, in that same year forty-four military positions were suppressed, saving his majesty 240,000 pesos between then and now. Since that year, his majesty has spent 206,652 pesos on the two presidios that were founded in the province of

Sonora. As of last year more has been spent in six years than was saved during the eighteen years since the reglamento. This does not include another 206,650 pesos for the new presidio of Sacramento, which was built by royal order ten years ago in the jurisdiction of La Junta del Río del Norte, in Coahuila.

At that time there could have been some short-term difference, but in the long run expenses will always proceed in excess of the intended savings. The same conclusion can be reached with regard to the future handling of this matter, for it is my understanding that the governor of Sinaloa and the reverend missionary fathers of the Holy Society of Jesus in that realm are still demanding another new presidio of one hundred men (which will cost at least 41,330 pesos per year) at El Paso de Todos los Santos on the Gila River.[71] At the same time the Franciscan missionary fathers of New Mexico are attempting to move the presidio of El Paso [del Norte] closer to them, and to establish another new one for the reduction of the Moquis [Hopi] in the province near Zuñi. Furthermore, the reverend apostolic missionary fathers of Texas are clamoring for another presidio of fifty men on the San Xavier River[72] in that jurisdiction, to which may be added another sixty-eight soldiers that are considered necessary for pacifying the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

To revere a saint as yet unbeatified while abandoning one already canonized or to plant an extensive vineyard and, through want of cultivation, never to savor the ripened fruit—this is the consequence of all these decisions. His majesty (may God protect him) might consider paying greater attention to conserving what has been acquired, then passing on to other matters after its fruition.

At the present time the only savings lie in the reduction of the soldiers' wages from what they previously received to what they receive today. However, there would not be a very large amount in this account upon liquidation, because the presidio of San Juan Bautista del Río Grande was being paid from it, but today [is paid from] his majesty's [account].

With regard to this [account], any officer who is zealous in the service of his majesty will observe that it is reduced by about half the funds it could have, [as is the case with] the performance of these soldiers. Each soldier was required to have ten horses; however, these were reduced by order to six. It is not feasible to perform the same kind of service with six [horses] as with ten, just as six men cannot work with the same strength and effort as ten, for which reason it will become apparent that this [decision] has resulted in the soldiers' profit and toil, rather than the service of his majesty. This is what the reform produces.

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71. Following the discovery of a huge silver slab near the Altar River in 1737, a variety of Spanish officials and opportunists began to clamor for an expanded military presence on the northern frontier in Sonora. In 1748, following the explorations of Eusebio Kino and Ignacio Keller, Jesuit missionary Jacobo Sedelmeyer visited the Gila River and argued strongly that a mission be established at the Pima rancherías of Tuquissan, Tussonimo, and Sudac-sson near the ruins of Casa Grande. This may be the site to which Berroterán refers.

72. The San Francisco Xavier River, named by Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa and Domingo Ramón during their expedition to Texas in 1716, is now known as the San Gabriel River. The San Gabriel, northeast of San Antonio, rises in three forks in Williamson County, Texas, flowing northeast for eighty-two kilometers to join the Little River.

At the time of the reform the presidios mentioned were considered indispensable, their personnel and locations being the most suitable for the subjugation of the reduced pueblos, the defense of the Spanish haciendas, and the escort of passengers and travelers who enter this realm with their property. This is shown by the ordinances for them.

Ordinance 139 orders that whenever any bishop passes through the provinces of Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora, and New Mexico in order to visit his bishopric, each presidio shall provide an escort corresponding to the dignity and safety of his person to the places where he must make his inspection. The ordinance does not determine the number that is sufficient for the escort, leaving it to the commander to decide what he considers necessary. If I were faced with this situation at the present time, I would warily assign myself and twenty-five soldiers to escort the bishop, following the proverb, "in peace and war, protect your territory." Because of the experience acquired in the incident involving Don Pedro Tápis, to which I have referred above in paragraph 11, Ordinance 140 states that any royal official who passes through the presidios of Vizcaya is to be given an escort of eight soldiers, and that the same holds for religious prelates if they request it. Ordinance 141[73] has been totally abandoned in policy and practice. The following Ordinances 142 and 143 order that regular travelers and convoys are to enter Vizcaya at the beginning of each month throughout the year, and that each presidio is to contribute fifteen soldiers to escort them as far as the Río Florido. The passengers and drivers themselves anticipate that this order will come up for revision with the first deplorable mishap they experience, as has occurred in past years when the situation with arrivals and departures in the kingdom of Vizcaya was the same as it is today.

With regard to these assignments provided for by the ordinances, I leave it to your excellency's astute management of military affairs [to determine] how the presidio of El Gallo, with a garrison of thirty-five soldiers, can obey [the ordinances] without fail when any of [the escort assignments] can coincide at various times. It is neither feasible nor corresponding to the dignity of the most excellent bishop that the day determined for his departure be postponed, due to the grave consequences that might result from the delay, and the aforesaid presidio must obey and send the escort for a distance of fifty leagues as far as the city of Durango. Nor can royal officials be detained and forced to wait their turn, any more than the religious prelates, passengers, and drivers can be; the latter, in order to avoid delays, precipitously throw themselves into danger, trusting to God and good fortune and experiencing the opposite, as evidenced by the disasters mentioned. The same can be inferred about the other presidios: Cerro Gordo, Campaña, and Conchos. In addition to what has been discussed, these [presidios] have the precise and indispensable number of men and horses for their situations, and

73. Ordinance 141 states that every month the presidio of El Pasaje is required to send a corporal with a detail of ten soldiers to patrol between Durango, Sauceda, San Juan del Río, and Santiago Papasquiaro. El Pasaje is also required to provide an escort for the recruits who leave Durango for Sombrerete, and to provide an escort for the royal officials who visit El Pasaje annually.

they fall short in how much they can offer in royal service due to the paucity and poverty of their troops. This was not the case when these presidios were first established, before the reform.

There are [the following settlements] in the provinces of Topia, Tepehuana, and Tarahumara,[74] as shown on the map of Padre Estairreyes[75] of the Holy Company of Jesus, made in the year 1705:

Missions and visitas of the Order of Our Father Saint Francis	28
Jesuit [missions]	71
Mining settlements	16
Parishes	10
Haciendas of cattle and sheep	53
Presidios that serve them	5
[Subtotal]	183

In the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, there are:

Missions with visitas	110
Mining settlements	36
Parishes	15
Haciendas	75
Presidio	1
[Total]	420

Newly established settlements under the protection of the Tepehuana and Tarahumara presidios, which were founded in the provinces after Padre Estairreyes' map was made [are as follows]:

Missions and visitas of the Franciscans	13
Jesuit missions	4
Working haciendas of cattle, sheep, and horses	186
Mining settlements, including the rich one of San Felipe el Real	14
Parishes	6
Presidios	3
[Total]	225 [226]

74. These provinces formed part of western Nueva Vizcaya. The province of Topia, on the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre in both Nueva Vizcaya and Sinaloa, is in present Sinaloa and the westernmost part of Durango. The area was originally inhabited by Taracahitan-speaking Acaxees. The province of Tepehuana, in the southwestern and south-central parts of the present state of Durango, was inhabited by Piman-speaking farmers, the Tepehuanes. The Tarahumara inhabited the area immediately north of the Tepehuanes, in the present state of Chihuahua and in western Durango.

75. Padre Estairreyes (Johann Steineffer) was born in 1664 in Monrovia. Serving as a missionary in the Tarahumara region, he was known as an author and physician. He died in Sonora in 1716.

The realm of Vizcaya formerly encompassed the provinces of Tepehuana, Topia, Tarahumara, Sinaloa and Sonora, and Pimas, which were subject to its government. Today, only Tepehuana, Tarahumara, and part of Topia are included, [the other] part of Topia having been removed from its jurisdiction, along with all of Sinaloa and Sonora—including the mining center of Rosario,[76] with its territory—and what was acquired in the Pimería. Vizcaya exercises jurisdiction over all [of the first three], except for the villa of Saltillo, today. The realm of New Mexico [is governed by] the bishop of Durango, which city is the capital of the presidios and lies in the Tepehuana [province].

This province [of Tepehuana] lies between 24½° and 27½° latitude, and from 257° to 263⅓° longitude.

The [province] of the Tarahumara is between 27° and 31¾° latitude, and from 255° to 250° longitude.

The [province] of Topia is located between 22½° and 25¾° latitude, and between 256½° and 262° longitude.

The [province] of Sinaloa is found between 28¼° and 32½° latitude, and 251½° and 254¾° longitude.

The [province] of Sonora lies between 28¼° and 32½° latitude, and 251¼° and 254¾° longitude.[77]

The Pimería is not noted here because its boundaries are unknown, for so far no one has scouted and delineated them.

With regard to the fourth matter of how to reduce to their pueblos the runaway Tarahumara Indians who, without doctrine or civility or submission to the reverend missionary fathers, are living like pagans in idolatry and vice among the buttes, mountains, gorges, and various rivers, as is discussed in the letters of folios 30, 31, 34, 36, and particularly 38—the response is to form a detachment of fifty or sixty soldiers from the presidios of Vizcaya and others in Sonora, along with all the Indian auxiliaries considered necessary, as is recommended in the aforementioned letters. The inaccessibility of the gorges, rivers, and buttes (especially that of Guaguruco)[78] to which they have removed themselves could be overcome by besieging and battering the mountains with four to six small cannons of mobile artillery, to be sent at his majesty's expense. Once all [these areas] are conquered, they should be populated with Spaniards to prevent the return of the Indians (whose removal will be pointless should the [areas] remain unsettled). The inhabitants of [these areas] should be captured and their cultivated fields destroyed, then they should be removed to a foreign region and placed in a pueblo

76. Rosario, an important mining center southeast of the port of Mazatlán in present Sinaloa, was the seat of government for the west-coast provinces during part of the seventeenth century.

77. Although Berroterán lists them individually, Sonora and Sinaloa were in fact one province that was formed in response to a real cédula dated March 14, 1732; hence, their latitudes and longitudes were almost the same.

78. Guaguruco (Guegoroco or Guegorloco) seems to have been an inaccessible outcrop somewhere along the Mayo River upstream from Macoyahui, Sonora.

there, as was done in the year 1729[79] by Governor Don Ignacio de Barrutia, who spent 1,000 pesos from the funds for peace and war that his majesty (may God keep him) kept for this purpose. With the abolition of these same four measures the favorable effects that sprang from the continuation of his annual inspections in the pueblos were suspended. The unfortunate consequences expressed in the cited letters stem from this.

As to the charge made against the captains, subalterns, and soldiers of the royal presidios of Conchos, Valle de San Bartolomé, Cerro Gordo, and El Gallo—since the year 1743, there has been total peace in the vicinity of those presidios, with no harm from enemy Indians either observed or reported. For this reason no campaign has been planned, for it would have been fruitless when no enemy could be found to attack. The response is that the 129 soldiers under the command of these presidial captains are strictly confined to attending to the reglamento's assignments as discussed above. Moreover, caring for the horse herd alone requires at least six men and a corporal, and a comparable number to relieve them, in addition to fifteen for the convoys. This amounts to twenty-nine men, from which number the subaltern officers must be separated, nor does it take into account the others that are needed to escort the bishops and royal officials. The situation has given rise to constant complaints from people who enter and leave [this territory] that they are not being given the escort called for by the reglamento. These people are like those who watch the bulls from behind the barriers, observing the charges in the arena. The result of all of this is that it is not possible to form a detachment of soldiers to inspect the gorges, cliffs, and rivers. Indian auxiliaries are needed for this action, as the cited letter of folio 38 advises. The task is made even more impossible by the guard of four soldiers that the governor of Vizcaya has ordered to be provided from each presidio during most of the time he has lived in the villa of San Felipe el Real. It is the governor who, as the responsible party and as Ordinance 173 provides, should attend to any matters of this nature by ordering the captains to proceed with rectifying them, and he should facilitate these measures accordingly from the 2,000 pesos available for peace and war. It has not come to my attention that this has ever been done. Because of the obedience they owe the governor, the captains' zeal can be devoted to nothing more than the very worthy goal of subjugating the Tarahumara Indians, reducing them to their pueblos and inducing them to lead Christian lives. For these reasons the governor should be held responsible instead of the captains who, as his subordinates, are generally subject to his orders.

At the beginning of this year the Indians penetrated along the banks of the Río de Nazas as far as the haciendas of El Alamo, Sierra de Albino, San Juan del Río, Rama Zarca, and Cadena,[80] and committed between sixteen and eighteen mur-

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79. The removal of Tarahumaras carried out during Barrutia's administration was described in the text of this document.

80. The hostiles evidently established a territory that extended from the hacienda of Cadena, which is north of San Pedro del Gallo and approximately twenty-five kilometers west of Mapimí, as far as the hacienda of El Alamo, which was approximately 120 kilometers southeast of Mapimí.

ders in this new territory. The captain of El Gallo, Don Francisco Joseph de Lizasola, reported this news to the interior presidios to ensure their security and vigilance, prompting all [the presidial captains] together to advise the governor of Vizcaya, as related in the report dated November 10, 1746, of how advantageous and important to the service of both majesties it would be to establish one or two camps of soldiers and Indian auxiliaries for the purpose of examining and ascertaining the nature of the enemies who committed these murders—whether they were the seven who remained of the defeated enemies or some of those who are scattered from the pueblos or the more than four hundred Apaches who are ensconced in the hill country that lies between the presidios of Coahuila, Vizcaya, Saltillo, and Parras. [The governor] responded to this with the aforementioned report and another that he added to it, given to this office of the captain general. The statement [of this office] remains pending today.

The auditor's lengthy opinion describes the stretch of terrain in question, giving the latitudes and longitudes. I feel obliged to inform your excellency that, judging solely from its ruggedness, dryness, shortage of watering holes, and great distances, [the region] cannot be inhabited or settled within Christian reason. Whoever might decide [to move there] would necessarily be separating themselves from spiritual guidance, for it is not feasible to provide them with this benefit. With respect to the settling of its watering holes, these are separated from one another by distances of twenty-two, twenty-five, and even thirty leagues, and they are so small that each one could barely support one settler with a small herd of 150 head of cattle and horses.

Because most [of the watering holes] are well within the mountains, scattered about in different directions, I have opened four roads leading from Vizcaya to Coahuila for commercial traffic between the two realms. The first was opened in the year 1729; from the presidio of Mapimí, it follows an easterly and northeasterly route by way of the Laguna de Parras to the Aguachila watering hole, also known as Sobaco de Don Bartolo. From there it winds, shifting directions, toward the watering hole of San Juan, then to Cuatro Ciénegas, on to the pueblo of Nadadores, and finally to the presidio of Coahuila.[81]

In the same year [I traveled] from the presidio of San Juan Bautista, along the course of the Río [Grande] del Norte but some distance from it, by way of the watering hole of Santo Domingo and the San Rodrigo, San Antonio, and San Diego de las Vacas Rivers.[82] Having gone as far as the last [river] without finding a ford across it, I turned back along the south bank and traveled for two days to return to [the Río del Norte]. After crossing to the north bank, I walked for [another] four or five days, slowed by the lack of water for either horses or men. I saw that it was

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81. This route goes east from Mapimí for approximately eighty kilometers, crossing the Laguna de Parras in a northeasterly direction to the Nadadores Valley. Settlements along the route were at the springs at Cuatro Ciénegas and the mission site at Santa Rosa de los Nadadores, both of which are located a short distance west of the presidio of Coahuila and the villa of Santiago de Monclova.

82. This journey is described in Berroterán's 1729 report. The San Rodrigo, San Antonio, and San Diego de las Vacas Rivers are small tributaries of the Río Grande that flow northward through Coahuila.

necessary to travel along the south bank because the mountains on the north side impeded our passage to reconnoiter the junction of the [Río del Norte] with the Conchos. We stopped and made camp in the best location the steep hills would permit, and I sent out seven Indian scouts to search the hills and mountains for water holes and a route by which we could continue our march. After seven days, two of them returned with the news that they had found neither a watering hole nor a route, and that they had not had anything to drink for two days. They had seen water, but at such a great depth that it took them four days to find a way to get down to it. Descending from the mountains, they found a watering hole and a small space where they could camp. They decided they would stay there to die rather than return the way they had come, but the aforementioned two Indians, in good spirits and confident of their strength and valor, headed south to the canyon and opening formed by the mountains. They found a trail—a road used by the enemy Indians—and followed it eastward through a broad, open section of the mountains that run from Cuatro Ciénegas and Nadadores to the north bank of the Río [Grande del Norte]; the end of the mountains lay beyond view, however. Following this route, they arrived at our camp and gave me the information that I have mentioned. I wanted to send them on horseback, taking other [horses] with them, to rescue their companions, but they did not dare expose themselves again to the dangers they had already suffered. Consequently, I sent them back to the detachment from Coahuila and the Río Grande, and went with [the detachment] from Vizcaya to rescue the [remaining] scouts. Breaking camp at ten in the morning, we marched the rest of that day and night at a rapid pace, a little less than half speed, and continued the following day until eight at night, when I found my Indians.

At this site, using the same diligence, I familiarized myself with the area upriver and to the north. Unable to locate a passage, I retreated southward until I found the aforementioned trail, which I followed to familiar ground—the mountains of Las Animas where I had engaged the enemy the year before. The only water at that site was a tiny water hole, hardly adequate for the men. To sustain us on our journey, I searched out two seasonal ponds that had been filled during a hailstorm. These provisioned us for a distance of more than one hundred leagues and enabled us to arrive at a place of safety, the mountains having impeded our ability to follow the Río del Norte. For these reasons it was not possible to carry out the most excellent Marqués de Casafuerte's project. This constituted the second route established from the presidio in the realm of Coahuila to the presidio of Conchos.

I opened another route from that [presidio] in 1738, during the campaign I carried out under orders from Lieutenant Governor Don Manuel de Uranga. Marching from Conchos to the Terrazas watering place, then on to Venado and the Santa Gertrudis grasslands, I continued to Acatita la Grande (the site with the most water, which at most might contain a *naranja*).[83] I stayed there five or six

83. Used primarily in agricultural contexts, a naranja is a measure of water flow based on a rectangular opening of about 4.85 square millimeters (7.52 square inches). The altitude of the water's source, the distance the water had to run, and the time it took to fill a receptacle of a known size were all taken into account when measuring water flow.

days while the horses recuperated, and then by way of the ponds embarked upon the crossing to the spring of San Félix, at the edge of the Sierra de las Cuatro Ciénegas. Following an easterly route, I traveled from that place to Aura Pass, and from there to San Carlos Pond, which is on the camino real that goes from the presidio of Coahuila to the [presidio] of Santa Rosa.[84] This is the third [road]. From the Santa Rosa presidio I marched through the pass over the mountains to the Sabinas River and followed it upstream to its source. There another [route] will be found that goes to Acatita, and from there to the presidio of Conchos and the other presidios in Vizcaya by means of [the roads] opened in the campaigns I have carried out.

Coming out of the mountains and descending to the Río del Norte in a south-to-north direction—a distance of more than 120 leagues over flat land—there is no water anywhere. To find any, one must detour from that route for almost the same distance I have stated, and I could not find enough to support a camp or a company of fifty soldiers, except at Acatita where small ponds can be found once the rains have stopped. That is the time when it is possible to reach that refuge.

Everything I have related, subject to your scrutiny, can attest to the difficulties involved—which I omit so as not to be accused of exaggeration. I can only promise to put in writing for your excellency everything I have said as long as you deem it useful to your examination.

The only parts of [this territory] that might be habitable are the open spaces from the Sierra San Marcos and the Cuatro Ciénegas [range] (which ends at the Río del Norte) eastward to the [ranges] of Los Nadadores and Santa Rosa.[85] The peaks and valleys of these [ranges] are given various names by the Coahuileños. From this [sierra] to the west there are no [names].

The presidial locations that I have presented to your excellency are those most suitable for the safety of travelers who enter and leave the realm because they are situated on the camino real, which deviates only for the mining camp and the hills of San Felipe el Real, along the margins of the Río Florido and Río Conchos, eight to ten leagues east of the Valle de San Bartolomé. Only this [presidio of San Bartolomé] and that of Conchos can be moved, the former to the site of Guajuquilla, which is the last settlement on the frontier of Vizcaya, or to the region of the Sierra Blanca at the aforementioned river.[86] The presidio of Conchos

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84. It does not seem unlikely that this route headed east from San Francisco de Conchos across a desolate area north of the Sierra del Diablo. From here the route would have crossed the Bolsón de Mapimí to Acatita la Grande. The ponds that Berroterán refers to may have been the marshy swamps in the Valle de Sobaco. From here the Sierra de Madera, or Sierra de Cuatro Ciénegas, is to the north. Despite Berroterán's easterly direction, Aura Pass seems to head into the valleys north of the Sierra de Madera, for he crosses these mountains again to arrive at Santa Rosa.

85. The northernmost section of Coahuila between Cuatro Ciénegas and the Río Grande is still sparsely settled today.

86. The garrison of the presidio of Guajuquilla was moved to its site along the Río Florido in 1753. It remained at this site until 1774, when it was moved north to La Junta de los Ríos. The Sierra Blanca may refer to the series of low ranges north of modern Ciudad Jiménez, east of the Río Florido.

can be moved to the area east of La Junta de los Ríos, whose reaches are settled. This action alone would provide greater security for the settlements and relief for those who enter and leave [this realm] with the convenience of each day's journey being proportionate to the shortest distance that can be traveled without fatigue or the need to halt for water. I believe that in order to attain this benefit, we should begin construction on the barracks and chapels for these presidios; otherwise, the monies advanced on those already established at the royal treasury's expense will be lost. By forming a convoy thus, we can continue the custom of [providing] escorts from presidio to presidio as far as the aforementioned town [of San Felipe el Real].

From the junction of the Río Conchos and the Río del Norte to the presidio of San Juan Bautista, there is no place along the reaches of either river where a presidio can be built, because pasturage is scarce and the mountains and hills provide no open spaces. Even if the aforementioned Río [del Norte] had all the most desirable conditions and presidios were constructed every twelve leagues along it, all this would not be enough to prevent the multitude of Indians in the north from penetrating into the pocket, just as the presidios of Vizcaya have been unable to prevent the incursions into their own settlements when [the Indians] commit the robberies, killings, and carnage to which I have alluded. If these cannot be curtailed at that close range, what is to be achieved by forsaking [the presidios] at this distance and leaving the pocket open, thereby allowing the hostile Indians to gain control of the mountain range as far as the lands of the Apaches? In the event that the presidios were to be placed there, they would not be able to fend off the enemies who attack front and rear. Furthermore, at such a distance the presidios would not be able to defend the borders of Coahuila, the realm of León, Saltillo, Parras and the settlements there, or the [presidios of] Vizcaya that are threatened.

To clarify what I have reported to your excellency, I have taken the trouble of mapping and delineating the entire area comprising the realms of Coahuila and Vizcaya and the area of the Río del Norte. I have turned the map over to the auditor, so as not to increase the size of this report and trouble your excellency's attention any further.

In everything I have stated here and have learned from experience during the thirty-five years that I have served his majesty—at the presidios of Mapimí and Conchos, in expeditions from Parras, and in other military campaigns that have taken place against the aforementioned Indians or hostile nations at sites and locations in Nueva Vizcaya and in the districts of the adjoining governments referred to—I have attempted to comply with your excellency's orders, reporting with the truth required of me and the greatest clarity that my limited abilities allow. For this reason I have been verbose throughout this report, wanting to make clear everything that may be necessary and to communicate all possible information upon which your excellency might base whatever astute decision must be made, as is appropriate to the greater service of God and the king, and for the common good of that province and all who travel those long roads for the purposes of trade and communication in this vast realm. While the authorization for everything depends upon your excellency's understanding, it seems to me that two points need [your consideration] the most: the transfer of the presidios of Conchos and Valle de San Bartolomé to the locations mentioned, and the sup-

pression of the [presidios] in Nueva Vizcaya, whose maintenance is considered unnecessary by more than a few. Their zeal is perhaps motivated by the savings they imagine and desire for the Real Hacienda. However, I cannot refrain from stressing to your excellency that any decision about either or both questions must be preceded by careful deliberation. The Indians dare to come in and commit robberies, even with the presidios in their present locations. If these are moved to other locations, their present sites will be left undefended. In this case [the Indians], certain that there are neither garrisons nor anyone to man them, will lay waste to the small settlements that have been nurtured by their protection. The king will lose all the [financial] assistance he has rendered and the settlers will lose their scanty possessions, along with the labor invested in establishing and maintaining their settlements. [Reduced in number, the settlers will establish themselves wherever it may be more advantageous for them to go, as it is not easy to construct settlements and maintain a life amidst the danger of enemy attacks.] This does not take into account the additional unavoidable expenditures that the royal treasury will have to make to assemble materials for constructing the presidios, put the presidios in condition for troops, and protect the soldiers from the inclemency of the land and the climate.

To abolish all the presidios may well be advantageous because of the savings in military positions, but upon their closure the native tribes will arrive to dominate the areas. This will be the same as cutting off trade and communication, and the opportunity will exist for frequent robberies and murders, which harmful consequences are avoided through the vigilance of the garrisons. In that case it will be necessary to bring in [soldiers] from other presidios to drive away the enemies, because peaceful dominions will become battle sites, and reestablishing trade and communication will cost more than presently can be imagined or discussed.

These points alone, your excellency, completely summarize the great diversity and difference there is between theory and practice. It is not possible for me to describe the general consternation that fills the souls of all those who presently visit [illegible words], and in that case fear that their commerce and communications may be cut off. Not even the least of such unfavorable actions reaches this capital, where the residents receive the yoke of protection for which they work, live, and die. The difference between these [situations] being the same as that between peace and war, it is well that your excellency, with the great talents and the good judgment God has seen fit to bestow upon you, will be able to provide in whatever judicious decision you render the precautions, remedies, and all the appropriate antidotes for the ills that my limited reach [keeps from] the short range of my small aptitude. Your excellency's astute decisions will stay my apprehension, for it will prove true—with the greatest possible truthfulness—that your excellency's government will achieve universal peace with the smallest possible expenditures by the royal treasury, and all hostile nations will be subdued, along with all the other beneficial effects that are rendered in the service of God, the king, and the common good, as your excellency's inimitable zeal so inclines with well-known vigilance.

Mexico, April 17, 1748.

Joseph de Berroterán

Archivo General de la Nación, Historia, Vol. 41, Exp. 8.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Excelentísimo señor:
Presenta el informe relativo, que se le mandó formar por la integridad de vuestra excelencia. Pide: que su acreditada justificación, supliéndole cualquier defecto en que habrá incurrido por su cortedad, se sirva dar la aprobación que tuviera por contribuir a la gloria de Dios.

Don Joseph de Berroterán, capitán vitalicio del presidio de San Francisco de Conchos del reino de la Nueva Vizcaya, puesto a los pies de vuestra excelencia, con el mayor rendimiento, en la mejor forma que hará lugar en derecho: Digo que habiéndoseme mandado por la soberanía de vuestra excelencia que procediese a hacer un informe relativo del estado de aquel reino, de él en que se hallaban sus presidios, y todas las fronteras enemigas; insertando en él todas las noticias que hubiese adquirido en el tiempo en que he ejercido mi empleo y me he mantenido sosteniendo las hostilidades de los indios bárbaros, con lo demás que hice conducente a este fin. Y procurando el debido cumplimiento de tan superior mandato, con la mayor prolijidad, y el más diligente examen, traer a la memoria todo cuanto ha llegado a mi noticia desde que asisto en aquellas partes; y todo lo acaecido en el tiempo de mi servicio, para formar (como he formado con la mayor pureza y legalidad) el que en 30 fojas útiles, con el juramento y solemnidad necesaria, presento, para que en su vista, la acostumbrada integridad de vuestra excelencia se sirva de dar la providencia que tuviere por conveniente; supliendo su notoria dignación cualquier defecto en que por mi cortedad pueda haber incurrido.

Por tanto: A vuestra excelencia pido y suplico, que habiendo por presentado dicho informe, se sirva mandar lo que juzgare por de justicia. Juro en forma.

Joseph de Berroterán

24 de noviembre de 1751.

Recibido testimonio por duplicado.
Excelentísimo señor:

Aunque los motivos de considerarme por interesado en el asunto y materia, cerca de la cual ha sido servido vuestra excelencia mandarme por decreto de 10 de octubre de 1747, en que se conformó con el dictamen del señor auditor de la misma idea en que me pide informe, y otros justos y legales decretos que en mi concurren, pudieran impelerme a representar a su notoria jurisdicción, me relevase de hacerlo; me veo precisado a sacrificar mi obediencia aunque padezca esta nota y la de estar en la actualidad purificando mi celo y conducta que se ha procurado obscurecer; dando a mis procedimientos torcida inteligencia; sindicándoles de extraviados y ofensivos a mi propia obligación.

Pero basándose en el superior gobierno de vuestra excelencia varios documentos jurídicos en los cuales con autoridad de los excelentísimos señores virreyes, predecesores de vuestra excelencia se hayan calificadas nuestras operaciones de arregladas, con los diferentes encargos que he ejecutado y cumplido y de ellos se me ha conferido aprobación, y dádoseme gracias. Paso sin temor a cumplir con el mandato de vuestra excelencia y a hacer presentes a su notoria comprensión todas las cosas que la pequeña nuestra ha podido notar, observar y recorrer en el dis-

curso de 35 años que ha sirvo a su majestad (que Dios guarde) en sus reales presidios de Mapimí y Conchos, con protesta de que aunque mis cortos talentos no han recibido la mejor explicación, y que por esta causa ocasione,—a la atención de vuestra excelencia—con la dilatada narrativa, alguna molestia, no es mi ánimo otro, que de hacer una relación vestida de la misma verdad. Cuya prueba, en lo que refiere por lo respectivo, -asignación de terrenos-, será la vista la mayor prueba. Confesando desde ahora, que en medio de que procuraré combinar los tiempos, citar las órdenes, y ajustar mis noticias, podré en algunas incurrir en equivocaciones, porque, como he vivido sin la necesidad de coordinar todos los sucesos y acaecimientos—por haber sido mi destino el de la atención de la guerra—no he cuidado de las puntualidades, sino de ejecutar mi obligación. Y así en las memorias antiguas que apuntaré, será por pura noticia, por haber acaecido mucho antes que yo me transfiriese de los reinos de España a éste.

Por real cédula de su majestad, (que Dios guarde), su fecha en Madrid, a los 22 de septiembre de 1685, se construyeron los dichos reales presidios de Pasaje, Gallo y Conchos, cada uno de cincuenta soldados, por la grave consternación en que se hallaba dicho reino, con la sublevación de ochenta y cinco naciones de los pueblos de ese río Nazas, y su laguna de Parras, y otros, de cuyas ruinas hasta hoy permanecen sus vestigios, como también del despueble del real y minas de Santiago de Mapimí, Jimulco y Casco. De cuya evidencia provocada, y temeroso de que no sucediese lo mismo con los restantes pueblos de la nación Tepehuana y Tarahumara que ya estaba catequizada y reducida a ellos, por el celo apostólico de los reverendos padres misioneros de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesús, de los de la religión de nuestro padre, señor San Francisco, y los minerales de San Juan Bautista de Indé, Guanaceví, Santa Bárbara y Parral, produciendo muchos intereses al común y quintos al real erario, y lo que es más, la conservación del Santo Evangelio y seguridad de sus vasallos, y ser dicho reino antemural al de la Galicia. Y no considerando suficientes dichos presidios, por consultas y representaciones de don Gabriel de Niza y Quiroga, gobernador de dicho reino, la piedad católica sobrecediendo a sus intereses, mandó que se construyesen otros dos del mismo número de oficiales y soldados en Casas Grandes y Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi; con lo que se aseguraron nuestras poblaciones reducidas y se formó frente a todos los enemigos apóstatas y gentiles.

Radicados los referidos presidios en sus respectivos destinos, se dió principio a contener los insultos que ejecutaron en nuestras poblaciones, siguiendo sus alcances con veinticinco soldados o más, que se destacaban según el cuerpo de los enemigos, por sus huellas se reconocían. Con esta imponderable fatiga se conseguía el efecto de su reducción a pueblos.

En los años de 1690 y 1691, sin embargo de haber tantos presidios y número de soldados que en continuo movimiento se empleaban contra los enemigos, los pueblos de la Tarahumara alta, luego que era preciso corregir por sus padres misioneros los abusos de la idolatría, atribuyendo a "espinas de dulce parral," de la parte evangélica, con la que queriendo sujetarlos a la doctrina, sociabilidad y política cristiana, como amantes de su bárbara libertad, dando muerte a algunos padres, quemando los templos, se retiraron a los peñoles y barrancas. A esta impensada novedad, por orden del gobernador de aquel reino, acudieron todos los presidios destacando todos los soldados que se pudieron en número de ciento y cincuenta a doscientos, con sus subalternos comandados por el capitán don Juan

Fernández de Retana, y quinientos indios auxiliares, que a lo menos llevaría, de las naciones chisos, conchos, tapacolmes, norteños, cíbolos y tepehuanes, cuya participación duró el tiempo de dos años poco más o menos, y costó la real hacienda la suma considerable que se deja entender.

Pacificada la Tarahumara, todos los años por los meses de septiembre y octubre se formaban campañas de cincuenta y ochenta soldados y ciento cincuenta indios auxiliares, saliendo por distintos rumbos cada uno, por ser el tiempo oportuno que permite el poder internar a sus tierras y serranías en que habitan los dichos enemigos; y en ocasión de tres campos, y todos juntos, encontrando en la sierra Mojada, a los cocoyomes y acoclames, habitantes en ella, y echándoles sobre dicha sierra más de doscientos indios auxiliares y setenta soldados, no se consiguió más que la cogida de una india, con pérdida de dos soldados tlaxcaltecos de la compañía, que mantiene dicha nación en el pueblo de Santa María de Parras, precisándoles la retirada la esterilidad y falta de agua, para no continuar el empeño, lo que siempre ha impedido las operaciones de nuestras armas, y les franquea a los enemigos su mayor tierra, que observando los movimientos de dichos campos, con más libertad entraban a hacer robos de caballadas en nuestras poblaciones, por los intervalos tan dilatados y extensas tierras que tienen en su cerro, y con el seguro de hallarse en él internadas nuestras armas en sus tierras, y hallarse destituídas las nuestras con lo que a su salvo lograban los tiros, en las partes donde asestaban.

El presidio de Conchos, anualmente ejecutaba la visita de los pueblos reducidos de la Tarahumara, con cincuenta soldados; con este respecto, y el reciente castigo que habían experimentado por satisfacción, se internaba el capitán con indios auxiliares, a sus peñoles y barrancas, y extrañaba de ellas a los indios que encontraba, conduciéndolos así a su presidio; se les formaba pueblo, suministrándoles todo lo necesario de los efectos de paz y guerra; en tanto que los indios reducidos, con su trabajo, adquiriesen lo necesario para su establecimiento y manutención. En cuyo método se continuó, durante la vida de capitán Retana, y no se visitaron más los referidos pueblos, o bien considerándolos muy obedientes a su majestad y padres ministros misioneros, o porque los fronterizos enemigos, con grande fuerza, empezaron a sus hostilidades, saliendo a los cordones en el camino real, sin temor al número de que se componían, y a la escolta de dieciseis soldados que convoyaban, con muerte de estos y de algunos pasajeros; que derrotándolos en el paraje que llaman el arroyo de Baus, que media entre el presidio del valle de San Bartolomé y Cerro Gordo, se llevaron la caballada y mulada de su transporte, ropa, y alguna plata.

Con este principio, (sin ejemplar hasta entonces), continuaron las hostilidades en el camino que media desde el presidio del Cerro Gordo hasta el de El Gallo, dando muerte a una escuadra de dieciseis soldados que venían de regreso para dicho presidio, habiendo dejado el cordón en el Cerro Gordo. Perecieron en manos de los enemigos los doce o catorce de dichos soldados, en el paraje inmediato a Los Patos; y sucedió lo mismo con otra escuadra de Cerro Gordo, que volvía después de haber dejado en el de El Gallo, el convoy, en el paraje de Agua Nueva, donde perecieron diez soldados del expresado presidio de Cerro Gordo.

Por estas desgracias acaecidas, se providenció por el gobernador de la Vizcaya, que al principio de cada mes, de todos los del año, saliesen los cordones del presidio del Pasaje para los que entraban a la Nueva Vizcaya, y del valle de San Bar-

tolomé para los que salían, con escolta de veinticinco soldados y otros tantos auxiliares indios flecheros, pagados de los referidos efectos de paz y guerra, con lo que se aseguraron los caudales de los comerciantes que entran y salen en aquel reino, y que facilitan los laboríos de sus reales de minas y descubrimiento de otros que se han hecho, como es el de San Felipe el Real que se descubrió el año de 1707. Y otros muchos que se pueden conseguir, mediante ser el terreno ya avanzado, muy abundante de cerros minerales, como es la Tarahumara, en la que se encuentran a cada paso vetas de plata, y aunque hoy no se trabajan por la inopia de gente, abundando ésta, con el transcurso del tiempo puede rehabilitarse, lo que hoy no sucede, por sus leyes, que no corresponden al interés que apetecen sus descubridores por el riesgo y temor que les asiste de los enemigos, y lo mal sujetos que se hallan los reducidos.

Asegurado este ramo de los enemigos, mediante la providencia antecedente, y lo mucho que estaban en los cordones intimidados, se contuvieron muchos asaltos con ellos y dieron en cometer en las haciendas, pastorías y vaquerías, entrando casas y quemando muchas, con muchas muertes que ejecutaron en el de San Gerónimo. Por esta lamentable desgracia, siendo teniente de gobernador y capitán general interino, don Juan Felipe de Orozco y Molina, se empeñó personalmente a tomar satisfacción contra los referidos enemigos, con un campo de más de ciento veinte soldados y vecinos, y ciento cincuenta indios auxiliares. Y habiéndose encontrado en la sierra de Conula, se refugiaron en ellas sus familias, formando frente a dicho campo, y tomaron por partido los nuestros, el retirarse; asegurando su caballada y víveres, que tiraban a asaltar dichos enemigos, sin haber conseguido más fruto de ellos que el pillaje que dejaron en su ranchería, de que se aprovecharon los auxiliares como gajes que les corresponden a ellos, y la caballada que se restituyó a sus dueños.

El año de 1711 por orden del excelentísimo señor duque de Linares, con veinticinco soldados que se destacaron de los referidos presidios, Pasaje, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, compañía de Conchos, y nueve que había en el presidio de San Sebastián, en el valle de Santiago Papasquiaro, se formó el real presidio de Mapimí, y su mineral en corriente; con siete a ocho haciendas o ingenios de fundición en que se benefician muchos metales plomosos, con leyes de plata, costeables y muchas ligas para habilitar otros ricos que lo necesitan, para su beneficio. Su situación se halla como veinticinco a treinta leguas al norte de el del Pasaje y real de el Gallo, como dieciseis al nordeste.

A este gobernador le sucedió el año de 1714 a 1715, don Manuel de San Juan y Santa Cruz. Y durante este gobierno, a los principios del camino real que va para el presidio de Cerro Gordo, a distancia de siete leguas del de El Gallo, en el paraje que llaman Santo Domingo, estuvieron setenta y cinco indios enemigos cocoyomes, acoclames y coahuileños esperando el cordón. En esta ocasión entró el capitán del Pasaje, don Martín de Alday, (estando en su visita general el ilustrísimo señor Pedro Tápis, obispo que fue de Durango), con veinticinco soldados de su presidio y diez de El Gallo, marchando en el referido pasaje de Santo Domingo, hicieron alto y noche. Y por la tarde, paseando y divirtiendo su ilustrísima con la escopeta, llegó a aproximarse a la emboscada de los dichos enemigos, y por providencia divina o respeto a la dignidad de su ilustrísima, no le quisieron avanzar. Cuyo hecho, caracterizado por los enemigos, se haya en el paraje de Acatita la Grande: pintado su ilustrísima con su forlón y cocheros, en la misma positura que

lo observaron: tirando el un cochero las mulas del cabresto, y el otro poniéndoles tapaojos. Y así mismo dicho capitán y sus soldados, quedando libre de este inminente peligro aunque con susto de su ilustrísimo ministro por haberse ignorado este acaecimiento.

A pocos días después, marchando el capitán de Mapimí al real de Indé, a desposarse, sesteó en dicho paraje, llevando la guardia de dieciseis soldados y otros tantos de comitiva, y acechando, en vista de las pocas fuerzas, siguiendo su marcha, le salieron sobre ella, y derrotando con muerte de dicho capitán, y doce soldados, se llevaron uno prisionero, y otros, que libertó el capellán, que fue comprendido en el número. Y desnudándolos todos, los despacharon a pie a la hacienda de San Mateo de la Zarca, que media entre los presidios del Gallo y Cerro Gordo, y se llevaron toda la caballada de transporte.

Con esta novedad, dicho gobernador, con los treinta mil pesos de paz y guerra, que se le entregaron por los oficiales reales, de la real caja de Durango (los mismos que correspondían a su quinquenio), formó una compañía con ochenta soldados y veinticinco vecinos de la jurisdicción de Indé, y cien indios auxiliares, al comando del capitán del Gallo, don Juan Bautista de Lizasola, quien logró él alcanzarlos en el paraje que llaman las Salinas de Machete, (que se halla 4 grados al nordeste del presidio de Mapimí, a distancia de cincuenta leguas, poco más o menos, de él), y la presa de veintidós a veintiséis piezas de todas edades y sexos. Y continuó sucesivamente las campañas al cargo de los demás capitanes subalternos de los presidios, con dichos treinta mil pesos y otros tantos más, que contribuyó de donativo la vecindad de aquel reino para dicha guerra, además que ponían sus personas; costeadas dicha vecindad así, para las referidas campañas, como para los convoyes y despachos de plata.

Y hallándose el segundo campo al comando del capitán del valle de San Bartolomé, don Juan de Salayses, en tierra de los referidos enemigos, remontada su ranchería, salieron a nuestros países los gandules, y los que habiendo cercado la hacienda de Ramos; cuya casa siendo equivalente a los presidios, en su fortaleza de armas de vaqueros, pastores, comandados de administrador, y mayordomos, que tenían una partida de mulas en el corral, asegurada de noche, y los vaqueros dentro de la casa, usaron del ardid de emboscarse detrás de un corral de piedras, que se halla frontero a la puerta, y a su costado, ocultándose seis de ellos hicieron rastro en el corral de la mulada, y al tiempo que sintieron ensillar a los dichos vaqueros, abrieron el corral, y a vista de ellos, empezáronla a arrear, para que toda la gente de la casa les siguiera; en su alcance, por malo, ejecutaron al administrador y mayordomo, y toda la gente, que pasaron de veinticinco, dejando solamente dos en la casa con las familias.

En esta coyuntura, avanzaron a la casa, y las familias se recogieron en su torreón, en donde se escaparon con el uno de los dos que quedaron; y el otro, sin hacer aprecio, dejaron coger un caballo en pelo, les corriese la noticia, para que volviesen al socorro, como lo ejecutaron. Y saliéndoles al encuentro, mataron con el administrador y mayordomo, dieciseis a dieciocho personas, llevándose cuanta ropa encontraron en la dicha casa, por cuyo hecho despobló dicha hacienda, su dueño que lo era don Antonio de la Campa.

A este suceso se siguió la campaña del capitán de Conchos don Joseph de Berroterán quien lo ejecutó con igual destacamento que los antecedentes, logrando en ella la presa de veinticuatro a veinticinco de todas edades y sexos. Y

picados dichos enemigos solicitaron el asolar dicho presidio, su capitán y soldados, por lo cual a la siguiente luna se vinieron en número de más de ciento veinte, y encontrándose con la caballada y dieciseis soldados, que se hallaban en su custodia, con muerte de doce y los demás heridos, se llevaron toda la caballada que se componía de más de setecientas bestias, y siempre se fueron esperando el socorro que les siguiese, para ejecutar lo mismo, y después conseguir a salvo y a satisfacción, la asolación de dicho presidio, proyectada de dichos indios.

Después vinieron al presidio de Cerro Gordo y ejecutaron lo mismo con las escuadras de la caballada de él y con muerte de cuatro a seis soldados se la llevaron. Por la experiencia adquirida en el suceso de Ramos, y la poca gente con que se hallaba dicho presidio para contrarrestar al de los dichos enemigos, no se pudo practicar diligencia equivalente a su castigo, con la prontitud que pedía la materia, y aunque se solicitó después campañas formales y superiores fuerzas a las de los enemigos en su país, como éste les favorece tanto con su esterilidad y asperezas despide los campos, por no sujetarse a muerte civil, sin provecho. Por lo que a su retirada, observando sus movimientos, han logrado asegurarse y llevarse las caballadas para su manutención, dejando las compañías en sus respectivos presidios; por lo que en las más veces se ha salido sin el fruto que se pretendía, sucediendo los mismos accidentes en las caballadas del Gallo y Mapimí.

El año de veinte sucedió al referido gobernador don Manuel de San Juan, don Martín Alday, capitán del real presidio del Pasaje, y teniendo noticia dichos enemigos, y con la experiencia que les [asistía en el] valor de éste, temerosos de que siendo gobernador, los iba a perseguir hasta su última desolación, le salieron sobre la marcha al real del Parral, a seis leguas antes de llegar al presidio del Cerro Gordo, pidiendo la paz y pueblo en donde radicarse, a lo que cumpliendo con las órdenes de su majestad, se les admitió, y les mandó se bajasen todos a dicho presidio, en donde se les suministraría todo lo necesario para su manutención, de los efectos de paz y guerra; y se mantuvieron como seis meses, paseándose libremente por nuestras poblaciones, haciendas y ranchos.

Por el mismo año y mes de septiembre, discurriendo haber inquietud en los pueblos de la junta del río [Grande] del Norte con el de Conchos, que motivó la salida de sus padres misioneros, dispuso saliese el capitán don Juan Bautista de Lizasola con destacamento de setenta a ochenta soldados y otros tantos indios auxiliares para su conocimiento, a indagar la causa de su inquietud, y según relación verbal de dicho capitán, nació de que el reverendo padre Lipián, vice-custodio de ellas, mandó a los indios de aquellos pueblos, sacasen las sequías [acequias] para su laborío de sus tierras, a lo que obedientes concurrieron en el trabajo de dicha acequia, en la distancia de más de legua que permitió el tiempo de las crecientes del río de Conchos, y a la primera inundada, dicha acequia, con sus riberas, borró todo lo obrado.

Y mudando de situación en otro que le pareció al referido padre, trabajaron los citados indios con mucha obediencia y subordinación a cuanto les fue ordenado por el dicho padre, en otra semejante, y aún mayor, y sucedió lo mismo que con el antecedente, y por la tercera instancia que hizo dicho reverendo padre, en lista de los gobernadores de aquellos pueblos y su comunidad, le representaron a dicho reverendo padre, que respecto a las experiencias con que se hallaban en los acaecimientos y pérdidas de su trabajo, representase al gobernador de la Vizcaya, les enviase a una persona inteligente, para que reconociese por sus alturas y descen-

dencias en dónde podía salir la sangría en el beneficio de sus riberas, ellos con mucho gusto y complaciencia contribuían con el personal trabajo y fatiga, para lo cual despacharon a su general, con la representación a dicho gobernador, y éste, omitiendo dicha diligencia, quizá por el conocimiento práctico que le asistía de las labores del valle de San Bartolomé, en donde se criaron, (por imposible), no corrió la proposición. Por lo que faltándoles esta providencia que esperaban con los materiales para el uso, de conseguir de los efectos de paz y guerra, acordaron el deponer a dicho general de su empleo, porque no atendía a las cosas favorables de su conservación y bienestar de esta demostración. Se infirió por los dichos reverendos padres, que querían levantarse, y procuraron asegurarse en la villa de San Felipe el Real, como lo han hecho todos los demás sucesores a dichos padres, entrando tan solamente en una temporada, y siempre los han recibido los indios sin novedad. Cuyas diligencias, formalizadas por dicho capitán, se hallaban constantes en aquel gobierno, y en el superior de vuestra excelencia, con la cuenta que daría dicho gobernador a esta capitanía general.

Ejecutada la diligencia antecedente y puesto en marcha para el presidio de Cerro Gordo (que le acompañé), al llegar a él, la ranchería que se hallaba a distancia de dos leguas y media, arroyo abajo, se retiraron al de la boca, distante como doce leguas, asegurándose en sus sierras, temerosos de que fuesen aprehendidos en el terreno llano, efectos todos de su mala inclinación y conciencias, para precaverse de la fe y palabra que se les dió de darles pueblo y de no inferirles daño por los delitos cometidos.

Al siguiente día de llegado dicho gobernador, vinieron el capitán comandante de dichas naciones, don Juan de Lomas, con otros, disculpando la acción antecedente, expresando hallarse el referido, ausente de la ranchería, y ésta se había levantado y sobre su huella había alcanzado en la citada boca, y que venía para que pasase a ella, y conferirían con su gente el establecimiento de las condiciones que apetecían. Luego se puso en marcha, y habiendo estado con ellos se volvió al presidio de Cerro Gordo, y continuando de regreso al Parral, y observándole sus movimientos, le siguieron hasta dejarlo en él. Se llevaron más de trescientos caballos de la hacienda de Antonio [ilegible] jurisdicción del valle de San Bartolomé, con lo que abandonando la ranchería se fueron a incorporar con los coahuileños que vinieron a inquietarlos.

Juntos todos, el año de 1721, dejando las familias aseguradas en la sierra de Chocamueca, pasaron al presidio de Coahuila, villa de Santiago de Monclova, y dieron en sus caballadas, dando muerte a la guardia que en ella había; excepto uno, disimulándole la fuga, para que pasara a dicha villa con la noticia, y de ésta salieron al socorro toda la gente que en ella había, y resistiéndoles en el camino, fueron matando a todos, y el teniente, que fue el último a la entrada de ella. Y lograron al saqueo de las casas y tienda del gobernador, que en la sazón era el marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, que se hallaba en la expedición de Texas. Y sus familias, retirándose en la iglesia con el cura, y el capitán don Joseph de Caimurguia [Ecay Múzquiz] del presidio de San Juan Bautista, y con otros vecinos, defendieron dicha iglesia y familias.

En el mismo año de 1721, [al fín de] junio o principios de julio, pasaron al pueblo de Santa María de Parras, y siguiendo el mismo método, mataron en el paraje de Las Cruces, lo más florido de su vecindad (que salieron al alcance de la caballada), con su alcalde mayor, más de veinticuatro personas, que hasta hoy se

llora la desgracia; llevándose entre ellos prisioneros, a don Francisco Santalla, con otros dos, los que viéndose amenazados de morir en sus manos, los impuso pasase al Parral, y por rescate de ellos, les daría el gobernador toda la ropa que pidiesen en cambio de los dichos tres cautivos con el citado don Francisco. Y aceptada esta proposición, marcharon para las fronteras del Parral.

Con esta desgracias, se dió cuenta al citado gobernador don Martín de Alday, que se hallaba en la ciudad de Durango, actuando en su visita; como también de haber enviado don Pablo, gobernador de los coahuileños, dos indios a su hermano, que se hallaba con su gente radicado en el pueblo de los Cinco Señores, para que se levantase, y se incorporase con ellos; dándole cuenta de lo ejecutado en Coahuila y Parral y que todos juntos irían acabando todos los presidios y pueblos, a lo que no dió lugar dicho gobernador; que se puso en la mayor diligencia en el presidio del Pasaje y en la misma su capitán y soldados en el citado pueblo, en donde aprehendieron todos y los que se seguían, escoltando el cordón en el paraje que fue alcanzado, y llevándolos a dicho presidio, se pusieron en prisión y collera.

Evacuada esta diligencia y emprendiendo la campaña con soldados de todos los presidios, [procedió] dicho gobernador contra los malhechores; se les dió cuenta por el capitán del valle de San Bartolomé, con el papel escrito por el referido don Fernando Santalla, con la que se puso en marcha, ordenándole en diligencia a dicho capitán, previniese a los indios que bajasen al río Florido con los cautivos para cuando llegase dicho gobernador, concediéndoles todos los partidos que pedían.

Llegado dicho gobernador al real del Parral, con esta noticia bajaron los referidos indios al pueblo de Atotonilco, con dicho Santalla y sus compañeros, y se hizo el cambio de ellos, por la ropa que pidieron. Con este motivo les amonestó, que bajasen todos juntos y sus familias, a la inmediación de dicho pueblo, en el paraje cómodo que apeteciesen, porque de lo contrario, se hallaba con orden de su majestad, requeridos, abusando de su clemencia, los llevasen a sangre y fuego, por los engaños que habían ejecutado con el citado gobernador y sus antecesores, en los tratos de semejantes paces; así que disfrutaban su real erario, en la manutención, en el tiempo que se mantenían y lograban el vestido, ellos y sus familias; por lo que si faltaban a esto, experimentarían el castigo, como se les prevenía por dicho orden. A lo que respondieron los cocoyomes y acoclames que por ellos no se hubiera faltado, si no los hubieran inquietado los coahuileños, y supuesto que se hallaban todos juntos con ellos, los remitirían para que viniesen a aviarse de ropa, en vista de la que ellos llevaban, no sería dificultoso por su interés bajasen a vista de dicho gobernador, y los prendiese. Como se ejecutó sin efusión de sangre; cuya maliciosa máxima de los referidos cocoyomes y acoclames, fue para quedarse con las mujeres coahuileñas que carecían, por las que les habían quitado en las campañas ejecutadas hasta aquel entonces.

Asegurados los coahuileños en la cárcel del Parral, y los de los Cinco Señores en el presidio del Pasaje, se continuó con las asistencias, las instancias, para que se congregasen a pueblo, exigiéndoles el de Atotonilco, en donde habían estado en otra temporada en que se mantuvieron asistidos en los efectos de paz y guerra; facilitándoles sus siembras de maíz y trigo y demás ministras.

Admitida la proposición, los puso al cuidado del capitán reformado, Antonio Rodela, para que les suministrara los víveres, ínterin se habilitaban en dicho pueblo. En esta conformidad, continuando dicho Rodela, que les entendía en su idioma, y en compadrase con dos de ellos, le comunicaron el secreto de que esta-

ban haciendo armas de flechera para sublevarse; con esta noticia y cerciorándose en la vista, dió cuenta al citado gobernador, que como militar de tantas experiencias, dió las providencias secretas de juntar las tropas arregladas inmediatas, vecindario lo más florido en valor y ejercicio de armas, en número de más de cuatrocientos, y los indios auxiliares de aquellos pueblos, con las que cercando el terreno llano en que se hallaban situados dichos enemigos, ordenó que el referido Antonio Rodela, pasase a la ranchería para reconvenirles con medios suaves se entregasen; no dieron lugar echando mano a las armas, de cuya escaramuza se escaparon cuarenta gandules, muchas mujeres, apresando los restantes, que se llevaron a la cárcel del Parral.

Teniéndolos aprisionados en la citada cárcel, destacaba de los prisioneros al indio que se hallaba o se discurría más confidente o sincera inclinación, hombre éste algunas veces, y otras con india vieja, les hacía sus tlatoles dicho gobernador y los indios [ilegible] para que bajasen los que se habían escapado, para agregarse en el pueblo, en el que consistía la libertad de los prisioneros.

Con este estímulo, discurrieron asegurarlos todos, y no pudiéndose conseguir, al cabo de algunos meses, se providenció el que saliésemos don Joseph de Alday y yo, capitanes que actualmente nos hallabamos, el uno en el Pasaje y el otro en Mapimí, con cincuenta soldados a campaña, en la que se aprehendieron cincuenta y siete piezas, de todas edades y sexos, en el aguaje del Carmen, que se halla dieciseis leguas del presidio de Cerro Gordo, a nordeste, y del camino real la misma distancia, con diferencia corta, forma triángulo con el presidio del Gallo.

Conducida la referida presa al real presidio de Cerro Gordo, y asegurados en él, en collera, se dio cuenta a dicho gobernador, quien nos ordenó que Alday pasase al real de San José del Parral, a sacar la collera que en dicha cárcel se hallaba, para conducirla a esta corte, por los muchos gastos que causaban su demás a la real hacienda, y que yo dicho capitán Joseph de Berroterán, pasase al de Mapimí, de mi cargo, a esperar los indios con sus familias, que ofreció Antonio Balduz (que solté de los prisioneros) me llevaría, con su familia que faltaba, con todos los demás que pudiese, como lo ejecutó con dieciocho gandules, con sus mujeres e hijos. Con lo que dándole cuenta a dicho gobernador, asegurados en el real presidio de San Pedro del Gallo, me ordenó saliese en busca de Rivillas, que faltaba con otros doce.

Para esta diligencia llevé de guía a dos de los prisioneros, con los que cogí siete con dicho Rivillas en la Sierra de las Hornillas, que se halla diez leguas del camino real, al norte, y del presidio de El Gallo poco más; escapándose seis, que quedaban separados de esta cuadrilla. Cuyas diligencias judiciales, se remitieron a esta capitanía general con la collera de los indios presos, las que acreditarán su número considerable, y gastos causados a la real hacienda.

Por el año de veintitrés, entró gobernando don Joseph Sebastián López de Carbajal, y sin embargo de que se consideraba el reino libre de enemigos con la extensión de los antecedentes, en junta de guerra, se dispuso saliesen dos destacamentos de a cuarenta soldados y veinte indios auxiliares cada uno, por el mes de septiembre de dicho año, el uno por la frontera del presidio de Conchos, al cargo de su teniente, don Antonio Molina, y el otro del presidio de Mapimí de mi cargo, siguiendo cada uno sus rumbos hasta terminar en Acatita la Grande y ambos juntos pasasen a reconocer la sierra de Chocamueca, y las demás que median en el centro de ambos reinos, de Coahuila y Vizcaya, cuya inspección no se pudo eje-

cutar, a causa de haberse impedido el dicho teniente; y en dicho paraje de Acatita, con la prisión del indio Bautista, y la caballada de la hacienda del Torreón, con los demás de la referida collera, que hicieron fuga, en la venta de Maltrata, después de entregados en la Puebla al capitán de la compañía de ella, por orden de su excelencia. Lo mismo me sucedió en el paraje de Aguachila, alias Sobaco de Don Bartolo, que dista de la laguna de Parras, como diez a doce leguas, al norte, poco más o menos, en donde me encontré con siete indios gandules, catorce mujeres y muchachos, que compusieron veintiocho piezas, y los llevé hasta el real de San José del Parral, y en su cárcel entregué a su alcalde mayor, en conformidad del orden de dicho gobernador que los remitió a esta corte.

El año de 1724 estando entendiendo en su visita general dicho gobernador Carbajal, en la hacienda de Ramos, que ya se había repoblado con la extracción de la dicha collera, acaecieron unas muertes, en el camino que se anda de dicha hacienda al valle de Santiago de Papasquiaro, y por noticia que dió un cautivo que se hallaba en poder de enemigos, y escapádose de ellos interín que estaban peleando con los referidos muertos, se mantenía la ranchería de los citados indios en Acatita la Grande. Dispuso personalmente hacer la campaña con vecindad y soldados, y llegado al presidio de Mapimí y accidentado en él, me ordenó con veinticinco soldados saliese en seguimiento de los dichos enemigos. Llegué a dicho paraje, y no habiendo encontrado en él, retrocediendo la marcha, sobre ella encontré la huella que salía para nuestros países, y los alcancé en el paraje del Pozo Hediondo que se halla al norte, como treinta leguas del presidio de Mapimí, y pocas más del camino real, y sus presidios a excepción del de Conchos, y les quité toda la caballada que tenían en el llano, y ellos asegurados en la sierra, no fueron vistos; usando del ardid de hacer lumbres en la ranchería, hasta las ocho de la noche, y después retirándose a dichas serranías, se libertaban de los albazos de los soldados.

Por el año de 1726 y mes de marzo, se siguió la novedad de que los indios [ilegible] con los apaches y cholomes del río Puerco, [hasta] donde se le da al río [Grande] del Norte, desde su junta con [el de] para arriba, hasta el presidio de El Paso; vinieron [ilegible] del Coyame, conocido así, más que del nombre del [ilegible] [que] se halla ocho a diez leguas fuera de la junta del río del Norte, y uno numerado entre ellos. Y en dicha misión se hallaban dos reverendos padres Franciscanos misioneros, y a dos sirvientes suyos quitando la vida, aprisionaron a dichos reverendos padres, para ejecutar con ellos lo mismo, como lo hubieran ejecutado a no haber ocurrido los principales cabezas de la dicha junta al socorro de los dichos padres, quienes viéndose con débiles fuerzas para contrarrestar la superior de los enemigos, advirtieron los pasasen vivos a dicha junta, que también ellos y su gente querían concurrir en las muertes y bailes de cabezas.

Con esta estratagema, consiguieron los norteños el llevar a dichos padres a su pueblo de San Francisco, y juntando su gente rompieron guerra contra dichos su más aliados, matando unos cuantos y aprehendiendo otros, con lo que dando cuenta a la villa de San Felipe el Real, salió su vecindad comandada de su corregidor y alférez real, don Joseph Aguirre, en número considerable, y veinticinco soldados con su teniente del presidio de Conchos (estos con muy pocos vecinos que les siguieron) entraron a dicha junta, sacaron a los padres, auxiliando muchos norteños, hasta dicho pueblo del Coyame, en donde estaba todo el socorro de dicha villa, y entregaron a dichos padres con los indios prisioneros, retrocediendo a sus

pueblos los referidos norteños, para defenderse de los indios enemigos que hasta hoy permanece la enemistad y mantienen la guerra entre sí dichas naciones.

Con estos motivos se consultó al excelentísimo señor marqués de Casafuerte, por el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera, y la vecindad de dicha villa de San Felipe el Real, lo conveniente que sería en dicha junta un presidio de cincuenta soldados; a lo que su acreditada conducta, en servicio de ambas majestades, dio providencia de que se destacasen de los presidios del Pasaje, hasta el de Conchos, y que se juntasen en dicha villa de San Felipe el Real, a donde ocurriría el capitán de Janos, don Antonio Becerra, con quince de los suyos, se incorporase y pasase con ellos y el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera, de vuelta de los presidios internos, a reconocer paraje acomodado y circunstancias recomendables para su construcción.

Juntos todos los destacamentos, se mantuvieron en dicha villa cuatro meses hasta la llegada de regreso de dicho brigadier. Luego que [sabido to]do, pronto entraron en acuerdo con [ilegible] correspondiente dicho número de soldados, y ciento y más vecinos que se ofrecieron para dicha fundación, [es al]go imaginado, y nuevamente consultaron, se necesitarán otros cincuenta soldados, al menos treinta, por lo que se suspendió dicho reconocimiento y fundación.

El año de veintiocho, por orden del gobernador Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia, por los meses de julio y septiembre, ejecuté dos campañas, en las que aprehendí diecisiete piezas y restauré tres cautivos, y las caballadas. Y en este mismo tiempo se proyectó por el excelentísimo señor marqués de Casafuerte, que se formasen dos destacamentos, el uno de sesenta soldados, que marchasen por Mapimí a la villa de Monclova, presidio de Coahuila, y de éste se destacasen quince soldados con otros quince del presidio de San Juan Bautista del río Grande, y cuarenta indios auxiliares de los pueblos de Santiago de la Candela, Caldera y Peyote, y juntos todos los destacamentos se reconociesen sus márgenes del Río del Norte hasta la junta con el de Conchos. Cuya diligencia se practicó por el mes de enero hasta el de mayo de 1729, sin que sucediese conseguir el efecto, por las razones que constan en el diario que se remitió a esta capitanía general a que me remito.

A mes de marchado el primero destacamento de Mapimí, saliese otro de cuarenta soldados y correspondientes indios auxiliares a cargo del capitán del presidio del Gallo, para que fuera cogiendo las avenidas de indios que viniesen fugitivos del referido campo. Uno y otro se ejecutó aunque sin efecto, más que el de transitar y reconocer dichos parajes e intimidar por algún tiempo los indios que habitaban en ellos.

En dicho año por el mes de julio, me ordenó dicho gobernador marchase a la visita de los presidios de la Tarahumara que se hallaban en consternación de sublevarse, sin obediencia a sus padres misioneros; en la que me mantuve así [hasta] el mes de octubre, con cincuenta soldados, extrañando los indios de sus barrancas en donde vivían idolatradamente, y cogiendo las cabecillas que inquietaban saqué de ellas y de dichos pueblos más de ciento veinte familias, y mantuve en mi presidio algunos meses, costeados de los efectos de paz y guerra que expendía dicho gobernador, y con ellos se les formó pueblo en el de los Cinco Señores, suministrándoles todos los aperos necesarios; y se dio cuenta a su excelencia, de cuya orden se ejecutó.

Los buenos efectos que produjo dicha visita los reverendos padres misioneros, como inmediatos, con experiencia pudieron informar, y las malas consecuencias que se hubieran seguido de no haberse continuado.

A este cargo deben responder los gobernadores que ha habido en dicho reino de la Vizcaya [de quienes] viene la ordenanza 173 y no el capitán de Conchos, a quién se le imputan todas las desgracias de aquel reino como si estuviera de su cuenta. En este caso se pudieran tener por demás dichos gobernadores y sus capitanes de los presidios, como quiere la pasión libertarlos de los acaecimientos y hostilidades que se ejecutan los enemigos en sus respectivas fronteras.

El año de 1730, a lo que me acuerdo, con el nuevo reglamento, llegó aquel reino la reforma de cuarenta y cuatro plazas de soldados y los cuatro mil pesos de los seis que tenía de paz y guerra, con lo que también las precisas atenciones, como es la visita de la Tarahumara y hacer guerra a los enemigos de la frontera, que se hallaban en el seno o bolsa de tierra que media entre los dos reinos, Coahuila y Vizcaya, y río [Grande] del Norte, de donde se puebla de enemigos gentiles, bárbaros y apóstatas, de los pueblos que se retiran, cuya causa permanecerá siempre como las olas del mar, acabada una, se sigue otra.

Pues habiéndose extinguido todos los que previene la ordenanza ciento ochenta y siete de reglamento (a excepción de seis que han quedado), se ha vuelto a infestar de apaches, en número de más de cuatrocientos, que se hayan internados en las inmediaciones de nuestras fronteras pobladas; y aunque estos todavía por lo que parece no han empezado a hacer robos y muertes mediante la paz que tiene conmigo el capitán Pascual, y amistad que tenemos contraída, y parentesco espiritual de compadre, en conformidad de la ordenanza ciento noventa y tres, se debe precaver de ellos, respecto a su número y valor, e inconstancia y reserva que en sí se tengan, hasta hacerse capaces de sus entradas y salidas del terreno, para asegurarse en ellas y sus serranías.

A este gobernador, don Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia, le siguió don Juan Francisco de Vértiz y Ontañon, y en tiempo de éste, a la primera entrada que hicieron los sizimbres, juntándose con los coahuileños y cocoyomes, que ejecutaron la fuga en San Juan de los Llanos, mataron en el cañón de el Casco como dieciocho personas y se llevaron las recuas, destruyendo los aparejos y cargas. Al furor del incendio perecieron algunos, que atrincherados en ellos se defendían. Y después con frecuencia continuaron los robos de caballadas de la jurisdicción de Indé, Parral y valle de San Bartolomé, pasando después al de Parras y Saltillo, como acredita el capítulo siguiente.

Por repetidas representaciones que se hicieron a esta capitanía general, por el vecindario de españoles del pueblo de Santa María de Parras, como por el gobernador, justicia, y regimiento de los tlaxcaltecos, se me ordenó por carta de ocho de julio de 1736 por el excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey, don Juan Antonio de Vizarrón y Equiarreta, con despacho incluso en ella, para que saliese a campaña con sesenta soldados, y setenta y cinco indios auxiliares de los del referido reino de la Vizcaya. A este destacamento se agregó el del vecindario de dicho Parras, con los que juntos ejecuté la campaña, aprontando todos los víveres y equipaje para dichos indios, y su paga de cuenta de su majestad (que Dios guarde). Lo operado en ella, por los autos y diario que originales remití a esta capitanía general, constará.

En carta de 2 de diciembre se me mandó volviese a continuar dicha campaña por dicho excelentísimo señor, y estando en ella recibí otra con fecha de 2 de febrero de 1738; habiéndose ofrecido en esta corte un caballero de toda categoría y recomendables circunstancias, a su costa y de ninguna de la real hacienda, ejecu-

taría la precitada campaña confiriendo todas las facultades necesarias al capitán Juan García, jurisdiccionario del Nuevo Reino de León, y se le había expedido el despacho correspondiente.Con esta noticia, teniendo presente el ahorro de la real hacienda, por no causarle más de los de mi retirada, di cuenta a su excelencia con los autos y diario de lo ejecutado, y gastos causados.

La referida campaña del capitán Juan García, fue tan silenciosa que nada se supo en aquel reino de la Vizcaya, de los progresos que se esperaban, y puede haberlas en la secretaría del superior gobierno de vuestra excelencia por el diario, y cuenta que daría dicho Juan García, como se obliga.

En el citado año de 1738, por despacho del teniente de gobernador y capitán general, don Manuel de Uranga, que fue de don Juan Bautista de Belaunzarán (con título bastante), expedido el día 29 de agosto para que saliese a la campaña, por el mes de septiembre, como con efecto salí, entrándome hasta el reino de Coahuila, y transitando por él me alcanzó el gobernador don Clemente de la Garza, en el río de las Sabinas, y juntos ambos marchamos sobre la huella, hasta dieciocho leguas inmediatas al presidio del Sacramento; en donde apresé treinta y dos piezas de indios de ambos sexos con parte de los que hicieron fuga de la custodia en que se mantenían en dicho presidio de Conchos.

En el año de 1740, se redujeron al pueblo de Conchos los últimos indios que faltaban. En el mismo, pasaron con cincuenta soldados de los presidios, y otros tantos vecinos que se alistaron en la villa de San Felipe el Real, cien indios de La Junta del río [Grande] del Norte, cincuenta del pueblo de San Francisco de Conchos, y entre ellos doce de los referidos alzados que fueron con los restantes, cumplimenté a trescientos a la pacificación del general alzamiento de las provincias de Sinaloa, Ostimuri y parte de la Sonora, y sus indios fuerteños, mayos, yaquis, pimas bajos y otras naciones; en donde sirvieron los auxiliares de la Vizcaya durante la expedición hasta reducir a sus pueblos dichos indios. La suma de dinero que costaría a su majestad esta sublevación, los gobernadores de Vizcaya y Sinaloa sabrían por lo que contribuyeron.

En el [año] de 1741, habiéndose vuelto los referidos doce indios de la expedición con sus familias, se fueron del pueblo de Conchos hasta las cercanías de Saltillo, Parras y Coahuila, en cuyas inmediaciones se mantuvieron ejecutando muertes y robos en dichas fronteras. Y en las últimas que hicieron inmediatas al presidio del Sacramento, alias Santa Rosa, se llevaron cautiva a Juana Guerra, jurisdiccionaria del reino de León que [pasaba] a servir de madrina de desposorio que celebraba en dicho presidio.

Y con la orden que le tenía dada al indio Pascual, uno de los capitanes apaches (que se hallaba internado en la bolsa de tierra desembarazada de los citados indios enemigos), para que explorase, si se acercaban a las inmediaciones del presidio de mi cargo los doce indios supradichos, fugitivos del pueblo de Conchos, para solicitar su aprehensión. Y corriendo dicha diligencia dicho Pascual con los suyos, se encontró con los agresores en sierra [Mojada] y en la refriega que tuvieron, los unos y los otros, moría uno de los del capitán Pascual; lastimados de este suceso, me pidieron el día 20 de enero del año de 1743, el auxilio para tomar satisfacción, y habiéndoles gratificado con ciento cuatro pesos, siete reales y medio de géneros, caballos, y bastimento de cuenta de los efectos de paz y guerra, como se previene en la ordenanza ciento noventa y tres, lo despedí, citándolo para el día 10 de febrero que saldría el destacamento, al cargo de mi teniente don Juan Joseph de

Basterrechea, y se juntasen en el día 12 en el paraje del Venado que se halla al este como veinticinco leguas del presidio de Conchos; de cuya diligencia resultó la prisión de diez y nueve piezas y restauración de la dicha señora cautiva, que se entregó ésta a su marido, padre y hermanos, que vinieron por ella. El despacho de esta capitanía general de 14 de [octubre] de dicho año, se remitieron los citados [ilegible] a esta corte con los autos y diario a que me remito.

Con lo relacionado hasta aquí, se demuestra bastantemente la necesidad que ha habido y hay, en esta Nueva Vizcaya, de sus respectivos presidios y sus capitanes y soldados; no haber gastado el tiempo en el ocio que se les supone y atribuye, y el que parece de los intervalos que ha gozado dicho reino, del corto que han permitido sus indios gentiles y bárbaros como se haya en la estación presente, se debe prudencialmente contemporizar como convaleciente de un fuerte accidente y preparativa para otra más grave que amenazan los apaches, que se hallan internados a sus fronteras y los muchos que pueden seguirles para el norte. Acabados estos (si dieren motivo para ello) como ha sucedido con los demás que han habilitado dicho seno, capaz éste no sólo de muchos, sino de miles de enemigos, indios apaches que tienen así enteramente y libre la entrada por más de ciento y ochenta leguas que hay desde el presidio de San José del Paso, al de San Juan Bautista del río Grande, todas las serranías y asperezas intraficables a los nuestros, y traficables a los enemigos, que si una vez estos se internaban y meten en dicho despejado, largo y anchuroso seno, ocuparán casi todo el costado oriental de la Nueva Vizcaya y el occidental de Coahuila, y fácilmente destruirán ambas, importantes gobernaciones.

Asentado esto, hemos de inspeccionar las conveniencias o inconveniencias que han resultado a su majestad (que Dios guarde) en los ahorros de su real erario trayendo a colación, desde la reforma de las plazas de los presidios hasta la presente estación, en que sólo por mayor efecto se advertirá haber habido; y los acaecimientos sólo nos manifiestan el desengaño, cuando no en el todo, en mayor parte.

Por el nuevo reglamento de 20 de abril del año de 1729, se suprimieron cuatro mil pesos de los seis mil que tenía destinados su majestad en aquel reino para efectos de paz y guerra; y desde dicho tiempo al presente, han corrido dieciocho años y en estos se ve manifiesto, se le han ahorrado a su majestad setenta y dos mil pesos, y desde el año de 1737 al de 1743, se llevan gastados más de ciento veinte en la pacificación de los pueblos de la gobernación de Sinaloa, cuyo gobernador y el de la Vizcaya, don Juan Bautista de Belaunzarán, que expendieron, darán razón, por extenso, que yo abulto, y por noticias congéneres según las cuentas que mis experiencias en la presencia de las campañas me han enseñado; y aunque además de dicha cantidad, gasté como veinte mil pesos de géneros que pertenecían al quinquenio del citado don Juan Bautista de Belaunzarán.

Así mismo se reformaron en el dicho año cuarenta y cuatro plazas de soldados en dicho tiempo y hasta el presente año se le ahorraron a su majestad doscientos cuarenta mil; y desde dicho año hasta el presente lleva gastados su majestad en los dos presidios que se fundaron en la provincia de Sonora, doscientos seis mil seiscientos cincuenta y dos, y si fue el año antecedente hallaremos gastados, en seis años, más de los que se ahorraron en los dieciocho que llevo referidos; sin otros doscientos seis mil seiscientos cincuenta del nuevo presidio del Sacramento,

que ahora diez años se erigió en la gobernación de Coahuila, perteneciente a La Junta del río del Norte, según disposición real.

En cuyos tiempos puede haber alguna diferencia, pero habiéndose de continuar, siempre irán adelante con exceso los gastos a los ahorros que se tuvieron presentes en el referido tiempo. Y lo mismo se puede inferir subesta [sobre ésta] en lo de adelante que se tratare de esta materia, pues tengo entendido que el gobernador de Sinaloa y los reverendos padres misioneros de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús de aquella gobernación, todavía proclaman otro nuevo presidio de cien plazas (que a lo menos costará cuarenta y un mil trescientos treinta pesos al año), en el paso de Todos los Santos, sobre el río de Gila; que al mismo tiempo pretenden los padres misioneros franciscanos del Nuevo México, se les acerque más el presidio de El Paso, y se les funde otro nuevo para la reducción de los [moquis] en la inmediata provincia de Zuñi. Y que los reverendos padres misioneros apostólicos de Texas claman por otro presidio de cincuenta plazas en el río de San Xavier de aquella gobernación, a que se añaden otras sesenta y ocho plazas de soldados que se consideran por necesarios para la pacificación de la costa del seno mexicano.

De todas estas providencias, lo que se saca por consecuencia es: dar culto a un santo que no está beatificado, con el abandono del canonizado, o plantación de una viña dilatada, que por falta de cultivo jamás se experimenta el fruto sazonado; y la mente de su majestad (que Dios guarde) debe más suponer, el que sea, de la conservación de lo adquirido y con fruto de esto pasar adelante.

En la estación presente, sólo se hallará el ahorro en la rebaja de los sueldos que se les hizo a los soldados, del que antes gozaban al que hoy gozan, y no tanto cuanto pareciere a la liquidación de esta cuenta, porque de ésta se pagaba el presidio de San Juan Bautista del río Grande y hoy por la de su majestad.

En ésta advertirá cualquier oficial celoso en el servicio de su majestad, faltar a ella [como la mi]tad de lo que se podía, y se ejecutaba de la persona de dichos soldados. Que por ellos estaba obligado [cada soldado] con lista de diez caballos. Y habiéndoles reducido por ordenanza a seis; por esta razón, no siendo dable hacer dicho servicio, con los seis cómo con los diez, se vendrá en conocimiento del que resultó en beneficio y fatiga del soldado y no del servicio de su majestad, pues así como no pueden trabajar seis hombres de iguales fuerzas y fatiga, cómo diez. Así sucede en la referida reforma.

Los referidos presidios con su gente, y en sus situaciones, como más propios para la sujeción de los pueblos reducidos, defender las haciendas de los españoles y escoltar pasajeros y caminantes que entran a dicho reino con sus caudales, se estimaron por precisos y necesarios en el tiempo de dicha reformación, como acreditarán las ordenanzas de ellos.

En la ordenanza ciento treinta y nueve se manda que cada presidio, siempre que algún señor obispo, con el motivo de visitar su obispado, transitare por las provincias de la Vizcaya, Sinaloa, Sonora y Nuevo México, se le dé la escolta correspondiente a su dignidad y al seguro de su persona, en los parajes por donde ha de hacer su visita, sin determinar el número que sea suficiente, dejando al arbitrio del comandante la que considerase necesaria. Si en la estación presente me concurriera esta circunstancia, con recelo me dedicara con veinticinco soldados a escoltar a dicho señor obispo, siguiendo el proverbio de "entre la paz y la guerra, guarda tu tierra;" y por la experiencia adquirida en el suceso que llevo referido,

del señor don Pedro Tápis en el párrafo 11, y en la de ciento cuarenta de dichas ordenanzas, que cuando algún oficial real pasare por los presidios de la Vizcaya, se den ocho soldados que le escolten; y lo mismo a los prelados de las religiones si estos últimos pidieren. La ciento cuarenta y una está totalmente extinguida su práctica y ejecución. Las siguientes, ciento cuarenta y dos y ciento cuarenta y tres, se mandan para que los pasajeros y recuas acostumbradas entren en la Vizcaya al principio de cada mes, de todos los del año; se contribuyan quince soldados de cada presidio que escolten hasta el río Florido; cuya orden prevertida por los mismos pasajeros y arrieros, se verá en arreglamento, por la primera desgracia lamentable que experimenten, como ha acaecido en los años pasados, que se ha visto el reino de la Vizcaya en la misma positura que hoy saben sus entradas y salidas.

Todo lo referido de las distribuciones que previenen las citadas ordenanzas, pongo en la acertada conducta de vuestra excelencia, en ejercicio militar con treinta y cinco soldados que tiene de dotación el presidio del Gallo, como puede atender a ella, sin que incurra en falta cuando cada una de ellas puede concurrir en diversos días, no siendo dable ni correspondiente a la dignidad del excelentísimo señor obispo, suspenderle el día determinado de su salida por las graves consecuencias que se pueden seguir en la detención y demora, y debe atender dicho presidio, remitiendo la escolta con marcha de cincuenta leguas hasta la ciudad de Durango, ni menos puede detener a los oficiales reales que se hallaren sobre ella, para sus turnos, como ni tampoco con los prelados religiosos, pasajeros y arrieros, a quienes siguiéndoles los atrasos, por ahorrar estos, precipitados se arrojan al peligro, a Dios y a buena dicha, y han experimentado lo contrario, como lo acreditan las referidas desgracias, y lo mismo se puede inferir de los demás presidios: Cerro Gordo, Campaña y Conchos, que además de lo referido, tiene la precisa e indispensable distribución en la guarnición de su situación y caballada, por lo que se falta a cuanto se ofrece del real servicio, por la escasez e inopia de tropa, lo que no sucedió a los principios en la fundación de dichos presidios hasta la reforma.

En las provincias de Topia, Tepehuana y Tarahumara, según demuestra el mapa del padre Estairreyes de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús hecho el año de 1705,

hay misiones y visitas de la religión de nuestro padre San Francisco, veintiocho	28
Jesuitas, setenta y una	71
Reales de minas, dieciseis	16
Curatos, diez	10
Haciendas de ganado mayor y menor, cincuenta y tres	53
Presidios que les guarnecen sirviéndoles de antemural, cinco	5
	183

En las Provincias de Sinaloa y Sonora hay

Misiones con sus visitas, ciento y diez	110
Reales de minas, treinta y seis	36
Curatos, quince	15
Haciendas, setenta y cinco	75
Un Presidio	1
	420

Poblaciones nuevas establecidas al abrigo de los presidios de la Tepehuana, y Tarahumara, que después que se hizo el mapa, se han fundado en dichas provincias misiones y visitas de

Franciscanos, trece	13
Misiones de Jesuitas, cuatro	4
Haciendas de labor, ganado mayor y menor y caballada, ciento ochenta y seis	186
Reales de minas con el opulento de la villa de San Felipe el Real, catorce	14
Curatos, seis	6
Presidios, tres	3
	225 [226]

El reino de Vizcaya, comprendía antiguamente y estaban sujetas a su gobierno las provincias de Tepehuana, Topia, Tarahumara, Sinaloa, Sonora y Pimas y hoy sólo la Tepehuana, Tarahumara y parte de Topia, por haberse segregado parte de Topia, toda Sinaloa, Sonora, incluyendo el real del Rosario con su territorio, y lo adquirido en la Pimería de su jurisdicción, la que ejerce en todas excepto hoy la villa del Saltillo, y en el reino de la Nuevo México, el obispo de Durango, que es la ciudad capital de dichos presidios y cae en la Tepehuana.

Esta provincia se halla entre los 24½ grados y 27½ grados de latitud, y 257 y 263⅓ de longitud.

La de la Tarahumara está entre 27 y 31¾ grados de latitud y 255 y 250 de longitud.

La de Topia tiene su situación entre los 22½ grados y 25¾ de latitud, y 256½ y 262 de longitud.

La de Sinaloa se advierte entre los 28½ grados y 32½ de latitud y 251½ y 254¾ de longitud.

La de Sonora consta entre los 28¼ grados y 32½ de latitud y los 251½ y 254¾ de longitud.

La Pimería no se nota por estar sin demarcar respecto a ignorarse sus términos, no habiendo hasta hoy quien los haya reconocido ni delineado.

En cuanto al cuarto punto, cómo se podrán reducir a sus pueblos, aquellos indios Tarahumaras que andan fugitivos de ellos, sin doctrina y sociabilidad, ni sujeción a sus reverendos padres misioneros, viviendo como gentiles en idolatría y vicios, por los peñoles, sierras y barrancas y distintos ríos, según se expresa en las cartas de folio treinta y la treinta y uno, treinta y cuatro, treinta y seis, y mayormente en la de treinta y ocho; se responde con que se formase un destacamento de cincuenta o sesenta soldados de los presidios de la Vizcaya y otros tantos de la Sonora, y todos los indios auxiliares que se considerasen necesarios y precisos, como lo acreditan las citadas cartas, con los que trasegando dichas barrancas, ríos y peñoles con especialidad el de Guaguruco, sitiando y batiendo con cuatro o seis cañoncitos de artillería manejables en dicha sierra, que se remitan de cuenta de su majestad, se podrá vencer lo inaccesible de él, y estándolos todos, se deberá poblar de españoles para impedir el que vuelvan a él (pues de lo contrario será inútil el desalojamiento, quedándoles libre), aprehendiendo a los habitadores de ellas,

talándoles sus milpas, y vacándoles fuera de ellas, a región extraña, y en ésta formándoles pueblo, como se ejecutó por el gobernador don Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia, el año de 1729, expendiendo los mil pesos de paz y guerra, para este fin tenía su majestad (que Dios guarde), y con la reforma de los cuatro mismos de estos efectos, se suspendieron los favorables que podían seguirse con la continuación de sus visitas anuales en dichos pueblos, de que se han seguido las malas consecuencias que se expresan en las citadas cartas.

Y en cuanto al cargo que se hace a los capitanes subalternos y soldados de los reales presidios de Conchos, valle de Bartolomé, Cerro Gordo y Gallo, que desde el año de 1743, se han visto en una entera paz en los términos de aquellos presidios, sin que se haya visto ni oído estrago alguno de los indios enemigos, por cuya razón no se ha considerado salir a campaña alguna, pues fuera ésta ociosa, cuando no se encontraba enemigo contra quién hacerla; se responde que con los ciento veintinueve soldados que tienen a su cargo los referidos capitanes de dichos presidios, se hallan precisamente estrechados al cuidado de sus distribuciones referidas del reglamento, además de la custodia de la caballada en la que son necesarios a lo menos seis, y su cabo, y otros tantos para su alternativa, y quince para los cordones, que compone el número de veintinueve, de los que se han de separar los subalternos; y sin meter en cuenta las demás que piden las conveniencias de las escoltas de los señores obispos, oficiales reales, lo que ha motivado siempre las quejas de los que entran y salen: que no se les da la escolta que previene dicho reglamento; como los que miran los toros desde las barreras anotando los lances que en la plaza se ofrecen. Y de aquí, así mismo, resulta el que no se haya podido formar el destacamento de soldados para recorrer dichas barrancas, peñoles y ríos. Y los indios son necesarios para dicha diligencia como previene la citada carta de fojas treinta y ocho, imposibilitando más esta urgencia, la guardia de cuatro soldados que ha mandado dar de cada presidio el gobernador de la Vizcaya, en el mayor tiempo que ha vivido en la villa de San Felipe el Real, y siendo dicho gobernador, el que debe atender, a cualquiera ocurrencia de esta naturaleza, como responsable y previene la ordenanza ciento setenta y tres, mandando a los capitanes salgan al reparo de ellas, facilitándoles los medios a proporción de los dos mil que tiene de paz y guerra; cuya diligencia no ha llegado a mi noticia haya practicado, pues por más que el celo de los capitanes, se dedique a tan loable fin, como es la sujeción de dichos indios tarahumaras, reduciéndolos a sus pueblos y que vivan cristianamente, no lo pueden ejecutar, respecto a la subordinación que deben guardar a dicho gobernador por cuyas razones debe ser responsable, y no los capitanes, que como sujetos están generalmente pendientes de sus órdenes.

Al principio de este año, internando los indios por los márgenes del río de Nazas hasta haciendas del Alamo, sierra de Albino, San Juan del Río, Rama Zarca, y Cadena, en esta cambiada tierra ejecutaron de dieciseis a dieciocho muertes; con esta noticia que comunicó el capitán del Gallo, don Francisco Joseph de Lizasola a los internos presidios para su cuidado y vigilancia, con este motivo, todos juntos, consultaron al gobernador de la Vizcaya, referido en consulta de 10 de noviembre de 1746, lo conveniente e importante que sería al servicio de ambas majestades, el que se formara uno o dos campos de soldados e indios auxiliares, para inspeccionar y reconocer la naturaleza de los enemigos que cometieron las muertes referidas; si los siete que quedaron en rezago de los enemigos extinguidos, o de los de los pueblos que andan dispersos de ellos, o los cuatrocientos y más apaches

que se hallan internados en la bolsa o cerro de tierra que media entre los presidios de Coahuila y Vizcaya, Saltillo y Parras; a lo que respondió con dicha consulta y otra que le agregó, había dado [cuenta] a esta capitanía general, y quedado pendiente hasta hoy su expresión.

La gran conducta del señor auditor, describe el trecho de tierra del seno o bolsa del referido terreno, en sus latitudes y longitudes, y sólo de sus asperezas, sequedades y la cortedad de sus aguajes, sus distancias latas, me parece es lo que debo, o me compete, informar a vuestra excelencia, por cuya razón no puede ser habitable ni poblada de racional cristiano, porque el que hubiese y se determinare a ello, ha de ser separándose del pasto espiritual, pues no es dable comunicarles este bien, respecto de ser lo poblable sus aguajes, y estos hallarse en distancias, los unos de los otros, de veintidós a veinticinco y treinta leguas, y tan cortos, que apenas se pueden mantener un vecino de cada uno de ellos, con el corto chinchorro, de ciento y cincuenta cabezas de ganado mayor y caballada, y los más internados en las serranías, variándose sus situaciones por distintos rumbos, para el tránsito del comercio del reino de Coahuila con el de la Vizcaya, de este para dicho Coahuila, tengo abiertos cuatro caminos; el primero el año de 1729, del presidio de Mapimí, siguiendo el rumbo al este y nordeste por la laguna de Parras, el aguaje de Aguachila, alias Sobaco de don Bartolo y desde éste variando rumbos, al aguaje de San [Juan] y desde éste al de las Cuatro Ciénegas, y de estos al pueblo de Nadadores, y de éste al presidio de Coahuila.

En dicho año del presidio de San Juan Bautista, por los márgenes del río [Grande] del Norte hasta distancia de él por el aguaje de Santo Domingo, río de San Rodrigo, San Antonio, San Diego de las Vacas, hasta dicho río, y de éste no habiendo encontrado vado, retrocediendo por la banda del sur, marché dos días para volver a él y habiendo pasado por la banda del norte, anduve cuatro o cinco días tardeando por sus distancias que no permiten abrevadero para la caballada y gente, y me ví precisado a pasar por la banda del sur por lo que sus serranías impedían el tránsito para el reconocimiento de la junta de este río, con el de Conchos y habiendo hecho alto, y acampándome en el paraje más cómodo que permitían las lomerías y sus asperezas, despaché siete indios exploradores, para que por sus lomerías y serranías encontrasen abrevaderos y camino para seguir la marcha; y a los siete días volvieron dos de ellos, con la noticia de no haber encontrado ningún pasaje ni camino, y que en dos días no habían bebido agua, aunque la tenían a la vista, por su mucha profundidad, y no habían encontrado forma de descender a ella hasta el cuarto día, que al bajar de dicha sierra encontraron abrevadero y corto terreno para acamparse, en donde resolvieron el quedarse a morir por no desandar lo que habían avanzado, y los dichos dos indios, alentados y fiados de su ligereza y valor, cogieron por la parte del sur, la abra y cañón que formaban dichas sierras, encontraron una vereda y camino de los indios enemigos siguiéndolo para la parte del este, por un puerto dilatado y estrecho de la sierra que corre de las Cuatro Ciénegas y de Nadadores, y para dicho río de la otra banda del norte, cuyo término no se alcanza con la vista, y siguiendo este rumbo llegaron a donde estaba acampado, con las noticias que me dieron de lo que llevo referido. Y queriendo despacharlos a caballo, y que les llevasen otros para sacar a sus compañeros, no se atrevieron a empeñarse al riesgo que habían experimentado, por lo que despedí al destacamento de Coahuila y río Grande, y con el de la Vizcaya acudí al socorro de los dichos exploradores, levantando el campo a las diez del día

y marchando el resto de él, y a la noche, a paso violento, poco menos de media brida, y el siguiente, hasta las ocho de la noche que encontré a mis indios.

En este paraje me mantuve corriente de las mismas diligencias, río arriba y por la parte del norte; y no habiendo podido hallar brecha para el tránsito, retrocedí por el rumbo del sur, hasta encontrar dicha vereda y sobre ella salí a tierra conocida, y sierras de las Animas en donde el año antecedente les había avanzado a los enemigos; en cuyo paraje no habiendo aguaje, más que un pocito que escasamente podría producir para la gente, encontré dos charcos que se proveyeron del temporal, de un granizo que cayó, para el socorro de nuestro tránsito, que nos proveyó la distancia de más de cien leguas, para haber llegado a salvamento impidiéndonos las dichas serranías el poder tomar el río del Norte. Por estos motivos no se pudo cumplimentar dicho proyecto del excelentísimo señor marqués de Casafuerte, siendo éste el segundo camino que se encuentra del presidio del reino de Coahuila al presidio de Conchos.

Y de éste, el año de 1738, en la campaña que ejecuté por orden del teniente de gobernador, don Manuel de Uranga, abrí otro, marchando de Conchos a la tinaja de Terrazas, al Venado, al carrizal de Santa Gertrudis, sigue Acatita la Grande (que es el paraje que tiene más agua y será al sumo lo que puede comprender una naranja). En éste me mantuve cinco o seis días recuperando la remonta, y emprendí por los charcos el tránsito al aguaje de San Félix que se halla a lindes de la sierra de las Cuatro Ciénegas; y de este paraje siguiendo al rumbo del este pasé al puerto del Aura y de éste a el charco de San Carlos que se halla en el camino real que va del presidio de Coahuila al de Santa Rosa (que es el tercero), y desde dicho presidio de Santa Rosa, entrando por el puerto de la sierra al río de Sabinas, siguiendo el curso hasta su nacimiento, se encontrará otro hasta el referido Acatita, y de éste al presidio de Conchos y de los demás de la Vizcaya, por tenerlos abiertos en las campañas que he hecho.

Por el rumbo del sur al norte, saliendo de la sierra, bajan hasta el citado río del Norte, que habrá la distancia de más de ciento veinte leguas por tierra llana, no se encuentra aguaje ninguno, y para haberlo de hallar se ha de experimentar el extravío del referido rumbo casi en las mismas distancias que tengo asentadas, y no pude hallar suficiente para mantenerse un campo, o una compañía de cincuenta soldados, excepto en el dicho de Acatita y las charquerías que se pueden encontrar, suspendiéndose las lluvias y es el tiempo en que se puede venir a dicho seno.

Todo lo que llevo referido, el que se [exa]minare su reconocimiento podrá acreditar sus incomodidades de que se compone; las que omito por que no se atribuya encarecimiento y ponderación. Y sólo puedo obligarme a demostrar así por escrito cuanto he dicho a vuestra excelencia, siempre que estimare por conveniente su inspección.

De modo que cuanto hallare en ella poblable, será desde la sierra de San Marcos de la de Cuatro Ciénegas que terminan en dicho Río del Norte para el oriente, en los intervalos que tiene ésta, y la de los Nadadores y Santa Rosa, las que por sus altas y descendencias pueden tener diversas nominaciones por los coaguileños, y de este para el poniente, ninguna.

Las situaciones de los referidos presidios que he asentado a vuestra excelencia son las más propias para el seguro de los entrantes y salientes en aquel reino, por hallarse en el camino real, y sólo variándose éste por el real y lomas de la villa de San Felipe el Real, por los márgenes del río Florido y los de Conchos, que se ha-

llan por la parte de el oriente, a distancia de ocho a diez leguas del valle de San Bartolomé; éste tan solamente, y el de Conchos se podían promover; el primero al paraje de Guajoquilla que es la última población de las fronteras de la Vizcaya, o en dicho río en el paraje de sierra Blanca. Y el de Conchos por la parte de oriente de La Junta del río de ambos nombres que se halla sus márgenes poblados. Y en esta diligencia sólo se experimentaría algún seguro más a los pueblos y alivio a los referidos entrantes y salientes, la comodidad de proporcionar sus jornadas al paso de que menos puede o se halla fatigado, para hacer alto, respecto al agua. Y encuentro para que logren este beneficio, haberse de estar en la construcción de cuarteles y capillas de dichos presidios; la pérdida de los que se tiene avanzado en las que se hallan constituídas a costa de la real hacienda; pues en este modo acordonado, puede seguirse el método de las escoltas de presidio en presidio hasta dicha villa.

Desde la junta de los ríos Conchos y Norte hasta el presidio de San Juan Bautista, no se halla en sus márgenes ninguna ribera en donde poderse contruír presidio alguno, por la escasez de pastos y ninguna extensión que da sus serranías y lomerías; y aunque se vistiera dicho Río de todas las más apetecibles circunstancias, y por ellas se construyese, a distancia de 12 leguas, unos de los otros, con todo, no se les pudiera impedir la entrada al seno, a los muchos indios que hay de la parte del norte, así como no se ha podido con los presidios de la Vizcaya, las entradas a sus poblaciones, a hacer los robos, muertes, y estragos que tengo referidos; y si con esta inmediación no han sido reparables, cómo se podrá conseguir abandonados a esta distancia y dejando el seno libre, para que dichos indios enemigos, bien los que se señorean de dicho cerro, hasta donde se hallan los apaches? Y dichos presidios, caso que se pusiesen, no pudieran atender a los enemigos que baten el frente y retaguardia; y más en tanta distancia como comprenden dichos presidios a las fronteras de Coahuila y reino de León, Saltillo, Parras y las poblaciones que fueren, y los de la Vizcaya hostilizados al reparo de ellos.

Y para la mayor inteligencia de lo que llevo informado a vuestra excelencia, he tomado el trabajo de mapear y delinear todo lo que es el seno o bolsa que media entre los reinos de Coahuila y Vizcaya y lo que es el Río del Norte, cuyo mapa tengo entregado al señor auditor, por no agregar más volumen a este informe, y molestar más la atención de vuestra excelencia.

En todo cuanto dejo expuesto, y me ha hecho comprender la experiencia de los treinta y cinco años, que me he ejercitado sirviendo a su majestad en los presidios de Mapimí y Conchos y en las entradas de Parras y demás expediciones de guerra, que han ocurrido y ofrecido hacerse en los sitios y parajes de la nueva Vizcaya, y demás distritos de las otras gobernaciones contiguas que quedan referidas contra los indios o naciones enemigas que van mencionadas. He llevado el fin de cumplir con lo mandado de vuestra excelencia informando con la debida verdad y la mayor claridad, a que acceden mis cortos alcances; y por esta circunstancia he estado difuso en este informe deseoso de hacer en el, comprenso de lo que pueda ser necesario y comunicar la luz posible, para que recaiga cualquiera acertada resolución que importe tomar y se adapte al mejor servicio de Dios y del Rey; y que ceda en beneficio común de aquella provincia y de todos los que transitan aquellos caminos tan dilatados, para el comercio y comunicación de este vasto reino. Y en medio de que todo está pendiente de la comprensión de vuestra excelencia, para su calificación, me parece que más principalmente la necesitan dos puntos:

que son el de la traslación de los presidios de Conchos y Valle de San Bartolomé al sitio que dejo referido; y extinción de los de la Nueva Vizcaya, que en sentir de no pocos juzgan por no necesaria su manutención, a que les excita su celo, quizá por el ahorro que conciben y desean a la real hacienda. Pero no puedo dejar de hacer presente a vuestra excelencia que para tomar cualquiera resolución, de los dos o ambos, debe preceder una meditada atención; por que si aún con la existencia de los presidios en los parajes de su situación, se experimenta la osadía de los indios a venir a ellos y cometer robo, trasplantados a diversos sitios, quedan descubiertos los que actualmente se hallan, y entonces con la seguridad de que no hay guarnición ni quién se les ponga, asolarán aquellas cortas poblaciones que a su abrigo se han nutrido, y [per]diendo el rey todo cuanto sufragio ha dispensado, [y los] vecindarios sus cortos bienes, el trabajo [impedido de es]tablecerse y conservarse. Y [diezmados los vecinos], radicándose a donde les sea [más útil], para pasar [ilegible] no ser fácil erigir poblaciones, tanto por la desdicha de vivir una vida zozobrada y sobresaltada de los en[emigos]. Y esto es sin tocar en los crecidos gastos que inexcusablemente ha de hacer el real erario, en congregar materiales [para] fábrica de presidios, hasta ponerlos en estado de que tenga tropa, en resguardarse de las inclemencias de la tierra y de [los] tiempos.

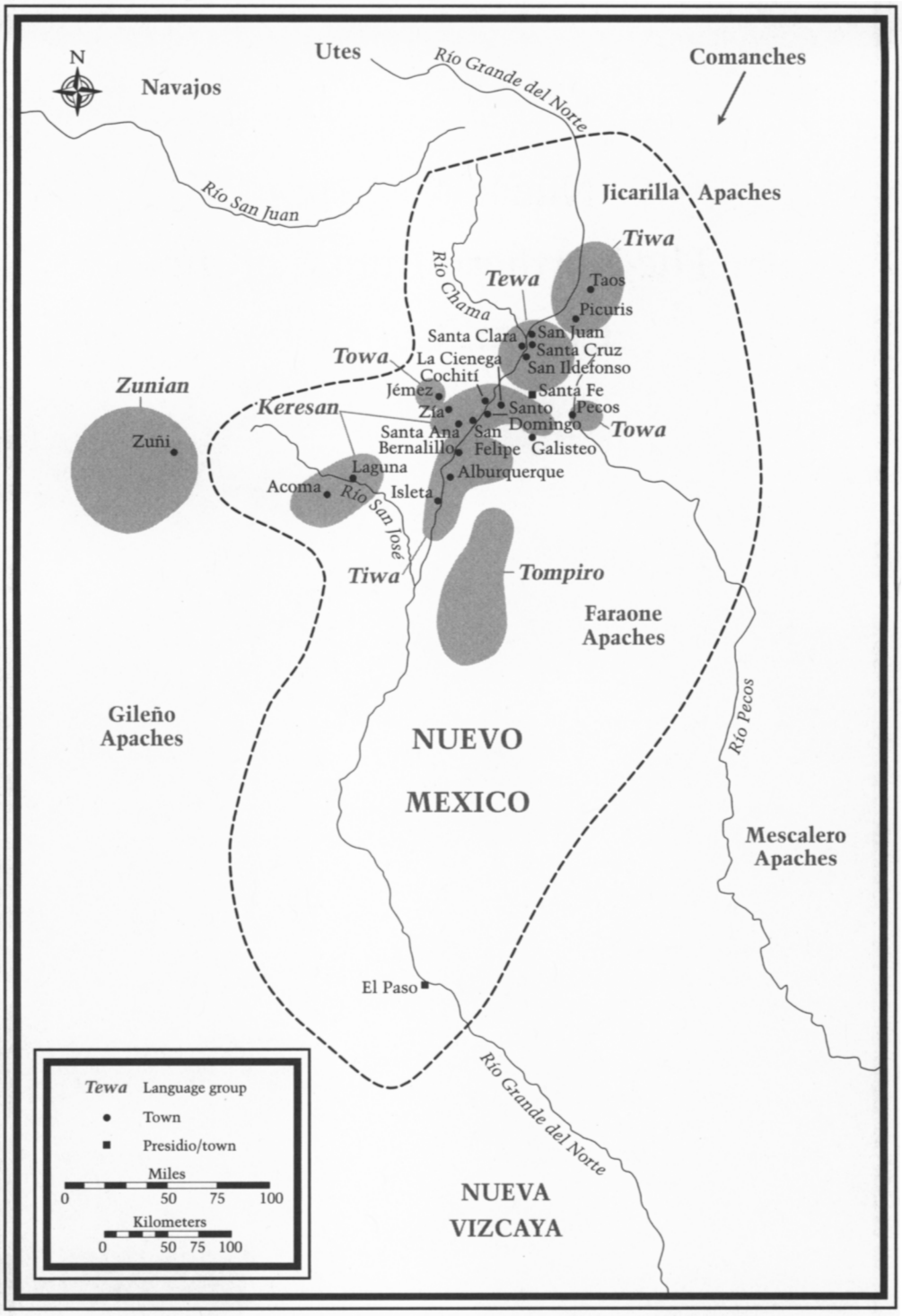
Suprimir todos los presidios bien puede ser provecho por el ahorro de sus situaciones, pero si a su demolición, la venida de las naciones, para dominar sus parajes, será lo mismo que cortar al comercio la comunicación, y habrá margen para que frecuentemente haya robos, muertes, cuantos consecuentes daños se evitan con la vigilancia en las guarniciones, en cuyo caso será preciso traerlos de otros presidios para ausentar los enemigos, porque entonces los sitios de posesión pacífica serán capaces de la guerra, y para reconducir el tráfico y la comunicación establecida, costará lo que al presente no concibe la imaginación ni el discurso.

[Y así sólo, excelentísimo señor, los ocupa enumeración], respecto a la suma diversidad y diferencia que hay de lo práctico a lo especulativo, y no me es posible figurar aquella consternación general que se está ocupando las ánimas de todos aquellos que presentes visi [tan] y en aquel caso el temer de cortar su tráfico y comunicación, no alcanzando la menor parte de tan malos efectos a esta capital, de donde reciben aquellos vivientes el yugo de que se conservan, y por el que trabajan, viven y pasan; siendo la diferencia de estos, la misma que hay de la paz a la guerra, bien que los grandes talentos de vuestra excelencia de grande juicio de que Dios ha sido servido dotarle sabrán [prevenir] en cualquiera cuerda resolución que delibere, las precauciones, los remedios y todos cuantos antídotos fuesen convenientes a los males que mi limitado alcance [ilegible] el corto círculo de mi pequeña capacidad que con las disposiciones acertadas de vuestra excelencia se quedarán en solo mi temor, [presto] llegarán a verificarse como con la mayor veracidad lo desea, y que en el gobierno de vuestra excelencia se consiga, con el menor gasto de la real hacienda, establecer la universal serenidad y que tanta nación enemiga quede sojuzgada, con todos los demás felices efectos, [que] se dan en servicio de Dios, del Rey y del bien común, [que] tanto inclina con notorio desvelo el inimitable celo de [vuestra excelencia].

México y Abril 17 de 1748.

Joseph de Berroterán

Nuevo México: The Northern Limits of the Central Corridor



New Mexico after the reconquest

Introduction

Beleaguered New Mexico

During the twelve years following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt that drove all Spaniards from northern New Mexico, the official colony of New Mexico languished in exile in El Paso del Norte. In August 1692, Don Diego de Vargas marched northward from El Paso to embark on the reconquest of New Mexico. Accompanied by fifty presidial soldiers, ten armed citizens, and one hundred Pueblo Indians, Vargas accomplished a remarkably peaceful and diplomatic four-month reconnaissance of the former colony. His first entrada, a symbolic and ceremonial reconquest, was celebrated joyfully in Mexico City. Effective Spanish reoccupation of the colony, however, required force and did not take place until December of the following year, when Vargas drove Pueblo residents from the fortress-like structures they had occupied in the former Spanish capital at Santa Fe. Despite the execution of seventy Pueblo warriors and the enslavement of several hundred other Pueblo resisters, the Spanish hold on the reconquered province was tentative. By 1696, Pueblo resentment again reached the stage of an organized uprising that required six months to put down.

Although some of the former New Mexicans living in El Paso chose to return with the reconquest, many had relocated to safer areas in Nueva Vizcaya. Vargas had to recruit additional colonists from other provinces of New Spain, so the newly reestablished colony retained little of its original character. During the seventeenth century, New Mexico had functioned primarily as a missionary colony in which powerful Franciscans ministered to the Pueblos and encomenderos, individuals who received grants of land and Indian labor. In exchange for assembling and funding civilian militia units, the encomenderos had the right to exact tribute and labor from the Indian heads of households who resided on their *encomiendas*. The newly reorganized colony abandoned the former encomienda-tributary system and adopted a new form of government in which the governor was responsible for all branches of colonial administration, including the military.[1]

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1. For more information on the reconquest of New Mexico, consult the series produced by the Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico, particularly John L. Kessell, ed., *Remote beyond Compare.*

During the eighteenth century, the geography, demography, and economy of New Mexico proved to be the three factors that had the greatest influence on the colony's history. Geographically the most northern of all frontier provinces, with a severe winter climate, New Mexico was more remote from the capital than any other province in New Spain. Travel to Mexico City required months, making communications with higher levels of the imperial administration difficult. Although the colonists often viewed New Mexico's isolation as a disadvantage, distance assured that there would be little interference from Mexico City. More than two hundred miles north of El Paso, the only other presidio in the province, Santa Fe's distance from the line of presidios that extended along New Spain's northern boundary made protection of the northern settlements difficult.

In addition to distance, the preponderance of Native American groups added to New Mexico's isolation. The long, narrow colony intruded into an area that had been an intersection of Native American activity for millennia, as indicated by abundant physical remains of an archaeological province that extended from Chaco Canyon to Pecos. Descendants of this early occupation had lived along the Río Grande for some eight hundred years, residing in densely settled, independently governed agricultural villages. These concentrated multistory villages often surrounded a central plaza with a ceremonial center known as a kiva. The peoples of the Río Grande pueblos practiced an economy of communal farming, supplemented by hunting and gathering. Beyond the Río Grande Valley, the villages of Acoma, Zuñi, Pecos, and Moqui had a similarly concentrated structure. The sedentary agricultural peoples of New Mexico spoke at least four different languages, including two within the Aztec-Tanoan language group—Moqui and Tanoan (with Tanoan divided into the separate dialects of Tano, Tihua, Tehua, Jemes-Pecos, and Piro)—in addition to the Queres and Zuñi languages, whose linguistic affiliation is undetermined.[2]

Despite a series of epidemics that had devastated the New Mexican pueblos during the preceding century, Native Americans continued to outnumber Spanish vecinos until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The demographic transition from a preponderance of Puebloan-speaking peoples to a majority of Spanish vecinos probably occurred sometime during the 1770s, when the Spanish population surpassed the colony's estimated eleven thousand Native Americans. Although it may have gone unnoticed at the time, this population shift was undoubtedly one of the more significant events in the colony's history.

At the boundaries of Spanish occupation, more recently arrived seminomadic Indian groups limited effective Spanish occupation to the long narrow strip of land along both banks of the Río Grande. Spaniards in New Mexico often found themselves surrounded on three borders by enemy Indian nations, and at times they were isolated by hostiles on their southern boundary as well, effectively cutting New Mexico's Spanish population off from access to all other parts of New Spain.

An extensive Indian trading system, which had its most important markets at

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2. Basic information on the native populations of New Mexico can be found in Peter Gerhard's *The North Frontier of New Spain*.

the pueblos of Pecos and Taos, included both sedentary Pueblos and nomadic enemy groups. Hostile Indian nations called a temporary truce for the duration of the annual trade fairs at each of these pueblos. When Spanish settlers returned to New Mexico, the elaborate trade network promptly incorporated Spanish traders and Spanish merchandise. Despite the desirability of expanded commerce, trading with the enemy presented Spanish officials with a set of delicate dilemmas. During the 1730s, in an attempt to control unauthorized visits to enemy Indian camps, the governor enacted a law requiring Spanish vecinos to obtain licenses to trade with *indios bárbaros*. Yet trading with the enemy was valuable to the colony and supplied many goods otherwise unavailable to Spanish New Mexicans.

Among the goods exchanged at the annual trade fairs were Euroamerican and Native American captives. At the fairs, *indios de rescate*, bartered Indian captives who had been enslaved during episodes of intertribal warfare, could be purchased from their enemy captors. Although Indian slavery had been illegal since the sixteenth century, colonial administrators on the fringes of the empire tolerated the temporary enslavement of prisoners taken during "just wars." Spaniards also participated in this trade in human chattels, and frequently purchased or sold Indian women and children who had been taken captive during battles with hostile nomadic tribes. *Genízaros*, as the Spaniards called the ransomed or captured nomadic Indians and their descendants, quickly lost their tribal identities. As a protective measure, colonial administrators settled groups of genízaros in strategic frontier villages, where they soon became marginally incorporated into the Spanish social structure.[3]

Nomadic Indian groups, traditional enemies of the sedentary Indians of the Río Grande Valley, inhabited the border areas of the province beyond the central strip of Puebloan and Spanish settlement. Navajos and Utes controlled the territory to the northwest of the Pueblos. Subdivisions of Apaches—Chiricahuas, Gileños, Mescaleros, Jicarillas, Faraones, and other smaller groups—inhabited the mountains to the northeast, southeast, and east. East of these Apache peoples were Comanches, Wichitas, and Kiowas. Throughout the eighteenth century, these groups of nomadic and seminomadic Indians succeeded in creating a constant state of insecurity for both Spaniards and Pueblos.

With no significant mineral strikes, New Mexico's economy stagnated and the remote province understandably failed to attract many new settlers. Even the occasional announcements that silver or mercury had been discovered did little to vitalize the economy, because such rumors were always proved false. Since Spain discouraged manufacturing in her colonies, New Mexico had little to export other than agricultural products, wool, hides, furs, livestock, and small amounts of woven cloth. Powerful merchants in Chihuahua monopolized the New Mexico trade and took advantage of the colony's lack of minted coins. The result was a severe trade imbalance that increased the shortage of silver pesos and prevented the majority of New Mexican residents from possessing much movable wealth. De-

3. Additional information on the complex interethnic trade of New Mexico can be found in Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds* and in Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*.

spite these inequities, the arrival of the annual trade caravan from Chihuahua was the year's most awaited event. In addition to supplying the only manufactured goods that reached Santa Fe, the caravan's military escort accompanied a few travelers and new settlers, and provided the colony with its major source of outside news.

New Mexico appeared to be a colony of impoverished agriculturalists, although some social stratification did exist. In the absence of a wealthy agricultural or merchant class, the colony's most powerful class was made up of civilian administrators, military officers, and members of the higher clergy. Although Franciscan missionaries from the provincia de México still controlled both Spanish parishes and Indian doctrinas, their failure to achieve social control of the region led to a gradual decline in their power and their authority to direct policy with regard to Pueblo Indians. The majority of the small but growing Spanish population was composed of impoverished Spanish vecinos, who made their livings as subsistence farmers and pastoralists. At the lowest stratum of New Mexican society, were the genízaros, widely regarded with contempt despite the fact that Spanish officials considered them to be excellent soldiers.[4]

During the eighteenth century, Spanish military administrators faced problems even more severe than those confronted by the military in other frontier provinces. Only after the Pueblo Revolt made it obvious that the protection provided by encomenderos and civilian militias was not adequate did the colony initiate a presidial system. In 1681, a presidio was established at El Paso del Norte to protect the exiled colony's remnant population. In 1693, after the reconquest, Vargas founded a second presidio at the provincial capital in Santa Fe. This presidio became New Spain's most northern fort. Unlike other provinces, where presidios were located at strategically important sites rather than at centers of population, New Mexico's presidios were in the colony's only two urban centers. The Santa Fe presidio, with a complement of eighty to one hundred soldiers, remained larger and more important than the El Paso presidio, which was usually staffed by a garrison of fifty soldiers until its garrison was transferred to Carrizal in 1773 and the facility taken over by local militia.

Although the Santa Fe presidio was formally established in 1693, the original fort and palace complex, with its set of twin towers, predated the Pueblo Revolt. In 1680, when the city was under siege, the beleaguered Spanish population used the structure as a refuge. After the reconquest, only the portion of the complex that had served as the governor's residence was restored. The fortifications and towers were not renovated, and with the exception of the governor's palace, the entire complex remained dilapidated and inadequate. The presidio, for example, had no barracks until the end of the eighteenth century.

From Santa Fe, the governor directed military strategy for the entire province and issued orders to the presidial commander at El Paso. The treasury department, however, was in even more distant Chihuahua. Officials in Chihuahua

4. For a description of the role of the genízaro in New Mexican social structure, see Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Los Paisanos*, and Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away*.

controlled finance and supply for New Mexico, creating a system that placed the province's defense at great disadvantage and prevented prompt response to emergency situations. As commander of the Santa Fe presidio, the governor conducted monthly inspections of the garrison and oversaw monthly allotments of food and clothing from the company supply depot. Although the Santa Fe presidio seldom had a surgeon, when one was available, his salary was paid by the soldiers. The presidio did provide spiritual guidance, however, and a military chaplain accompanied most expeditions.

As part of his duties, the presidial soldier was expected to go on regular patrols, participate in special military campaigns, guard strategic locations, and provide protection for the annual trade caravan to Chihuahua. During the summer months detachments of presidial soldiers, often assisted by Indian auxiliaries and militiamen, staffed temporary outposts at strategic frontier locations such as Ojo Caliente and Taos. The majority of military campaigns took place during the warmer months. During the winter soldiers typically spent much of their time guarding presidial horse herds. Since heavy equipment made it necessary for each soldier to have eight to ten remounts, the Santa Fe *caballada* had more than a thousand horses and mules. This large herd required a guard of thirty men, some of whom were citizens enlisted for temporary duty. Residents of Santa Fe and the surrounding area frequently pastured their livestock near the presidial herd in order to take advantage of the military protection.

Throughout the eighteenth century, presidial commanders waged a series of impromptu defensive battles against the different nomadic Indian groups that surrounded Spanish settlements. Although settlement was largely limited to the narrow strip of riparian land on both banks of the Río Grande, the vulnerability to attack of the colony's dispersed agricultural and pastoral population became the central problem of presidial defense. Even though New Mexico eventually achieved a larger Spanish population than either California or Texas, the colony was notable for the paucity of its *villas* and the wide dispersal of its *plazas*, or fortified rural communities. The majority of New Mexican settlers chose not to replicate the orderly Spanish village settlement pattern found in other parts of New Spain. They resided instead on isolated farms and ranches in order to defend their property from attack by nomadic Indians. These scattered sheep and cattle ranches were particularly vulnerable to raiding by nomadic Indians.

Both of New Mexico's presidios were chronically understaffed and underequipped. Governors and other officials repeatedly requested reinforcements, increased appropriations, prompter resupply, regular salary payments, and the establishment of additional presidios. The supply of armaments was never adequate for either soldiers or settlers. The presidial supply depot was supposed to keep a reserve of muskets and powder on hand for distribution to soldiers and settlers in case of emergency, but the depot seldom had extra weapons. Through a crown monopoly gunpowder was to be distributed free of charge to soldiers and Indian scouts, but the depot rarely had a supply of gunpowder. On occasion, presidial soldiers, like most of the Indian scouts, were armed only with bows and arrows. Although Robledo, Socorro, Taos, and El Cuartelejo were frequentlymentioned as sites for additional presidios, the province's sparse population, marginal agricultural production, and limited commerce never merited this increased protection.

The poor quality and inadequate training of New Mexico's presidial soldiers were additional factors contributing to inadequate defense. Many soldiers were convicted criminals who had been given duty on the frontier as their penalty. Low salaries, between 420 and 450 pesos per year, were inadequate to attract better qualified individuals into service. Salaries arrived from Chihuahua irregularly and sometimes not at all. In addition, fraudulent practices designed to cheat soldiers occurred on every level of the presidial supply system. Supply merchants took advantage of the *factora* system—the practice of payment in provisions rather than in specie—that had been motivated by the scarcity of silver coin in New Mexico. The factora system afforded opportunities for graft among supply merchants, who sometimes charged soldiers double the going price for local produce or other goods. Since expenses for food, clothing, arms, and horses came out of the soldiers' salaries, they often became indebted to the paymaster. In contrast to other parts of New Spain, presidial soldiers in New Mexico were poorer than the local settlers, which led to frequent theft and sale of military property. Soldiers did, however, benefit from a set of privileges that compensated for the many disadvantages of military life. These *preeminencias*, also called the military *fueros*, exempted soldiers from solicited contributions to the crown, imprisonment for debt, and certain ecclesiastical obligations.

Civilian militia units assisted presidial soldiers and were an essential element in New Mexican defense. Militia units, organized on a village basis, were enlisted for temporary service. Each unit had its own officers. Militiamen did not receive payment for their service and furnished their own arms, horses, and pack animals. Although strong in numbers, militia units were not particularly effective due to their chronic shortage of weapons. By the end of the century, however, some of the larger villages had efficient militia units. Alburquerque, for example, had eighty well-armed, well-mounted militiamen, and after 1773, El Paso had four militia companies of fifty-three men each, whose salaries were paid by the local citizens. Although officials frequently suggested a *compañía volante*, a troop of mounted mobile presidial soldiers, for New Mexico, the province never had its own "flying company." Compañías volantes from adjacent Nueva Vizcaya, however, did enter New Mexico to cooperate on specific campaigns.

Auxiliary Indian troops, provided by Pueblo villages and by nomadic Indian groups, were also essential to New Mexico's defense system. Pueblo auxiliaries had played a key role in New Mexico's reconquest, and they made up for the critical shortage of Spanish soldiers in the majority of subsequent battles against nomadic Indians. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, government officials considered the Puebloan population to be part of the New Mexican citizenry and made their villages subject to the same defense requirements as Spanish villages. When the governor made levies against alcaldías mayores he included Pueblo villagers for service to guard horse herds or to garrison temporary outposts. By mid-century, Pueblos had formed separate militia units for protection of their own villages. Militiamen served under an appointed capitán de guerra and supplied their own horses and arms. As Pueblo auxiliaries who had formerly been available to accompany presidial soldiers on campaign were increasingly assigned home duty, presidial commanders began to rely on auxiliaries from among the unpacified nomadic Indians. These Apache, Ute, Navajo, or Comanche auxiliaries served tem-

porarily on specific campaigns in discrete units, often participating in campaigns against their traditional enemies.[5]

Competition among the various nomadic groups on the fringes of the province created additional problems for Spanish New Mexicans. Mounted since the 1650s, Apaches were formidable warriors and of all the nomadic Indian groups were the most consistently troublesome. During the eighteenth century, Comanches gradually expanded their range into the former Apache territory northeast of the Pueblos, squeezing Apache bands into areas inhabited by Pueblos and Spaniards. Utes and Navajos raided settlements on the northeastern fringe of Spanish settlement. The political autonomy of particular clans or bands undermined agreements between Spanish authorities and war chiefs. Spaniards found it difficult to keep track of the shifting alliances among the nomadic groups, who from time to time made temporary alliances with factions in the settled Pueblo communities. Increasingly, as Spanish officials acknowledged that the very existence of the colony depended on improved relations with the formerly rebellious Puebloan groups, they mounted greater efforts to incorporate the sedentary Indians into the structure of colonial life. At the same time, they attempted to create advantageous alliances among the unpacified nomadic Indians.

Although of negligible economic value to the viceroyalty, New Mexico's strategic importance as a buffer against foreign incursions increased markedly at the end of the seventeenth century. The first reports of French penetration into Spanish territory north and east of the New Mexican frontier catapulted the isolated province into the forefront of a complex set of international relations involving both Europeans and Native Americans. Only two years after the Pueblo Revolt had expelled all Spaniards from New Mexico, La Salle's 1682 expedition down the Mississippi River inserted a wedge between Spanish Florida and the rest of the empire. At the same time, French presence in the Illinois country and on the eastern portions of the Great Plains initiated a southwestward migration among members of the Comanche, Pawnee, Kansa, and Osage nations. These incursions into Spanish territory by both Europeans and Native Americans were among the principal factors that had induced the imperial government to reestablish and maintain New Mexico as a buffer colony, at an annual expense of almost 80,000 pesos.

In the sparsely populated and distant frontier, both the Spanish and French relied on a series of shifting and transitory alliances with a variety of Indian groups. Both Spain and France pursued strategies of seducing Indians into economic dependency and subsequent peace. For the Spanish government, the *fondo de aliados* or *fondo de paz y guerra*, special funds for payment of gifts and rations to nomadic Indians who had made peace, was a cornerstone of Indian policy. The imperial administration did not permit the unauthorized sale of firearms to Indians, although in New Mexico presidial officials were allowed to arm specific

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5. Mark Simmons provides a discussion of the military facilities and organization in New Mexico in *Spanish Government in New Mexico*, and Oakah L. Jones, Jr. describes the role of auxiliary troops in "Pueblo Indian Auxiliaries in New Mexico 1763–1821" and in *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest*.

Pueblo auxiliary forces. The French government, in contrast, had initiated a policy of arming its Indian allies as early as 1700. On the fringes of Spanish settlement, French traders sold firearms to select Indian groups, particularly the Comanches and Pawnees, a practice that greatly enhanced the position of these groups. By 1746, the possession of European firearms had allowed the Comanches to gain control of the eastern plains of New Mexico.

Despite intermittent alliances between the French and groups of Comanches, two factors precluded a Spanish policy of Comanche extermination. Through middlemen, who were later to become known as *comancheros*, Spanish New Mexicans engaged in trade with Comanches through which presidial soldiers were able to acquire much-needed firearms, some of which were of French origin. In addition, until the end of the French threat in North America in 1763, Comanche control of eastern New Mexico and western Texas created a buffer between New Spain and French holdings to the east. New Mexicans came into contact less frequently with the Pawnee, although this tribe also raided Spanish settlements occasionally.[6]

For the Spanish administration of New Mexico, the eighteenth century was a period of restructuring, entrenchment, and adjustment to the realities of maintaining a colony under extremely difficult circumstances. In the absence of a productive economy, it is not surprising that Spanish policy in New Mexico was essentially reactive. The underfunded and understaffed administrators enacted new laws and new policies when situations required, taking action against French or nomadic Indian nations only after these enemies had provoked a response. Counter-responses by the enemy assured that New Mexican policy remained reactive. Within the limitations of inadequate funding and corrupt, incompetent personnel, colonial administrators directed their primary efforts toward the creation of an Indian policy that would maintain the sedentary Pueblos as essential allies and restrain the hostile nomadic groups on the borders.

The remote and isolated New Mexico colony remained less integrated into the social, economic, and military systems of New Spain than any other frontier province. It is because of the unique situation of New Mexico during the colonial period that the editors have chosen to devote a separate section to the province. The documents that follow reflect the overriding concerns of the colony's administrative and military officials—defensive strategy, imperial neglect, underfinancing, and the maintenance of peaceable interethnic relations on a frontier where ethnicity was constantly being redefined and where a multitude of ethnic groups were engaged in a fierce struggle for power and survival. Rather than selecting documents relating to major events in the province's history, we have selected a series of short documents that reflect these common themes in the provincial record.

The difficulty of maintaining peaceable relations between the sedentary Pueblo peoples of the Río Grande Valley and New Mexico's impoverished Spanish residents is a major concern expressed in these documents. New Mexican officials

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6. Elizabeth A. H. John, Oakah L. Jones, Jr., and Ramón Gutiérrez have written extensively on the multinational threats and multiethnic conflicts that plagued New Mexico during the eighteenth century.

were also responsible for protecting the formerly rebellious Pueblos against attacks by Apaches, Comanches, and Utes. Sharing a common enemy increased the importance of mutually supportive peaceful coexistence. Despite this dependence on harmonious relations, presidial officials found it increasingly difficult to protect the Pueblos from the machinations of Spanish settlers, who perpetrated an ingenious array of crimes against them. The full spectrum of Spanish mistreatment ranged from entrapment in gambling debts to land theft, sexual violation, kidnapping, illegal enslavement, excessive physical punishment, and murder. Officials attempted to control these excesses with threatened punishments—even including a six-year stint in one of the more exposed presidios. "Sentencing of Presidial Criminals, 1710" and the "*Bando* Prohibiting Gambling and Attacks on Defenseless Women and Children, 1741" represent the large group of official pronouncements against such crimes and the prosecution of individuals who had committed them.

The other documents in this section describe official concern for the inability of the New Mexican presidial system to protect the province from incursions by outside forces, whether European powers or unpacified Indian groups. Complaints about inadequate funding and the extreme understaffing of New Mexico's presidios are voiced repeatedly in the documents. The first document, "Defense of the El Paso and Santa Fe Presidios, 1707," discusses plans for joint campaigns against enemy Indian groups and the difficulty of carrying out these plans in view of insufficient troops and inadequate funding. Two documents, "Sentencing of Presidial Criminals, 1710" and "Court Martial of Soldiers from the Alburquerque Company, 1742," describe the low quality of both presidial and militia soldiers, and the difficulty of providing defense for the distant province.

The 1727 "Judgment on the Villasur Campaign," which held the governor responsible for the Villasur defeat, expresses the increasing fear of foreign incursions into New Mexico and of the dangerous alliances being formed between foreign powers and enemy Indian groups. Governor Valverde, who sent his inexperienced assistant into unknown enemy territory in pursuit of Indians allied with the French, was severely chastised for his lack of forethought in this disastrous campaign, which resulted in the deaths of many of New Mexico's leading citizens. Yet campaigns such as the Villasur campaign were examples of the reactive policy—or absence of policy—of Spanish officials at all levels in Santa Fe, Mexico City, and Spain.

The final document in this section lists the members of the Santa Fe troop in 1761 and describes their equipment and horses. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the presidio had become relatively well equipped, with the notable inclusion of French arms in the official list of presidial weaponry.

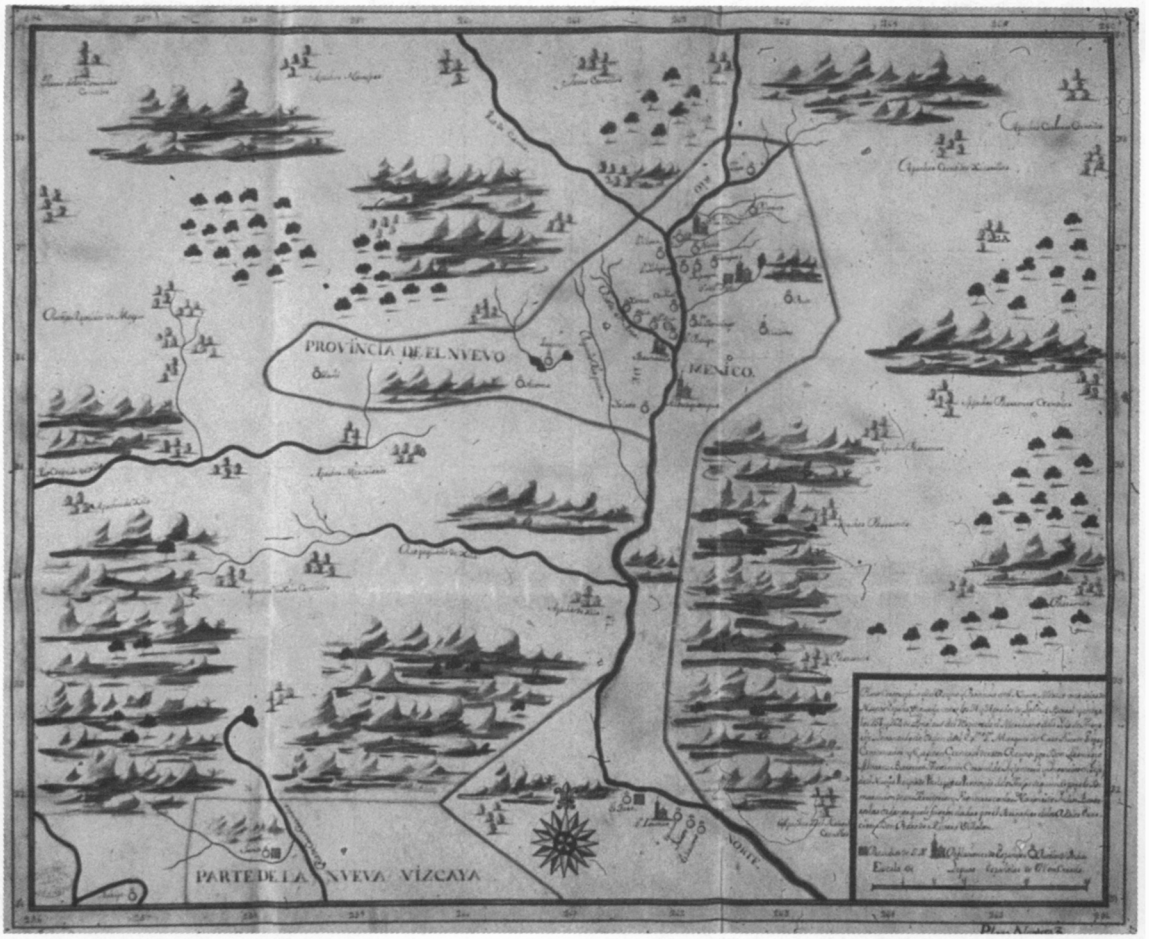
VI

Problems of Defense

(1707-1727)

Following the surrender of Indian-held Santa Fe to the forces commanded by Diego de Vargas, bells rang out in the Cathedral of Mexico in commemoration of spiritual victory over stubborn paganism in the New World. In New Mexico itself, however, the outcome of reconquest was less secure. Although Vargas managed to alternately force and cajole Pueblo Indians back to their respective missions after the reconquest, Pueblo acquiescence to Spanish hegemony was never complete. The Pueblos deployed secrecy, obstinacy, and outright rebellion to undermine Spanish control of the province. At the same time unpacified nomadic Indians, particularly subgroups of the Apaches like those described in the *autos* that follow, employed hit-and-run tactics that the understaffed and undersupplied presidios found difficult to combat. Apache warriors, whose horsemanship equaled or exceeded that of the Spaniards, often attacked with impunity since they could outdistance the Spanish troops that sought to pursue them onto the plains.

In the absence of overwhelming military power, settlers and colonial officials were forced toward another strategy for defending their civilization. As will be seen in later documents in this collection, officials began to make concessions to the Pueblo Indians, who just a few years earlier had driven them out of their province.



Map of Nuevo México by Francisco Alvarez Barriero, 1727. (Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 122)

Defense of the El Paso and Santa Fe Presidios, 1707

As can be seen in the following document, only fifteen years after the reconquest, the settlers who accompanied Vargas northward from El Paso found themselves short of supplies, impoverished, under continual threat of attack from nomadic Indians, and menaced by the possibility of another Pueblo revolt. Both internal and external attacks seriously threatened the viability of the New Mexican colony and were to become a major obstacle to the economic consolidation of the far northern frontier.

In the first document, the New Mexican governor calls for a junta de guerra between the colony's two woefully inadequate presidios to plan a joint defensive strategy. In response to the summons, the highest officials of the colony, including a former governor and three future governors, made formal statements attesting to the extremely precarious position of the colony. New Mexican officials were united in their plea for royal war funds to pay presidial soldiers, arm civilian militias, and purchase supplies. Royal officials, however, were hesitant to devote funds to a frontier of only marginal economic productivity and strategic significance. The lack of military supplies meant that the conquest of Native Americans by Spanish settlers was impossible.

From Admiral Don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor,[1] knight of the Order of Santiago, Marqués de la Peñuela, governor and captain general of the kingdom and provinces of New Mexico, and commander of its forces and presidios for his majesty, on October 3, 1707, in the capital town of Santa Fe:[2]

A squad of soldiers from the royal presidio of El Paso del Río del Norte[3] ar-

1. Admiral Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marqués de la Peñuela, served as governor and captain general of New Mexico from 1707 to 1712. During his term of office, he achieved peace with the Utes and Comanches. In 1709, he waged a moderately successful war against the Navajos.

2. Santa Fe served as the seat of government for New Mexico from the town's founding in 1610 until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After the reconquest, the governor and cabildo returned to Santa Fe in 1693.

3. El Paso del Río del Norte was founded in 1659 as a mission community of Manso Apaches, administered by the Franciscan order. Following the Pueblo Revolt, El Paso served as a refuge for the vecinos and provincial government that fled the besieged capital of Santa

rived, bringing with them various documents for their captain, General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío,[4] who is in charge of the presidio for his majesty but who is presently in this town. [The letter] from his lieutenant, *Maestre de Campo* Luis Granillo,[5] advised him of how that jurisdiction has been heavily invaded by the enemy Apache nations, who have been continually stealing horses and livestock there. General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío has notified me of this situation. These [events], in conjunction with what I am presently experiencing, have obliged me to call a junta de guerra in order to discuss this important matter and provide a prompt solution. The most experienced people of this kingdom will attend, including General Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés,[6] knight of the same order [of Santiago] and former governor and captain general. The secretary of government and war will convey my message to him, in order that his lordship may be present at the meeting. With this *auto* I likewise call upon my lieutenant general, Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, Sergeant Major Juan de Uribarrí [Ulibarrí],[7] and the captain of this presidio, Don Félix Martínez,[8] to be present this day at three in the afternoon in this palace [of the governors], where we will discuss the measures that this important matter requires.

In evidence whereof, I have issued, ordered, and signed [the order] with my secretary of government and war.

The Marqués de la Peñuela

By order of the lord governor and captain general,

Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos

Secretary of Government and War

Fe. With this sudden population increase, the strategically important site of El Paso received a presidial garrison in 1681.

4. General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío became captain of the presidio of El Paso in 1699, and also served as alcalde mayor of the town. He attained the rank of general in 1710, and from 1717 to 1722 served as governor and captain general of New Mexico.

5. Luis Granillo acted as maestre de campo, or colonel of the militia, and justicia mayor at the presidio of El Paso beginning in 1698. He attained the rank of lieutenant general and figured importantly in the suppression of the 1696 uprising.

6. Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, a former treasury official at Guadalajara, founded the city of Albuquerque. He served as captain general and governor of New Mexico from 1705 to 1707, and during the campaign of 1706 he temporarily established a general peace with the Apaches and Navajos.

7. Sergeant major of the presidio at Santa Fe, Juan de Ulibarrí (also spelled Uribarrí) came to New Mexico during the reconquest. He became famous after taking possession of El Cuartelejo, defeating the Apaches and restoring the Picurís Indians to their native pueblo. He was imprisoned in Mexico City for some time after 1711, allegedly because of lies circulated by the Tafoya brothers.

8. Félix Martínez, one of the "hundred" soldiers recruited by Vargas in Spain, was part of the reconquest and later served as captain of the presidio of Santa Fe for many years. From 1715 to 1717 he was governor and captain general of New Mexico. When he assumed office as interim governor, he kept his predecessor under arrest for two years.

OPINION OF JUAN HURTADO

Lord Governor and Captain General:

In compliance with your lordship's *auto*, dated the second of the current month, in which you order that I give my opinion regarding the subjects mentioned in it, I hereby state: The innumerable Indian infidels of the vast Apache nation, in their pride, insolence, and audacity, raid all the pueblos of this kingdom and repeatedly invade those at El Paso del Río del Norte, causing many deaths among the Spaniards and Christian Indians and stealing the few cattle and horses with which the villagers sustain themselves. I am of the opinion that in order to stop this, it would be expedient to form two squadrons from the one hundred presidial soldiers. Each squadron should have thirty soldiers, an experienced corporal, and an equal number of friendly Christian Indians, so that the two squadrons can take turns pursuing the Apache enemies and punishing their audacity whenever they come to carry out their aforementioned raids. If the Apaches attack simultaneously on two fronts in order to divide our forces, as is their usual practice, each corporal can then pursue them independently. In this way, the inhabitants will have relief through the protection of their livestock. The remaining forty soldiers will be left to guard the presidio's horses and to take care of the other emergencies that arise with every second.

In addition to the continual [attacks] by the enemy Apaches, since the conquest by the Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas[9] in 1693, not a year has gone by without agitation among the Christian Indians of these pueblos, as occurred in May of this year. The clamor for rebellion was so intense that General Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés was obliged to personally visit the pueblos, to calm the situation. He managed this by virtue of his great zeal, hard work, and shrewdness in the royal service. This cancer was spreading to the pueblos of El Paso del Río del Norte, where General Don Antonio Valverde, captain of that royal presidio and alcalde mayor of the jurisdiction, calmed the same rumors [of rebellion] with great prudence. In addition, in order to proceed with their depraved intent, [the Pueblo Indians] made use of all the infidel Apache Indians from the Navajo, Faraone, and mountainous Gila regions,[10] whom they enticed to help them against the Span-

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9. The Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas is none other than Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León Zepeda Alvarez Contreras y Salinas, reconquerer of New Mexico. Born of noble family, he was appointed governor of New Mexico in 1688 based on his ability and desire to pay for the reconquest. Due to other responsibilities, however, he did not take up the post until 1691. Despite Indian opposition, which culminated in the Pueblo Indian Revolt of 1696, he managed to pacify most of the upper Río Grande Valley before his post expired in 1697.

10. The Spanish applied the term "Apache" to all groups of southern Athapaskan-speaking Indians. During the eighteenth century the Athapaskan-speaking Navajo ranged in essentially the same area as the present-day Navajo reservation, although their territory was slightly more extensive. The Faraone were among the roving bands of Apaches who lived east of the Río Grande, and north and east of Pueblo territory. The Gila, or Western Apaches, who inhabited the mountains of present-day west-central New Mexico, were less well known to the Spanish than other Apache groups.

ish with the things the Apaches considered very valuable, such as cotton blankets embroidered with different colors. This enticement has been seen through experience when the Apaches from the Navajo [region] came and stole the horse herds, as they did from Captain Ignacio de Roybal[11] and another Spaniard at the pueblo of Cochití.[12]

On the twenty-second of the current month, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, approximately 150 Apaches—all Faraones on horseback—ambushed the pueblo of Pecos, which is the largest in this kingdom. They succeeded in killing its governor and two other Indians, and left one gravely wounded. By your lordship's order, I pursued them with thirty-six soldiers and 130 horses, following their tracks for three days, without stopping at night. I could not overtake them, however, because they had the advantage of two nights and one day, and all the horses were footsore and exhausted. Therefore, after scouting three watering places, I found it necessary to withdraw to this presidio with the exhausted horse herd, which I doubt will be of any use at all during this winter. The climate is so severe in this region that even if the horses were rested and well-fed, they would scarcely be able to free themselves from the excessive ice and snow. There is a long period of time when the horses can neither graze nor drink because the pastures are covered with snow and the rivers are frozen—and this reality is not caused by any negligence of mine.

I have made this account longer than might be wanted, because I think it is necessary to be precise and to make your lordship aware that the accomplishment of so great a task requires rapid assistance to the military and, beyond that, an advance to the presidial soldiers of at least enough to cover their maintenance. The reason his majesty (may God protect him) had for ordering the salaries to be paid in full, not in three parts as in the other presidios in [Nueva] Vizcaya, was his true Catholic consideration that this miserable kingdom is the most remote edge of the Christian realm in this New World and is devoid of all human resources. In all the other parts of New Spain (wherever they may be), there are settlers who supply the soldier with his horse, clothing, and maintenance. Here, however, the soldier supplies the settler with these things. Failing the aforementioned assistance, the soldiers will be rendered incapable of royal service, for they will be selling their horses to clothe their naked bodies and maintain themselves. Even when they had the 450 pesos in salary plus munitions supplied by his majesty, they could not maintain themselves unless the governors previous to your lordship supplied them with amounts beyond their salaries. (What they receive today will be 18 pesos and 6 reales less than their salary.) And moreover, his majesty, in a very Catholic gesture, previously gave them a supply of munitions from his account in 1703—and his majesty's generosity to the soldiers of this kingdom did not end there. In consideration of the excessive hardships they endured he also

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11. Ignacio de Roybal y Torrado came to New Mexico as a soldier of the reconquest. He received land grants in Santa Fe and San Ildefonso, was active in Vargas' campaigns, and held a secular office with the Inquisition, serving as *alguacil mayor de santo oficio*.

12. Cochití is a Keresan-speaking Pueblo Indian village located on the Río Grande, south of Santa Fe.

gave them and the other settlers a ration of meat during the entire time of the conquest. With your superior understanding, your lordship will carefully consider providing the assistance of arms in readiness for use in his majesty's service. This is my opinion, subject to your lordship's wise amendment. You will decide these matters in whatever way is most suitable, which, as always, will be for the best.

Villa of Santa Fe. October 4, 1707.

Juan Páez Hurtado[13]

OPINION OF ANTONIO VALVERDE Y COSÍO

Lord Governor and Captain General:

By virtue of what I have advised your lordship concerning the present state of affairs in the jurisdiction of El Paso del Río del Norte, which is under my command, in addition to what your lordship has witnessed in this kingdom, you have issued an *auto* summoning us for a junta de guerra to discuss our opinions on [how to resolve] the Indian hostilities on both frontiers. Regarding this matter, sir, my principal opinion is that your lordship should consult with his excellency the viceroy of New Spain regarding the inadequate provisioning and financing of troops in this kingdom, especially those under my command. If, until now, I have maintained the stability of the troops, as your lordship saw during the inspection you carried out in that presidio, it has been through the small credits that I have obtained in Mexico City. At the present date these credits have been suspended because of the amounts withheld from me in the royal treasury. This problem is the most important one, and if it is not resolved it will be impossible even to maintain the defensive war, a result that would have dire consequences. Experience teaches me that failure to oppose the common enemy of this kingdom, the vast Apache nation, only serves to increase their crimes of robbery and murder. Consequently, upon seeing the troops weakened, the domesticated Indians may become uneasy and seek alliances with the Apaches, as was experienced this year (as well as on other occasions) in the uprising that they attempted. It was promptly and vigilantly put down by General Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, knight of the Order of Santiago and former governor and captain general of this kingdom, who could be your excellency's only informant on this matter because he has knowledge and experience [gained] from three years of governing. The call for and action [of revolt] spread to the jurisdiction of El Paso and the surrounding nations, who have calmed down now, thank God.

I am certain, however, that if care is not taken and the troops are not alert and well supplied, some misfortune could occur. Recovery from this would cause

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13. Juan Páez Hurtado came to New Mexico with Vargas during the reconquest as leader of the recruits, as well as of the military and civilian colonists. He served as captain of the presidio of Santa Fe, lieutenant governor of New Mexico, and in 1705, was made acting governor of the territory. In 1704, he acted as executor of Diego de Vargas' will. In 1715, he led a campaign to the Colorado River against the Apaches, and in 1717, he served as governor and captain general of New Mexico.

great expenses for the royal treasury, as happened previously in 1696, when the settlers lost the few cattle they had and many people were killed, including five religious. These fears will be all the more quickly realized as long as the vast and numerous nation of the Moqui province continues in its idolatry and apostasy.[14] It is our understanding that the incitements, instigations, and confederations come out of that nation. Hence, it is of great importance to this kingdom that the troops be well prepared and supplied. To be otherwise is even more dangerous with the [Pueblo] nations at peace, because in those circumstances they enter freely to inspect and examine whatever is out in the open. This happened to me when I had command of the troops from the presidio of El Paso. I was on friendly terms with the Apache nation and helped them in any way that I could with my small salary, as is well known. Every time they saw me dispatch troops to this kingdom for royal service, [the Apaches] invaded the jurisdiction [of El Paso]. It follows that, if they see the troops less prepared than is necessary, they will attack more actively and frequently. This is my opinion, subject to your superior judgment.

Villa of Santa Fe. October 6, 1707.

Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío

OPINION OF JUAN DE ULIBARRÍ

Lord Governor and Captain General:

On the second of this month, your lordship issued an *auto* summoning us to take part in a junta de guerra to consider the information presented to you by General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, captain in charge of the royal presidio of El Paso del Río del Norte and alcalde mayor of its jurisdiction. He has been advised that [the presidio] has been invaded by the common enemy, the vast Apache nation. These reports, along with what your lordship has seen and heard in these frontiers, forced you to take this most necessary action. Each of us who attended the meeting is to state his opinion and give his advice, according to the conditions of the *auto*.

By virtue of this, in compliance with my obligation and your lordship's order, I hereby state [the following]: The nations that attack and invade this kingdom and its jurisdictions are quite numerous and close, and it is impossible for the presidial troops to have even moderate rest, given the continuous audacity of the enemy. Assaults have occurred (and more than a few times) in all parts, requiring your lordship's predecessors to provide seventeen escorts to various frontiers, and even this has not helped. I know this from experience, as I was captain in this presidio [of Santa Fe] and that [of El Paso] for six years, and I did not have fifteen days of rest in either of them. Others have experienced the same, for it happens

14. The "province of Moqui" refers to the Hopi nation, whose territory is located on the southeast escarpment of Black Mesa in present-day northeastern Arizona. The Hopi proved to be the group most resistant to Christianization, in spite of the efforts of Franciscan missionaries who established missions there beginning in 1629.

that the domestic Indians in the pueblos, in imitation of the infidels, have attempted gatherings, disturbances, and uprisings every year (except the previous year). They have succeeded in some, as witnessed in 1694 and 1696 when they murdered priests and laity and committed sacrileges, robberies, and other [atrocities]. Their destructive intention having been declared, it was halted, as we have just seen this year. Although these domestic Indians, in alliance with the infidels, attempted to rise up in revolt, their treacherous and traitorous plan was stayed by the Catholic zeal, vigilance, and experience of General Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, knight of the Order of Santiago and former governor and captain general of this kingdom. As we have learned, this call [to revolt] included all the nations of this kingdom, and it certainly reached the natives of the pueblos within the jurisdiction of El Paso. It was all prevented, however, through the equal zeal and able command of General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío.

For now, this sedition and restlessness are under control. However, we remain (as we must) justifiably fearful and suspicious that as long as the cause persists, the bad effects will not cease. The habitual apostasy of the obstinate province of Moqui, that vile sea in which such harmful torrents of malice are born, increases greatly, which makes it very important and essential that the troops of both presidios be constantly on the move, in order to check the excessive pride of these enemies. These troops need to be well prepared and supplied, in order to carry out the operations that these times require. Toward this end your lordship might present such suitable reasons and particular motives to his excellency the viceroy, so that he in his Catholic zeal will order that these poor soldiers be helped and paid what is owed them, as well as what his majesty (God protect him) offered to give them in advance. This is what we hope for from your lordship, to whom I submit this, my opinion, for the betterment of the [problems] expressed.

Villa of Santa Fe. October 6, 1707.

Juan de Ulibarrí

OPINION OF FÉLIX MARTÍNEZ

Lord Governor and Captain General:

According to what your lordship states in your *auto* dated the second of this month, your lordship, as [my superior], orders me to give my opinion. As I see and understand it, sir, I hereby state [the following]: The innumerable enemies of the surrounding area continually invade (and still infest) this kingdom to a great extent. Although some of the infidel nations may live in relative tranquillity on account of its advantages, they enjoy this state for a limited time. The others find they are able to attack, rob, and kill as they have always done, and the adverse consequences continue to be experienced, including the underdevelopment suffered by the settlers of this kingdom, as well as the insolence of the Christian Indians who are subject to civil, religious, and military authority. These are the worst, for like house thieves they observe and mark the tiniest aspects of our actions, taking advantage of any carelessness or lack of security. We have experienced this in their successful uprisings and conspiracies, as well as in the others in which they have failed, for which actions they are joined by a constant influx of apostate

rebels from the province of Moqui. In order to control this situation, the troops from the presidios of this kingdom need to be well prepared and supplied, so that just the sight of them will tame and humble these enemies.

For this reason, it would best serve your lordship to inform his excellency the lord viceroy and make him see the exact situation and dire needs, so that in his higher understanding he might order that the presidial soldiers be helped. In that way they will be able to fulfill their primary obligation in his majesty's royal service, for the sake of his excellency and for the advantage, security, and expansion of this entire kingdom. I think that in this manner the enemies' evil intentions can be subdued. This is my opinion, subject to your superior judgment.

Villa of Santa Fe. October 6, 1707.

Don Félix Martínez

OPINION OF FRANCISCO CUERVO Y VALDÉS

Lord Governor and Captain General:

Your lordship has sent me the opinions that the generals and captains have provided in response to the *auto* your lordship issued on the second of this month for the purpose of convening the junta de guerra that was carried out as ordered by your lordship. Having studied them carefully, I find them very much in accord with your lordship's zeal, application, and intent and of great help for this poor kingdom. Thus, I agree with them and promise to express once again to his excellency the lord viceroy of New Spain the importance of this concern, reiterating what I repeatedly suggested was necessary (during the time that I was governor) and without which this kingdom cannot exist or maintain itself. This is my opinion, subject [to your superior judgment].

Villa of Santa Fe. October 8, 1707.

Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés

GOVERNOR SALAZAR TO THE VICEROY

After having dispatched the messenger, Juan de Quintana, by whom I notified your excellency of my arrival in this kingdom and its condition at that time, some soldiers from the presidio of El Paso del Río del Norte arrived in this capital of Santa Fe. They brought letters for their captain, General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, who later showed me the letter from his lieutenant. In it the lieutenant advised him that his jurisdiction was being vigorously attacked and invaded by the common enemies of this kingdom, these being the vast, numerous, and nearby Apache nations. They carried out the attacks in both jurisdictions at the same time, for their boldness led them to ambush the principal frontier of this kingdom, the pueblo of Pecos, where they killed its governor and two other Indians, and left another badly wounded. The troops followed [the Apaches] but were not able to overtake them because of the swiftness and cunning with which they carried out their continuous crimes, turning to raid other very distant frontiers. Thus, although our defense may be carefully considered and well executed, the strategies with which the enemies fight and wage war against us are even more

so. I had all these factors in mind when I convened a junta de guerra, which I am sending to your excellency with the opinions rendered by those in attendance, who are the most worthy and experienced people in the kingdom. From this, your excellency will see the specifics of [the junta's] judgment I am inclined toward. . . . [This document ends abruptly and a new document begins on the microfilm.]

[Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor]

Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Reel 4, Frames 48–61.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

En la villa de Santa Fe, cabecera de este reino y provincias de la Nuevo México, en 3 días del mes de octubre de 1707 años, el almirante don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, caballero del Orden de Santiago, marqués de la Peñuela, gobernador y capitán general de este reino y provincias de Nuevo México, castellano de sus fuerzas y presidios por su majestad.

Habiendo llegado una escuadra de soldados del real presidio de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte y estos haber traído diferentes pliegos para su capitán el general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, que lo es en propiedad, por su majestad, que se halla en dicha villa, y en el de su teniente el maestre de campo Luis Granillo, le avisa: cómo aquella jurisdicción se halla sumamente invadida de las naciones apaches enemigas, que continuamente han estado hurtando las caballadas y ganados, de dicha jurisdicción. Cuyas noticias me ha participado dicho general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío; que éstas con lo que actualmente estoy experimentando, me precisa a mandar, como mando, que para conferir, materia de tanta importancia y que pide el pronto remedio, se forme junta de guerra, a que concurrirán las personas más prácticas de este reino como son el general don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, caballero del mismo orden, gobernador y capitán general que acaba de ser, a quien llevará recado mío el secretario de gobernación y guerra para que su señoría se halle en dicha junta. Y así mismo, citará con este auto: a mi teniente general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, al sargento mayor Juan de Uribarrí y al capitán de este presidio don Félix Martínez para que se hallen este día, a las tres de la tarde, en este palacio en donde se discurrirán los medios que pide la importancia de esta materia.

Y para que conste, así lo proveí, mandé y firmé con el dicho mi secretario de gobernación y guerra.

El marqués de la Peñuela.

Por mandado del señor gobernador y capitán general.

Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos.

Secretario de gobernación y guerra.

PARECER DE JUAN HURTADO

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

En cumplimiento del auto de 2 del corriente proveído por vuestra señoría, en que es servido mandar diga mi sentir sobre los puntos que en él se expresan, digo:

soy de parecer que para refrenar el orgullo, avilantez y osadía con que los innumerables indios infieles de la dilatadísima nación apache, hostilizan todos los pueblos de este reino, continuamente entrando los de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte con muchas muertes, en los españoles e indios cristianos, robándoles los pocos ganados y caballadas con que se mantienen, hallo por conveniente, el que [de] los cien soldados presidiales se forme dos escuadrones de a treinta soldados cada uno, con cabos de satisfacción y experiencia, con igual número de indios amigos cristianos para que se alternen el uno y el otro, para seguir a dichos enemigos apaches y castigarles su audacia cuando venga a ejecutar lo ya referido. Y si acaso vinieren por dos partes a un tiempo, como de ordinario sucede, por divertir las armas, pueden seguirlos cada cabo por su rumbo para que por este medio tenga esta vecindad el alivio en la seguridad de sus ganados, dejando para resguardo de la caballada del presidio los cuarenta restantes para las demás urgencias que cada instante se ofrecen.

Pues además de los continuos enemigos apaches no ha habido año, desde la conquista que ejecutó el marqués de la Nava de Barcinas el año de 1693, que no haya habido moción en los indios de estos pueblos cristianos como lo hubo el presente año en el mes de mayo. Pues le obligó lo vivo de las voces de sublevación al general don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés a asistir en persona a sosegarlo visitando los pueblos, como lo consiguió mediante su gran celo y aplicación y sagacidad en el real servicio. Cundiendo este cáncer no sólo a los pueblos de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte, en donde hubo los mismos rumores que también apaciguó con gran prudencia el general don Antonio Valverde, capitán de aquel real presidio y alcalde mayor de su jurisdicción, sino que, para salir con su [depravado] intento se valieron de todos los indios infieles, apaches de las provincias navajo, faraones y sierra de Gila, correteándoles para que les ayudasen contra los españoles con las cosas de su mayor estimación, que son mantas de algodón bordadas de diferentes colores como se vió por experiencia, viniendo dichos apaches de navajo a llevarse las caballadas como se llevaron al capitán Ignacio de Roybal la suya y otra en el pueblo de Cochití, ambas a españoles.

Y el día 22 del corriente como a la una del día se arrojaron de emboscada en el pueblo de Los Pecos, que es el mayor de este reino, como ciento cincuenta apaches, faraones todos a caballo, y lograron matar a su gobernador y otros dos indios dejando uno muy mal herido. Y saliendo yo, por orden de vuestra señoría, con treinta y seis soldados y ciento treinta caballos en su seguimiento, corrí tres días por su rastro, sin perdonar parte de las noches. Que no pude darles alcance, por haberse despeado y maltratado toda la caballada y llevarme de ventaja dos noches y un día. Con cuanto me fue preciso, después de haberles reconocido tres aguajes, retirarme a este presidio, con la caballada maltratada que dudo pueda servir en todo este invierno, que en esta región es tan riguroso; que aún estando los caballos descansados y gordos, apenas pueden librarse de lo excesivo de sus hielos y nieves, pues hay tiempo que ni pastos que comer hallan por estar cubiertos con la nieve, ni agua que beber por cuajarse los ríos y durar así mucho tiempo. Y no parezca por dejación mía esta realidad.

Heme alarga[do] más de lo que quisiera en esta narración por parecerme ser precisa, y para que vuestra señoría se halle enterado que para tanto trabajo, son precisas y necesarias las asistencias a los militares prontas, y además de esto, adelantarles a dichos presidiales a lo menos el sustento, pues la causa de mandar su

majestad (Dios le guarde) se paguen los sueldos enteros adelantados y no por tercios, como en los demás presidios de la Vizcaya, fue teniendo consideración verdaderamente católica a que este mísero reino es el último de la cristiandad en este nuevo mundo, falto de todo recurso humano. Pues en las demás partes de esta Nueva España (sea la que fuere) hay vecinos que suplen al soldado, y al caballo y al vestuario y al sustento; pero en éste, el soldado suple al vecino lo que en las demás partes el vecino al soldado. Y de faltarles con dichas asistencias se imposibilitarán en el real servicio, vendiendo los caballos para mantenerse y vestir su desnudez. Y si teniendo 450 pesos de sueldo y las municiones, por cuenta de su majestad, no se podían mantener, sin que los señores gobernadores antecesores de vuestra señoría les supliesen cantidades adelantadas a más de su sueldo (cómo lo harán hoy, con dieciocho pesos y seis reales menos de su sueldo) y sin el alivio de las municiones, que su majestad como tan católico de su cuenta les daba a estos el año pasado de 1703. Y no paró aquí la liberalidad de su majestad para con los soldados de este reino, sino que se extendió a darles ración de carne, como a los demás vecinos pobladores, todo el tiempo de la conquista; teniendo presente el excesivo trabajo que padecieron. Vuestra señoría premeditará con su altísima comprensión las asistencias de las armas y que estén prontas en el servicio de su majestad. Este es mi sentir, que sujeto a la sabia corrección de vuestra señoría, quien determinará sobre estos puntos lo que hallare por más conveniente, que será como siempre lo mejor.

Villa de Santa Fe y octubre 4 de 1707.

Juan Páz Hurtado.

PARECER DE ANTONIO VALVERDE Y COSÍO

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

En virtud de lo que tengo informado a vuestra señoría del estado en que hoy se halla la jurisdicción de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte que está de mi cargo, y de lo visto por vuestra señoría en este reino, que uno y otro tuvo vuestra señoría presente para haberse servido proveer auto, citándonos para junta de guerra, para que en ella dijéramos nuestro sentir en orden, y sobre lo que hostiliza el enemigo aquellas y estas fronteras; a lo cual digo, señor, que mi principal sentir es, el que vuestra señoría consulte, al excelentísimo señor virrey de esta Nueva España, el poco avío y corriente con que se hallan las armas de este reino y en especial las de mi cargo. Porque si hasta aquí las he mantenido iguales, como vuestra señoría vio en la muestras que ejecutó al pasar por aquel presidio, ha sido con los cortos créditos que he tenido en la ciudad de México y estos a la fecha de hoy los tengo suspendidos a causa de las cantidades que tengo retenidas en la real caja. Y [si] hacia a esto, que es lo principal, no se da providencia, será imposible aún el mantener la guerra defensiva, de que se seguirán perniciosas consecuencias; pues la experiencia me enseña que en el enemigo común de este reino, que es la dilatada nación de los apaches, en no haciéndoles oposición, se propasan a sus maldades de robos y homicidios; siguiéndose a esto el que los indios domésticos se inquieten en viendo desflaquecidas las armas, solicitando coligaciones con dichos apaches, como se experimentó (además del no más veces) el presente año en el alzamiento

que trataron hacer; a cuyo remedio acudió con puntualidad y vigilancia el general don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general, acaba de ser de este dicho reino, quien podrá ser el único informante a su excelencia de esta materia con la práctica y experiencia de tres años de su gobierno; y dicho convoco y [ilegible] cundió hasta la jurisdicción de El Paso y naciones circunvecinas que por ahora fue Dios servido, se sosegasen.

Pero estoy cierto, que siempre que no se viniere con cuidado y estas armas no estuvieren con toda vigilancia y con el avío necesario, podrá correr algún mal contratiempo, y éste, ejecutado, habrá de ser el reparo a fuerza de mayores gastos a la real hacienda, como se practicó el pasado año de 1696, que además de perder los pocos ganados que tenían los vecinos, costó muchas vidas, con las de cinco religiosos. Y estos recelos existirán más prontos mientras se mantuviere en su profanidad y apostasía la dilatada y numerosa nación de la provincia de Moqui que es donde salen los convocos, inducimientos y confederaciones según lo que ha descubierto nuestro conocimiento. Y es de tanta importancia a este reino el que las armas estén corrientes y aviadas, que hallo más peligro de no ser así, estando las naciones de paz. Porque con esa ocasión entran seguras a tantear y reconocer lo que le está por abrir. Pues me ha sucedido en el tiempo de sus años que ha que están a mi cargo las dichas armas del presidio de El Paso, teniendo dicha nación de apaches en mi amistad, socorriéndolos con lo que he podido con mi corto sueldo como es publico y notorio, siempre que me han visto despachar escuadras a este reino a lo que se ha ofrecido en el real servicio, han ejecutado el invadir dicha jurisdicción. Con que se sigue que, de ver estas armas menos corrientes que lo que se necesita, serán más vivas y continuas sus operaciones. Y este es mi sentir salvo el mejor, a que sujeto mi dictamen.

Villa de Santa Fe y octubre 6 de 1707.

Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío.

PARECER DE JUAN DE URIBARRÍ

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

Sirvióse vuestra señoría de proveer un auto el día 2 del presente de la fecha en que nos cita para formar junta de guerra sobre haber representado a vuestra señoría el general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, capitán en propiedad del real presidio de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte y alcalde mayor de su jurisdicción, el estado en que le avisan se halla hoy invadida del enemigo común, la dilatada nación de los apaches. Cuyas noticias, con lo que vuestra señoría tiene visto y oído en estas fronteras, le obligó a ejecutar ésta tan precisa diligencia, resultando el que cada uno de los que concurrimos a ella dijese su sentir y diese su parecer según el tenor de dicho auto.

En virtud de lo cual, cumpliendo con mi obligación y el mandato de vuestra señoría, digo señor, que siendo tantas, tan numerosas y cercanas las naciones que hostilizan e invaden este reino y sus jurisdicciones, es imposible el que las armas de él tengan ni aún moderadas treguas, según el atrevimiento continuo de los dichos enemigos. Pues ha sucedido (y no pocas veces) acometer por todas partes, [obligan]do a los antecesores de vuestra señoría proveer diecisiete escoltas a di-

ferentes fronteras, y aún así no ha ajustado; téngalo de experiencia como capitán que fui de éste y aquel presidio seis años y en ellos no tuve quince días de descanso. Y esto mismo han experimentado los demás, sucediendo el que a la imitación de los infieles, los domésticos de los pueblos hayan intentado todos los años (menos el antecedente a éste) convocos, inquietudes y sublevaciones, que han logrado algunas, como se vió los años de 1694 y 1696, con muertes de sacerdotes, seglares, sacrilegios y robos y otras. Que habiendo sido declarado su pernicioso intento, se ha reparado como acaba de verse el presente año; que habiéndose tratado de alzar dichos indios domésticos con la alianza de los infieles, fue reparada su alevosía y traidora intención por el católico celo, vigilancia y experiencias del señor general don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, caballero del Orden de Santiago, gobernador y capitán general, que acaba de ser de este dicho reino. Siendo, a lo que hemos sabido, este convoco, de todas las naciones de este reino pues pasó a los naturales de los pueblos de dicha jurisdicción de El Paso, en donde con el igual celo y buena disposición del señor general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío se atajó todo.

Y por ahora queda sosegada esta sedición e inquietud, quedando (como debemos) con los justos temores y recelos de que permaneciendo la causa, no cesen los malos efectos, a que acrece mucho la envejecida apostasía de la pertinaz provincia de Moqui, mar inmundo de donde nacen tan nocivos raudales de ma licia, cuyo supuesto decl[ara lo] muy importante e inexcusable que es el que las armas de ambos presidios anden en continuo movimiento para refrenar el demasiado orgullo de dichos enemigos. Y para esto se necesitan de que estén corrientes y aviadas dichas armas para ejecutar con ellas las operaciones que los tiempos pidieren. Para cuyo efecto podrá vuestra señoría, al excelentísimo señor virrey, representando a su grandeza tan congruentes razones y especiales motivos para que su excelentísimo y católico celo, mande asistir y pagar a estos pobres soldados; así de lo devengado y caído, como de lo adelantado que su majestad (Dios le guarde) les concede. Que así lo esperamos de vuestra señoría a quien sujeto éste mi parecer y al mejor de los expresados.

Villa de Santa Fe y octubre 6 de 1707 años.

Juan de Uribarrí.

PARECER DE FÉLIX MARTÍNEZ

Señor gobernador y capitán general:

Mándame vuestra señoría como quien puede, dé mi parecer en orden a lo que vuestra señoría expresa en su auto de 2 de este presente mes. Que visto y entendido digo señor, que la continuación con que invaden (y aún infestan) este reino los innumerables enemigos de su circunvalación es mucha. Pues aunque vivan con moderado sosiego por sus conveniencias, algunas de las naciones infieles por limitado tiempo gozan las ocasiones de él. Las demás, pues, es practicable las muertes robos e insultos que han ejecutado y ejecutan en todos los tiempos, siguiéndose las malas consecuencias que se experimentan, así en los atrasos que padecen los vecinos de este reino, como del avilantez que toman los indios cristianos sujetos a la administración, doctrina y campaña. Pues estos son los peor[es]

y por ser como ladrones de casa observan y registran los más menudos ápices de nuestras acciones, logrando cualesquiera descuido o menos seguridad, como se tiene de experiencia en las sublevaciones y convocos que han logrado y otros que no han podido conseguir, agregándose para su ejecución el continuo influjo de los rebeldes apóstatas de la provincia de Moqui. Para cuyo reparo necesitan las armas de los presidios de este reino estar corrientes y bien aviadas, para que a su vista dominen y sujeten la cerviz dichos enemigos.

Para lo cual se servirá vuestra señoría, siendo servido, de informar al excelentísimo señor virrey, para que su excelencia vea tan justa representación y radical motivo, para que con su alta comprensión, se sirva mandar sean asistidos los soldados de dichos presidios para que así puedan cumplir con su primera obligación en el real servicio de la majestad y obsequio de su excelencia, comodidad, seguro y extensión de todo este reino. Que de esta forma discurro se podrán sujetar los malos intentos de dichos enemigos. Y este es mi sentir, salvo el mejor.

Villa de Santa Fe y octubre 6 de 1707 años.

Don Félix Martínez.

PARECER DE FRANCISCO CUERVO Y VALDÉS

Señor gobernador y capitán general.

Remíteme vuestra señoría los pareceres que han dado los señores generales y capitanes sobre el auto proveído por vuestra señoría el día 2 de este mes para el efecto de celebrar la junta de guerra que como mandato de vuestra señoría se ejecutó. Y habiéndolos examinado con particularidad, hallo ser muy conformes sus expresiones al celo, aplicación y intento de vuestra señoría y de grande utilidad para todo este pobre reino. Y así me convengo con ellos y prometo representar nuevamente al excelentísimo señor virrey de esta Nueva España la importancia de esta incumbencia, reproduciendo lo que a su excelencia tengo (en el tiempo que lo goberné) repetidas veces insinuando como circunstancia precisa, sin la cual no podrá subsistir ni mantenerse este dicho reino. Y este es mi parecer salvo.

Villa de Santa Fe y octubre 8 de 1707 años.

Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés.

GOBERNADOR SALAZAR AL VIRREY

Excelentísimo señor:

Señor, después de haber despachado el correo Juan de Quintana, con quien di a vuestra excelencia cuenta de mi llegada a este reino y el estado en que quedara por entonces; aportaron a esta capital, villa de Santa Fe, unos soldados del presidio de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte. Y estos trajeron pliegos para su capitán el general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, quien luego me manifestó el de su teniente, en que le avisa hallarse aquella jurisdicción sumamente invadida y hostilizada de los comunes enemigos de este reino que son las dilatadas, numerosas y cercanas naciones de los apaches. A quienes a un mismo tiempo lo han ejecutado en ambas jurisdicciones, pasando su arrojo a dar de emboscada a la principal

frontera de este reino que es el pueblo de Los Pecos; logrando matar a su gobernador y otros dos indios y dejar mal herido a otro. Y habiéndolos seguido las armas, no se consiguió alcanzarlos por la velocidad y astucia con que ejecutan sus continuas maldades, volviendo a hurtar a otras fronteras muy distantes, de forma que aunque los reparos se premediten y ejecuten ligeros, lo son más los ardides con que dichos enemigos nos guerrean y combaten. Uno y otro tuve presente para mandar formar junta de guerra que a vuestra excelencia remito con los pareceres que dieron las personas más beneméritas y prácticas que hay en el reino [y que] a ella concurrieron. Por donde verá vuestra excelencia lo bien especificado de su sentir yo inclinando. . . .

[Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor]

Sentencing of Presidial Criminals, 1710

Following the reconquest, Spanish settlers and officials in New Mexico recognized the need to accommodate local Pueblo residents. As attacks by nomadic Indians against Spanish and Pueblo settlements intensified, Spaniards could no longer afford to continue the oppressive social relations with Pueblo Indians that had typified Spanish-Indian contact before the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Settlers recognized that they needed the Pueblos as allies in a system of mutual defense. In addition, the small farmers and tradesmen who accompanied Vargas to upper New Mexico had little need for Pueblo labor, with the result that labor drafts became less abusive and capricious. The shift in Spanish policy benefited the Pueblo people in many ways. Destruction of Pueblo property decreased; personal abuses declined; land tenure in Pueblo communities became more secure; Pueblo ceremonialism was accepted with greater toleration; and Pueblo military strength increased. A new alliance between Pueblo units and Spanish presidial and militia forces allowed the Pueblos to retaliate against their nomadic Indian attackers.

As part of the new Spanish accommodation of Pueblo communities, discipline of presidial and militia soldiers was reformed. Military officials attempted to protect Pueblo residents from presidial forces and redirect the soldiers' destructive energies toward their mutual enemy, the nomadic raiders. In addition, a more frugal presidial fiscal policy determined that the northern frontier would be made secure through alliances and limited military campaigns rather than through the more expensive tactic of a "war of fire and blood."

The document reproduced here, points out two related shortcomings of viceregal policy toward presidial soldiers in New Mexico. For convicted criminals in New Spain the distinction between a prison term and presidial service was often slight. As is evident in this document, common-born Spaniards who had been convicted of crimes frequently served their sentences as presidial soldiers. Some presidial captains were notorious for their exploitation and mistreatment of soldiers, as was Captain Tuñón y Quirós at the presidio of Corodéguachi in Fronteras, Sonora, where presidial service was equivalent to a sentence of hard labor. One problem encountered by officials imposing the new disciplinary reforms on New Mexico's soldiers was the presence of convicted criminals in the presidial system. The transfer of convict soldiers from one presidio to another tended to lower the quality of the presidial staff and to perpetuate the very abuse of local people, particularly Indians, that officials wished to curb.

A second obstacle to the disciplinary reforms was the inadequacy of presidial funding to cover the legitimate expenses of professional soldiers. Financial shortfalls were partly a result of conflicts over who was responsible for paying military expenses. Throughout New Spain, wealthy individuals had shouldered much of the financial burden for expeditions and conquests and, in return, were rewarded with encomiendas of Indian labor. Funding for the reconquest of New Mexico, for example, was arranged by one man, Diego de Vargas. Among the

goals of the reconquest had been the creation of a profitable, taxpaying colonial society in New Mexico and of avenues for social advancement for the conquistadors themselves. As a result, New Mexican and viceregal officials often contested the responsibility for paying presidial soldiers, leaving the soldiers short of funds, a situation that frequently forced them to sell their equipment or steal from the local population.

As Spanish officials tried to consolidate the borders of New Spain while maintaining a frugal fiscal policy, presidial soldiers found that they occupied the fringes of a Spanish bureaucracy that increasingly did not represent their interests. During the early periods of conquest, soldiers were often able to translate their military service into lucrative positions in frontier society, but by the 1700s, such opportunities had diminished. Like the vagabonds who roamed between the boom towns and commercial centers of the northern frontier, many presidial soldiers had no land, negligible property, and little hope of rising within the military ranks. For these reasons, despite viceregal plans for the reform of frontier presidios, soldiers in New Mexico perpetuated their accustomed violence as an expression of their social indenture.

Santa Fe, 1708

From Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, Duque de Alburquerque, Marqués de Cuéllar, Conde de Ledesma y de Huelma, lord of the villas of Monbeltrán, La Codosera, Canzaita, Mijares, Pedro Bernardo, and the hamlets of Dávila, San Esteban Villarejo and Las Cuevas, commander of Guadalcanal in the Order of Santiago and of Debenfayan in the Order of Alcántara, gentleman of his majesty's chamber and his viceroy and deputy, governor and captain general of New Spain, and president of its Real Audiencia.[1]

Don Antonio Becerra Nieto,[2] captain of the presidio of San Antonio de Janos,[3] sent me the *autos* and criminal case that he instituted by virtue of the mandate I gave him on July 7, 1708. This order was in compliance with the general junta's resolution on the fourth of that month in response to a complaint presented by Francisco Pablo de la Cruz and Juan Nicolás, caciques and prominent men of

1. Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez, Duque de Alburquerque (?–1733), served as viceroy of Mexico from 1702 to 1711, during the difficult period of the War of the Spanish Succession.

2. Antonio Becerra Nieto fought in Indian campaigns in Nueva Vizcaya during the 1690s, and went on campaign with Jironza Petrís de Crusate in New Mexico after 1698. He served as captain general and commander of the presidio of Janos in northwestern Nueva Vizcaya from 1706 until 1734. Becerra's hacienda was located adjacent to the pre-Columbian ruins at Casas Grandes, Nueva Vizcaya.

3. Janos may have been tentatively founded by Franciscan missionaries as early as 1640, and there was certainly a mission community there by the 1680s. This mission was destroyed in the Suma rebellion of 1684. Shortly after the rebellion a fortress was established at Janos, which served as a key strategic post on the northern frontier of New Spain throughout the colonial period.

Santa María de Galisteo Pueblo[4] in the New Mexican provinces. The complaint was lodged against Martín García, *cabo de escuadra* and soldier from the presidio and fort of Santa Fe, the capital of those provinces, and against six other soldiers under his command. Through [the plaintiffs'] evidence and the prosecution by his majesty's lord fiscal, Doctor Don Joseph Antonio de Espinosa Ocampo de Cornejo of the Order of Santiago, Don Martín García, Cristóbal Lucero, and Miguel Durán were found guilty and imprisoned in [the presidio] of El Paso del Río del Norte, entrusted by the comisario to the charge and care of Antonio Valverde y Cosío,[5] the presidial captain. [They were sentenced for] their mistreatment of the Indians in those provinces, in particular the actions of Martín García, who evidently ordered that the Indian Francisco Pablo be tied, hung, and whipped, which was done by the soldier Lorenzo Rodríguez. Furthermore, it is clear that Cristóbal Lucero stabbed the Indian Joseph in the head, causing his death, notwithstanding an attempt during the plenary trial and in the testimony given by the soldiers to attribute his death to indigestion caused by eating deer's blood mixed with flour. It also turned out that Miguel Durán mistreated the natives he supervised in work projects in New Mexico by casting hoes at them, tossing them down from the scaffolds, and doing them a thousand other injuries. The accused committed atrocious crimes according to the prosecution, in that all of their actions were not only in contempt of justice and counter to their consciences, but were also a disservice to both majesties. Everything that Christianity has advanced for divine purposes and that arms have acquired for human purposes is at risk of being lost if an uprising breaks out among those natives and they forsake the faith in response to such transgressions, as has been experienced in the past. Subject to the opinion of the auditor general of war, his majesty's fiscal asked that the criminals be sentenced with the greatest and most severe penalties, and these were lawfully imposed. I would charge the captain of the presidio of El Paso with carrying out their sentences, confining them at the villa of Santa Fe so that the penalties might be carried out there. In that way the natives could see that they have been vindicated, which should serve to console them and quiet whatever alarm they might have suffered.

In accordance with the decree of April 27, 1709, I remitted the aforementioned *autos* to the auditor general of war, Don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas, so that he might give me his opinion. He rendered [his judgment] about everything in a final sentence on May 4, 1709, in compliance with which, on May 13 of the same year, I sentenced Cristóbal Lucero to his majesty's service in the specific post of soldier in the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa,[6] or in whichever presidio I may deem best, for

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4. The village of Santa Cruz Galisteo, south of Santa Fe, was established as a mission in 1612, and was the seat of an alcaldía mayor after the 1660s.

5. Antonio Valverde y Cosío served as a presidial soldier in Santa Fe from 1693 to 1697, and as assistant to Diego de Vargas in 1695. He was captain of the presidio of Santa Fe in 1695, lieutenant governor of New Mexico in 1696, captain of the presidio of El Paso during 1699, alcalde mayor of Santa Fe in 1700, and governor of New Mexico from 1717 to 1722.

6. San Juan de Ulúa was the island fortress in the port of Veracruz.

a term of four years, with the regular salary that is paid to the soldiers of the presidio I designate. [The auditor's judgment] pardoned Martín García, Miguel Durán, Alonso García, and Lorenzo Rodríguez, [stipulating] that they be warned and advised to treat the Indians well and not subject them to the abuse and injustices of which [the defendants] had been accused. The penalty, should they contravene this order, is six years of presidial service that will be irremissibly carried out and the execution of any other penalties they might incur, in accordance with the law. The defendants were notified through their attorneys of the above opinion and final sentence on the twentieth of the month. His majesty's fiscal was also notified, to which he replied with the proper respect and esteem that he was appealing [the sentence], and that in order for him to make [the case] more forcefully and demonstrate the wrong, the *autos* should be turned over to him; in the meantime, he protested that the decision does nothing to check the damage.

These *autos* were sent to his majesty's fiscal, along with the brief that was given to me on December 7, 1709, by Cabo de Escuadra Diego de Beitia, who is a soldier from the villa of Santa Fe and the attorney for Martín García, Cristóbal Lucero, and Miguel Durán. The fiscal, strengthening the petition and restating the grievances, reinstated the accusation. Therefore, the *autos* were returned for my review and that of the new [legal] assessor provided for by the royal laws governing appeals in military cases, who is named by me accordingly. I would propose to revise the aforementioned sentence by condemning Cristóbal Lucero to the normal death penalty, due to his having caused the death of the Indian whom he stabbed. I would also impose the severest penalties on the rest of the prisoners, corresponding to the enormity of their crimes. By the decree dated December 16, 1709, I appointed Don Cristóbal de Villareal, member of his majesty's council and *oidor* in this Real Audiencia, as an advisor to the auditor general of war for this appeal. The *autos* were sent to [the audiencia], so they might give me their opinion in these proceedings for appeal. They did so, sending me the following.

OPINION

Most excellent sir:

We have reviewed the *autos* prepared by Don Antonio Becerra against Cristóbal Lucero, Martín García, Miguel Durán, Alonso García, and Lorenzo Rodríguez, as well as the petition presented by the lord fiscal [in response to] your excellency's decree, which was in accordance with the opinion of the auditor general of war dated May 4, 1709, and we have taken into consideration the indictment issued by order of your excellency against Diego de Beitia, a prisoner in the royal prison of this court. It would be appropriate for your excellency to sentence Martín García to his majesty's service, specifically as a soldier posted to one of the presidios in Nueva Vizcaya for a term of four years. Miguel Durán, under penalty of a presidial [sentence], is to be warned to treat the Indians of that province and jurisdiction well. Regarding everything else in the cited opinion, we are of the judgment that your excellency's decree of May 13, 1709, should be observed,

obeyed, and executed, to conform with the opinion in the manner deemed best by your excellency.

Mexico City, January 23, 1710.

Licenciado Don Francisco de Valenzuela Venegas
Doctor Don Cristóbal de Villareal

In accordance with this opinion, which is a revised sentence resulting from the appeal, I hereby order Captain Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío of the presidio of El Paso del Río del Norte to announce and make the sentence known to Cristóbal Lucero and Martín García. In executing and fulfilling what is ordered in it, [the captain] shall promptly, without the least delay, send Cristóbal Lucero to the royal prison of this court, to be transferred from there to the fortress and royal force of San Juan de Ulúa to serve his majesty, his term of service there to be the stated four years. Martín García [is to be sent] to the settlement of Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi,[7] to Captain Don Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós,[8] who is in charge of the fifty soldiers in Sonora's compañía volante. [García] is specifically to be posted as a soldier in that presidio, with the regular wage that is paid to the others, serving his majesty for the stated four-year period. By official communication on this date, I command Captain Don Antonio de Valverde to execute this order without any excuse, confusion, or delay. In the event [this order] is contravened, there will be a penalty of 500 pesos and whatever else I deem appropriate. In addition, I hereby absolve Miguel Durán, Alonso García, and Lorenzo Rodríguez from prosecution, notifying and warning them to treat the Indians well and not subject them to the ill-treatment and injustices of which they have been accused. Should they violate this order, the penalty of six years of presidial [service] will be irremissibly carried out, and other penalties they might incur will be imposed upon them in accordance with the law. I am to be notified of the receipt and execution of this order, so that it can be recorded in the *autos* and related case.

México. May 23, 1710.

Duke of Alburquerque

By order of his excellency,

Don Joseph de la [illegible] y Morán

Your excellency, in accordance with what has been determined in the opinion of the lord auditor general and his advisor, has ordered the captain of the presidio of El Paso del Río del Norte to send Cristóbal Lucero, a soldier from New Mexico, to

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7. Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi, in the northeast corner of present-day Sonora, was established as the presidio of Fronteras in 1692.

8. Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós was born in Valladolid, Spain, in 1683, and arrived in Sonora at the age of nineteen under the protection of his uncle, General Jacinto de Fuen Sandaña. Tuñón y Quirós was notorious for using his political influence for personal gain. In 1706 he received title to the Jamaica mines, about one hundred kilometers from the presidio of Fronteras near the modern town of Cumpas. During this period he abused his

serve his majesty specifically at the fort of San Juan de Ulúa for a period of four years and [to send] Martín García to the presidio of Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi for the same length of time and in the manner prescribed, and to carry out everything else that is indicated.

In the town of Santa Fe, capital of this kingdom and the provinces of New Mexico, on November 10, 1710, General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, captain in charge of the royal presidio of El Paso del Río de Norte and his majesty's alcalde mayor of that jurisdiction, as well as the viceroy's *juez de comisión*, appeared before me, Admiral Don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, knight of the Order of Santiago, Marqués de la Peñuela, governor and captain general of this kingdom and its provinces and *castellano* of his majesty's forces and presidios, and presented the official communication and order of his excellency the Duke of Alburquerque, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, and president of the Real Audiencia and chancery of Mexico City, so that what has been stated therein can be put into effect. I have seen and read it, and it is for the good. In order to obey and execute this order, [General Valverde y Cosío] will be able to immediately exercise his commission, for which purpose I will give him all the help and support he needs to accomplish his duties. The general should give me an affidavit of this order for the protection of my own position and in order to record and demonstrate my prompt obedience.

Thus, I issue and sign this, as do the secretary of government and war and the general, who is judge *ut supra*.[9]

Marqués de la Peñuela
Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, Judge

Before me,

Juan de Uribarrí
Secretary of Government and War

This testimony agrees with the original order, which remains with the judge, General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío. I, Cristóbal de Góngora,[10] scribe of the council, have made an exact and true copy of [the order] to which I refer, corrected and verified, on four pages of common paper, since there is no sealed paper in this area. Upon the request of the lord admiral Marqués de la Peñuela, governor and captain general of this kingdom of New Mexico, I gave his lordship this affidavit for his legal protection. Don Manuel Ramón Valencia and Don Joseph Giltomey[11] were eyewitnesses to its verification and correction.

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presidial soldiers by forcing them to work in his mines. Hence, Fernández de la Cueva is sentencing Martín García to four years of hard labor.

9. Latin phrase for "as above."

10. Cristóbal de Góngora, a soldier of the presidio at Santa Fe and member of the church choir, left his wife after she was accused of witchcraft.

11. Joseph Manuel Giltomey, who probably arrived as a soldier during the reconquest, was a property owner and church notary in Santa Fe. He died in 1743.

So that it may be duly recorded I have signed this in the town of Santa Fe on November 17, 1710. In testimony to the truth, I have signed and sealed it.

Cristóbal de Góngora,
Scribe of the Court

Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Reel 4, Frames 218–225.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Santa Fe, 1708

Don Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, duque de Alburquerque, marqués de Cuellar, conde de Ledesma y de Huelma, señor de las villas de Monbeltrán, La Codosera, Canzaita, Mijares, Pedro Bernardo, aldea Dávila, San Esteban Villarejo y Las Cuevas, comendador de Guadalcanal, en la Orden de Santiago y Debenfayán, en la de Alcántara, gentil hombre de la cámara de su majestad, su virrey, lugarteniente, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la real audiencia de ella. Vale.

Habiéndome remitido el capitán don Antonio Becerra Nieto que lo es del presidio de San Antonio de Janos, los autos y causa criminal que siguió en virtud de comisión mía que le dí a los 7 de julio del año pasado de 1708 en conformidad de lo resuelto en junta general de 4 de dicho mes, por querella que dieron Francisco Pablo de la Cruz y Juan Nicolás, caciques y principales del pueblo de Santa María de Galisteo de las provincias de Nuevo México; de Martín García, cabo de escuadra y soldado del presidio y castillo de Santa Fe, cabecera de dichas provincias y otros seis soldados que había llevado a su cargo, constando por ellos y por la acusación que les puso el señor fiscal de su majestad, doctor don Joseph Antonio de Espinosa Ocampo de Cornejo, del Orden de Santiago, justificada la culpa contra don Martín García, Cristóbal Lucero y Miguel Durán, que se hallaban presos en el de El Paso del río [Grande] del Norte, dejándolos dicho comisario al cargo y cuidado de Antonio Valverde y Cosío, capitán de él, los malos tratamientos que han hecho a los indios de aquellas provincias y en especial por lo que toca a Martín García, consta haber mandado amarrar éste, colgar y azotar al indio Francisco Pablo, como se hizo por mano del soldado Lorenzo Rodríguez. Y contra Cristóbal Lucero, constante también haber dado las cuchilladas en la cabeza al indio Joseph, de que le previno la muerte, sin embargo de que en el juicio plenario y descargos que dichos soldados dieron, se le quiso atribuir al empacho que causó la sangre de venado revuelta con harina que había comido. Resultando también el maltrato que dicho Miguel Durán hizo a los naturales en las obras que maestreó en Nuevo México, tirándoles con los azadones y de los andamios abajo, y haciéndoles otras mil injurias. En todo lo cual, cometieron los dichos, según la acusación fiscal, excesos atrocísimos no sólo en menosprecio de la justicia, gravedad de sus conciencias, sino en deservicio de ambas majestades, pues, lo que para la Divina tiene adelantado la cristiandad, y lo que para la humana tienen adquirido armas, todo se arriesga a malograrse con una sublevación en que con semejantes delitos pueden prorrumpir aquellos naturales, apostatando de la fe, como se ha experimentado por lo pasado. Pidiendo el señor fiscal de su majestad, que con parecer del señor

auditor general de la guerra, se condenasen en las mayores y más graves penas y por derecho le estaban impuestas; cuya ejecución me sirviese de cometer al capitán del presidio de El Paso, para que reduciéndolos a la villa de Santa Fe tuvieren allí cumplimiento las dichas penas y los naturales vengan en conocimiento de que se efectúa su desagravio y les sirviese de consuelo y quietud para lo que pudiese haberles turbado lo antecedentemente padecido.

Y habiendo remitido dichos autos al señor auditor general de la guerra, don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas, por decreto de 27 de abril del año pasado de 1709, para que me diese su parecer, sobre todo en el que me dió por sentencia definitiva en 4 de mayo de dicho año, con que conforme a los 13 de dicho mes y año, condené al dicho Cristóbal Lucero en que sirviese a su majestad, aclarándole su plaza de soldado en el castillo se San Juan de Ulúa, o en otro de los presidios que me pareciese, por término de cuatro años, con el sueldo ordinario que se pagase a los soldados del presidio que por mí se señalase. Absolviendo a Martín García, Miguel Durán, Alonso García y Lorenzo Rodríguez y que se les apercibiese y notificase, tratasen bien a los indios y no les hiciesen las vejaciones y tropelías de que habían sido acusados, pena de seis años de presidio que se ejecutará irremisiblemente si contravinieren a ello, ejecutando las demás penas en que incurrieren conforme a derecho. El cual dicho parecer y sentencia definitiva se notificó a las partes a los 20 de dicho mes de mayo por sus apoderados. Y hecho notoria al señor fiscal de su majestad, dió por respuesta que hablando con la reverencia y acatamiento que debía, suplicaba de ella y que para hacerlo más en forma y expresar agravio, se le entregasen los autos y en el ínterin protestaba no le parase perjuicio dicha determinación.

Y habiéndosele llevado dichos autos con el memorial que a los 7 de diciembre de dicho año de 1709 me dió el cabo de escuadra, Diego de Beitia, soldado de la villa de Santa Fe y apoderado de los dichos Martín García, Cristóbal Lucero y Miguel Durán, el señor fiscal de su majestad, mejorando el recurso y expresando agravios en la segunda instancia, volvió a reproducir la dicha su acusación para que vueltos a ver por mí los autos, con el nuevo asesor, que para las segundas instancias en las causas de militares prevenían las leyes reales, y que por mí se nombrase conforme a ellas, me sirviese de reformar la dicha sentencia, extendiendo la condenación de dicho Cristóbal Lucero hasta la pena ordinaria de muerte, por la que consta haberle causado al indio, a quien acuchilló, imponiéndoles a los demás reos las más graves penas correspondientes a lo enorme de sus excesos. Y nombrando por acompañado del señor auditor general de la guerra para dicha segunda instancia por decreto de 16 de diciembre de dicho año, al señor don Cristóbal de Villareal del consejo de su majestad y su oidor en esta real audiencia, a quienes se pasasen dichos autos para que me diesen su parecer en grado de revista. Lo hicieron dándome el siguiente.

PARECER

Excelentísimo señor:

Habiendo vuelto a ver los autos hechos por don Antonio Becerra, contra Cristóbal Lucero, Martín García, Miguel Durán, Alonso García y Lorenzo Rodríguez

y la suplicación interpuesta por el señor fiscal del decreto de vuestra excelencia en que se conformó con el parecer de dicho señor auditor general de 4 de mayo de 1709, teniendo presente a su vista la sumaria hecha de mandato de vuestra excelencia contra Diego de Beitia, preso en la real cárcel de esta corte, podrá vuestra excelencia siendo servido, condenar a Martín García a que sirva a su majestad, aclarándole su plaza de soldado en uno de los presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya, tiempo de cuatro años. Y que se le aperciba a Miguel Durán, pena de un presidio, trate bien a los naturales de aquella provincia y jurisdicción. Y en todo lo demás de dicho parecer citado, somos de sentir se guarde, cumpla y ejecute el decreto de vuestra excelencia de 13 de mayo de 1709, en que se conformó con dicho parecer de lo que fuere del agrado de vuestra excelencia que será como siempre lo mejor.

México y enero 23 de 1710.

Licenciado don Francisco de Valenzuela Venegas.
Doctor don Cristóbal de Villareal.

Y conformándome con dicho parecer, sentencia en grado de revista en la segunda instancia, por el presente mando al capitán don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, que lo es del presidio de El Paso del río del Norte, haga notificar y notifique dicha sentencia a los dichos Cristóbal Lucero y Martín García. Y en su ejecución y cumplimiento de lo mandado en ella, remitirá luego y sin la menor dilación al dicho Cristóbal Lucero a la real cárcel de esta corte para que desde ella se pase al castillo y real fuerza de San Juan de Ulúa, para que sirva a su majestad, aclarándole su plaza en él, por el tiempo de dichos cuatro años. Y al dicho Martín García a la población de Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi al capitán don Gregorio Alvarez Tuñón y Quirós, que lo es de los cincuenta soldados de la compañía volante de Sonora, para que aclarándole su plaza de soldado en dicho presidio, con la paga y sueldo ordinario que a los demás, sirva a su majestad el tiempo de dichos cuatro años, que para ello por despacho de la fecha de éste se lo ordeno y mando, lo cual ejecute dicho capitán don Antonio de Valverde sin poner en ello excusa, embarazo ni impedimento alguno, pena de quinientos pesos y los demás de mi arbitrio, en caso de contravención. Y absolviendo, como absuelvo a los dichos Miguel Durán, Alonso García y Lorenzo Rodríguez de la instancia, les aperciba y notifique traten bien a los indios y no les hagan las vejaciones y tropelías de que han sido acusados, pena de seis años de presidio que se ejecutará irremisiblemente si contravinieren a esta orden. Y se les impondrán las demás penas en que incurrieren conforme a derecho; avisándome del recibo de este despacho y su ejecución para que conste en los autos y causa referida.

México y mayo 23 de 1710 años.

El duque de Alburquerque.

Por mandado de su excelencia:

Don Joseph de la [ilegible] y Morán.

Vuestra excelencia, en conformidad de lo determinado con parecer del señor auditor general y su acompañado, manda al capitán del presidio de El Paso del río

del Norte, remita a Cristóbal Lucero, soldado de la Nuevo México, para que sirva a su majestad, aclarándole su plaza en el castillo de San Juan de Ulúa por tiempo de cuatro años y a Martín García al presidio de Santa Rosa de Corodéguachi por el mismo tiempo y en la forma que se expresa, ejecutando lo demás que se refiere.

En la villa de Santa Fe, cabecera de este reino y provincias de la Nuevo México en 10 días del mes de noviembre de 1710 años, ante mí, el almirante don Joseph Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, caballero del Orden de Santiago, marqués de la Peñuela, gobernador y capitán general de este dicho reino, sus provincias y castellano de sus fuerzas y presidios por su majestad, presentó este despacho y mandamiento del excelentísimo señor duque de Alburquerque, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la real audiencia y cancillería de la ciudad de México, el general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, capitán en propiedad del real presidio de El Paso del río del Norte y alcalde mayor de su jurisdicción por su majestad y juez de comisión por dicho señor excelentísimo virrey, para los efectos que en dicho mandamiento y despacho se expresa, que visto, leído, lo es por bien, y en su cumplimiento y obedecimiento podrá desde luego usar de su comisión para lo cual lo daré todo el amparo y auxilio que necesitare y para logro y bien de sus diligencias. Sirviéndose dicho general de darme testimonio de dicho despacho para resguardo de mi empleo y para que conste y se manifieste lo puntual de mi obedecimiento.

Así lo proveí y firmé como secretario de gobernación y guerra y el dicho general juez ut supra.

El marqués de la Peñuela.
Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, Juez.

Ante mí,

Juan de Uribarrí
Secretario de gobernación y guerra.

Concuerda este testimonio con el despacho original, que para en el del general don Antonio Valverde Cosío, juez; de donde yo, Cristóbal Góngora, escribano de cabildo, saqué a la letra cierto y verdadero a que me refiero, corregido y concertado, en cuatro fojas de papel común, porque el sellado no corre en estas partes. Y de pedimento del señor almirante, marqués de la Peñuela, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de Nuevo México, entregué a su señoría este testimonio para en guarda de su derecho. Y fueron testigos a lo ver, corregir y concertar, don Manuel Ramón Valencia y don Joseph Giltomey.

Y para que conste lo firmé en esta villa de Santa Fe en 17 de noviembre de 1710. En testimonio de verdad lo firmé y rubriqué.

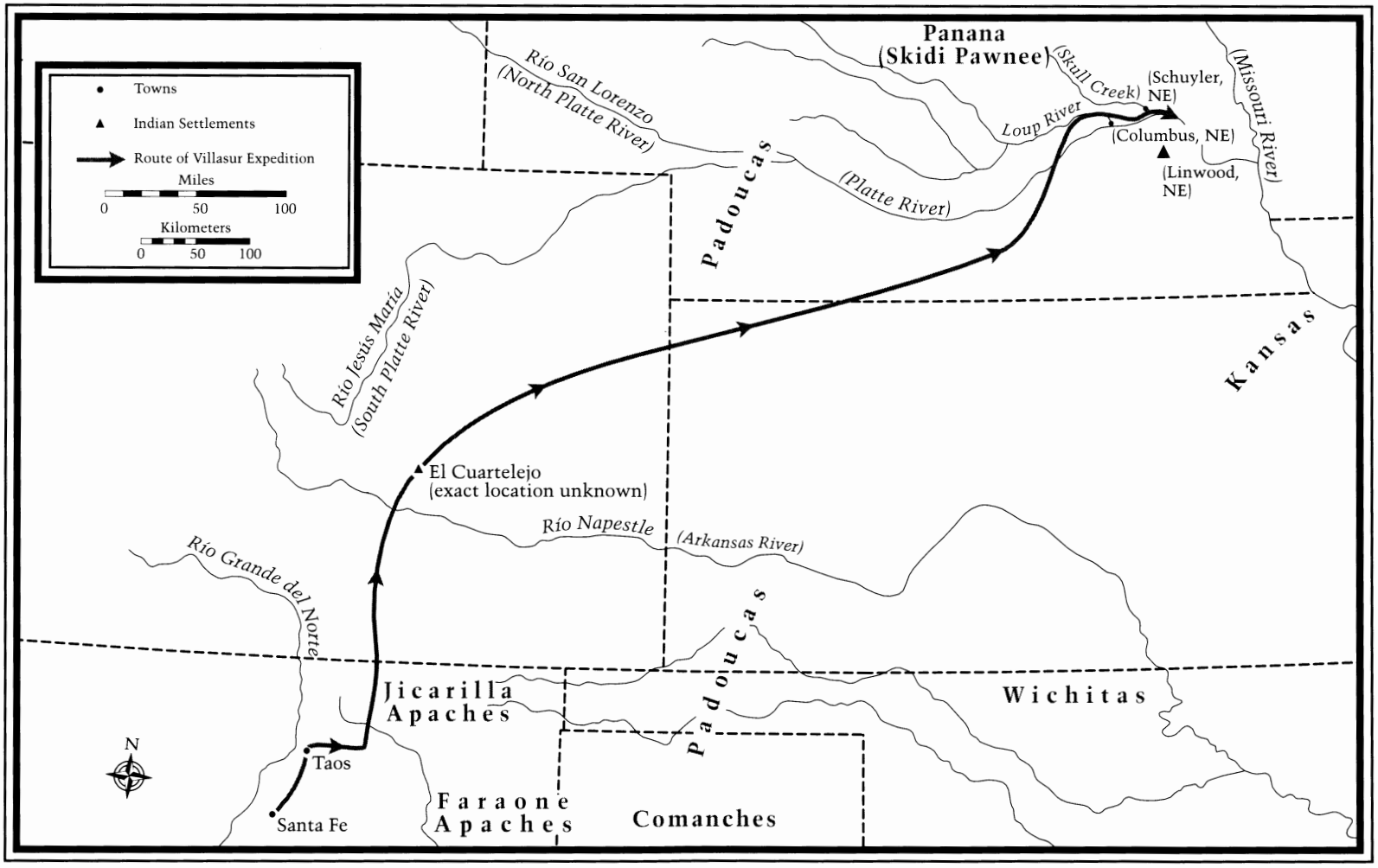
Cristóbal de Góngora
Escribano de cabildo.

Judgment on the Villasur Campaign, 1727

In the years after La Salle's 1686 landing on the coast of Texas, fear of French intrusion into areas adjacent to Spanish territory placed the remote province of New Mexico at the center of a complicated tangle of European and Native American international relations. By 1700, New Mexican officials were aware that the French had entered into an alliance with the Pawnee nation and that French emissaries and traders were visiting their new allies. The Spanish government attempted to create effective buffers against French expansion, a policy that led to a series of expeditions into the region northeast of New Mexico, along with renewed attempts to secure Texas. In 1702, during the first of the expeditions from New Mexico, Indian auxiliaries killed a Frenchman traveling with the Jumanos. Two subsequent expeditions, led by Governor Juan de Ulibarrí in 1706 and by Governor Juan Páez Hurtado in 1715, failed to uncover more specific information, and in 1718, Viceroy Valero ordered a further reconnaissance of the French position. In southern Colorado the following year Governor Antonio Valverde y Cosío learned that French allied with Pawnees had jointly attacked Apache settlements northeast of Taos, clearly establishing French penetration of Spanish territory.

During the summer of 1720, Governor Valverde ordered his lieutenant, Pedro de Villasur, to reconnoiter the French position again. On June 14, Villasur left the Santa Fe presidio with forty-two soldiers, veterans of previous expeditions led by Ulibarrí, Páez Hurtado, and Valverde himself. Accompanying the troops were the chief of scouts Naranjo, sixty Pueblo Indian auxiliaries, Carlana and Jicarilla Apache guides, a priest, three settlers, a Pawnee captive, and the French-speaking interpreter Jean L'Archevêque. The party traveled northeast from Santa Fe, crossed the Río Napestle (Arkansas River) on rafts, rested at El Cuartelejo, a location frequently suggested as a site for a new presidio, and reached the Río Jesús María (the South Platte) on August 6, after a march of five weeks. Having traveled three hundred leagues (approximately 1,200 kilometers) without encountering the French, Villasur decided to attempt direct contact with the Pawnee to ascertain whether French were present in their settlements. The following day, the Spaniards crossed the Río San Lorenzo (the North Platte). From their camp on that river, Villasur sent the Pawnee captive, a servant of Captain Cristóbal de la Serna, to visit a large Pawnee village that the Spaniards had discovered. On August 10, the Spanish force moved upstream to camp opposite the "very large settlement" of Pawnees located on an island in the river. The site of this village was close to the point where Skull Creek flows into the Platte from the southwest, near the present town of Schuyler, Nebraska.

The attempted negotiations failed after two days, and the Pawnees refused to allow the Spaniards' messenger, the captive Pawnee servant, to return. Although Villasur wanted to cross the river to enter the village, his officers prevailed against him in a council of war, and the expedition pulled back across the North Platte to camp on its southern bank. On August 12, the expedition moved fifty



The route followed by the Villasur expedition

A detail from the Segesser II hide painting (painted ca. 1720–1729) depicting the Villasur Expedition's battle of August 13, 1720, on the Platte and Loup Rivers in eastern Nebraska. (Courtesy of the Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, New Mexico)

kilometers up the Platte toward its junction with the Loup and camped on the south bank, probably west of the present town of Columbus, Nebraska. Although sounds of an enemy scouting foray were heard during the night, Villasur did not increase the guard or make any additional provisions for protection of the horse herd. Shortly after dawn on August 13, while the Spaniards were busy breaking

camp and catching their horses, a band of Pawnees made a furious attack. Engulfed in a cloud of smoke and dust, the Indians rode in a circle around the unprepared Spaniards, most of whom were still unmounted. When the Spaniards were finally able to survey the battlefield, their dead included Villasur, the chaplain, five corporals, nineteen soldiers, the interpreter, the chief of scouts Naranjo, Captain de la Serna and four of his servants, with many others wounded. Severe losses were inflicted on the Pawnees as well, depleting the number of warriors to the extent that they were unable to pursue the retreating Spaniards and auxiliaries. News of the disaster did not reach Santa Fe until September 6. Governor Valverde promptly sent Felipe Tamariz, one of the surviving eyewitnesses, to Mexico to inform the viceroy.

After the defeat, a series of investigations was undertaken to determine responsibility and appropriate punishment for the disaster, and to make provisions for the future safety of the New Mexican colony. In 1720, Auditor of War Don Juan Oliván Rebolledo, the first of the series of investigators, made several recommendations to Viceroy Valero. First, he recommended that the Spanish king be informed that the French had violated the truce established by the Treaty of the Hague in February 1720, only six months prior to the attack. Second, he urged that the forty-five soldiers lost in this and other battles be replaced by experienced troops. Finally, he urged the establishment of new presidios in La Jicarilla, the area northeast of Santa Fe. Two years later none of Oliván Rebolledo's recommendations had been acted on. In 1722, Visitador Antonio Cobián Busto was appointed to further investigate the causes of Villasur's defeat; however he resigned from the office before he could reach any conclusions. His successor, Visitador Don Pedro de Rivera, began his official frontier inspection tour in 1724, but did not reach Santa Fe until June 1726, at which time he resumed the investigation of Governor Valverde's responsibility for the Villasur debacle.

In July Rivera received testimony from the living eyewitnesses, Alonso Rael de Aguilar and Felipe Tamariz, along with Valverde's own explanation of his actions. The fiscal, Licenciado Miguel Palacios, whose November 1726 opinion is included in the following documents, would have absolved Valverde. Auditor for War Juan de Oliván Rebolledo disagreed, however. The analysis he submitted on May 29, 1727, which also appears in the following documents, made a strong case for Villasur's incompetence and hence held the governor responsible for having sent out an inexperienced subaltern. Oliván Rebolledo's opinion prevailed, and Valverde permanently lost his position as governor and was made to pay a fine of 200 pesos. The defeat, which constituted the first major loss of manpower in the thinly populated area since the reconquest, severely shook confidence in the administrators of New Mexico. It also helped to determine that the northeastern frontier of New Spain would not be extended beyond the borders of the New Mexican colony.[1]

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1. Detailed information on the Villasur expedition can be found in Gottfried Holtz's *The Segesser Hide Paintings*, which describes the events of the campaign as painted by Native Americans who participated in the attack. The history of French expansion and its effects are presented in Elizabeth A. H. John's *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*.

I, Don Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte,[2] knight of the Order of Santiago, knight commander of Adelfa in the [Order] of Alcántara, [member] of his majesty's supreme war council, captain general of military camps, acting viceroy, governor and captain general of New Spain, and president of the Real Audiencia, [state the following]: Brigadier Pedro de Rivera,[3] visitador of the internal presidios of this country, in keeping with my orders, made a record of the testimonies taken in the town of Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, while conducting his inspection. This record continued the [testimonies] left in summary form by Don Antonio Cobían Busto[4] when he conducted inspections in that realm, which were turned over to the brigadier for the completion of various details. Traveling to the town of Santa Fe before beginning his inspection, the brigadier attempted to determine the reason why General Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío,[5] governor of that kingdom, had failed to go in person, with the necessary troops, to scout the Jesús María River[6] and investigate the settlement of Panana Indians[7] there, who were allied with the French. [The general] had promised the most excellent Marqués de Valero[8] that he would do so, and the marqués had sent him a communiqué for that purpose on September 26, 1720, with an insertion from the council of war convened for the matter, whereby they provided him with the appropriate orders for the action. Because this expedition was entrusted

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2. Don Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte (1658–1734), served as viceroy of New Spain from 1722 until his death in 1734. Famous for his economic reforms, Casafuerte commissioned Brigadier Pedro de Rivera to inspect the internal provinces.

3. Visitador Rivera arrived in Santa Fe on June 4, 1726, and remained in the area for eighty days. Having received special instructions from the viceroy to investigate Villasur's defeat, Rivera spent the month of July receiving the testimony of the living eyewitnesses.

4. Visitador Don Antonio Cobían Busto was charged by Viceroy Valero with making an investigation into the causes of Villasur's defeat. Cobían Busto began his investigation in New Mexico on October 22, 1722, but gave up his office shortly thereafter. The investigation was suspended until Rivera arrived in 1726.

5. Antonio Valverde y Cosío served as governor of New Mexico from 1717 to 1722. A native of Castile, the unmarried Valverde was a professional soldier. He was tried and partially acquitted of charges relating to Villasur's defeat; however, the event led to his dismissal as governor.

6. The South Platte River.

7. Panana is the Spanish term for the Pawnee, whose language belongs to the Caddoan linguistic family. When the Spaniards first encountered them in 1720, the Skidi band of the Pawnee was living in the area that became eastern Nebraska and Kansas. Although their culture was originally based on intensive agriculture, members of this band had become active buffalo hunters on foot and increasingly adopted the horse for hunting. The Spaniards assumed that the Indians Villasur encountered were Pawnee; however, in 1750 a French deserter testified in Santa Fe that the attackers were Kansa Indians.

8. Baltazar de Zúñiga Guzmán Sotomayor y Mendoza, Marqués de Valero and Duque de Arión (1658–1727), served as viceroy of Mexico from 1716 to 1722. During his term in office, Texas was secured for Spain, Nayarit was incorporated into New Spain, and peace was established with the cacique of Florida. In 1722, he became president of the Council of the Indies.

to his lieutenant general, Don Pedro de Villasur,[9] a man with little experience in warfare, a number of that presidio's veteran soldiers who were detached for the expedition were killed. In order to ascertain the truth and determine responsibility for this negligence, the brigadier summoned Don Antonio Valverde to appear before him. After receiving information from a number of witnesses, Brigadier Rivera took Valverde's statement, in which [the general] presented the factors that had prevented him [from accompanying the expedition] and affirmed his confidence in his lieutenant, Don Pedro Villasur. Valverde responded to each of the questions individually. [The hearing] was concluded by July 5, 1726, and the case was opened for presentation of evidence for a limited period. Two charges were leveled against Don Antonio: first, that he had not personally taken part in the expedition, as he had promised and had been ordered to do; and second, that he had entrusted the expedition to his lieutenant, who was inexperienced in military actions and in the use of weapons, as was demonstrated by the lamentable outcome of so many deaths that would not have occurred if military procedure had been followed.

Don Antonio provided evidence from nine witnesses who made their depositions before the brigadier. They testified on his behalf pursuant to the cross-examination that he arranged, as was his right. In consideration of everything, the brigadier issued an *auto* on July 10, 1726, in which he declared the hearing to be concluded and awaiting judgment. He sent the case with his opinion to my higher ministry for a verdict on the twenty-fourth of the same month. Once his majesty's fiscal had seen it, he responded as follows.

REPLY OF THE FISCAL

Most excellent sir:

With regard to these *autos* created by Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, visitador of the realm's royal presidios, relating to the investigation of Don Antonio Valverde's motives for having entrusted his lieutenant general with the reconnaissance of the Jesús María River and the settlement of the Panana Indians, allies of the French, instead of having conducted the expedition in person as he had been ordered to do by his excellency the Marqués de Valero, which resulted in the deaths of many soldiers, his majesty's fiscal states [the following]: From the summary issued by the brigadier it is evident that on June 14, 1720, Don Antonio Valverde sent a detachment of fifty soldiers from the presidio of Santa Fe, under the command of Don Pedro de Villasur, to carry out the inspection in question. After sixty-three days they arrived [at the Jesús María River], where they were set upon by the Indians at a different hour than that when [Indians] usually make their attacks. At that time his excellency's dispatch had not yet been sent out, for its date—as stated in these *autos*—was September 20 of the same year, which was very close to the date of the battle, that being sixty-three days after the [de-

9. Pedro de Villasur was born in Castile, Spain. Before coming to Santa Fe, he was stationed as sublieutenant at El Paso and was captain of war in Nueva Vizcaya.

tachment's] departure from the town [of Santa Fe]. Considering this, the dispatch could not have been delivered into the hands of Don Antonio in time, and even if it had arrived, [the dispatch] did not provide that he should conduct the reconnaissance personally. His decision to select his lieutenant general for [the expedition], as explained in his account, is therefore acceptable. Likewise, it may be perceived from the sequence of the trial that the deaths of the soldiers were occasioned not by the negligence or inexperience of [the lieutenant general], but by that of the subaltern in having failed to inform him of the sentinel's warning. Nor can [the lieutenant general be accused] of ignorance in the use of weapons, since he had been trained for some time in various military practices. Therefore, the fiscal finds no basis for an accusation against Don Antonio, for which reason your excellency would best be served by absolving him of the charges made against him by the said visitador. Your excellency will decide what you deem most consistent with justice, the fulfillment of which the fiscal requests.

Mexico City, November 23, 1726.

Licenciado Miguel Palacios

CONTINUATION

By decree issued on the twenty-seventh of that same month, I ordered that the *autos* be delivered to the auditor general of war, who requested that the previous *autos* be delivered so he could make a decision based on a more thorough understanding of the matter. After they were delivered, he asked that an exact copy of the penultimate chapter of his opinion dated May 19, 1723, be included in the case. In this [section] it was stipulated that Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera should investigate Don Antonio Valverde's motive for not having gone in person to the Jesús María River, along with other matters. After the material from that paragraph was added and the documents were returned to the auditor, he issued the following judgment consistent with his understanding [of the case].

OPINION OF THE AUDITOR

Most excellent sir,

Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío, governor of New Mexico, reported that during the campaign he had undertaken[10] he found a man with a gunshot wound who

10. This is a reference to Valverde's 1719 expedition against the Utes and Comanches. The expedition left Santa Fe on September 15, 1719, and proceeded in a northeasterly direction until it reached the site of El Cuartelejo and the Arkansas River (Río Napestle) in eastern Colorado. On October 22, Governor Valverde interrogated an Apache chief who had a gunshot wound in his abdomen. The Apache claimed that the French, Pawnee, and Jumanos, armed with muskets and pistols, had attacked members of his band while they were planting corn in their settlement. He informed the governor that the attackers had seized the "Paloma" rancherías on the South Platte River, and that the French had built two large

claimed that it had been inflicted by either the Pananas or the French. [The governor] or his lieutenant general [intended] to reconnoiter the location of the Pananas or the French during the campaign of the subsequent year. In view of this, with the approval of the junta de guerra and suspecting that the French had declared war, it was decided to do as the governor proposed. The order was issued in the belief that his lieutenant would be experienced enough to stand in for [the governor] and discharge his obligation. The governor could not go, so he sent his lieutenant with the soldiers from that presidio and Indian allies.

When he arrived within sight of the Panana settlement where the French were living, [Don Pedro Villasur] sent a Catholic Panana[11] to inform the people of his nation that [the expedition] came in peace. This Indian stayed with his people, and they sent some Indians with a reply that was not understood, although their reserve and malice was perceived. The lieutenant decided to cross the river that separated his camp from the settlement. While looking for a ford, he discovered that the Pananas had captured one or two of our [Indian allies] at the river. With that, he held a junta de guerra in which it was decided to retreat to another river one day's journey away from the first.[12] Once they had crossed the river, they set up camp and assigned guard duty on the river to the Indian allies. After dark, the sentinels heard the sound of swimmers in the river and gave warning to the squad guarding the horses to be on the alert. Later, they heard a dog bark, but they paid no attention to it. At dawn, the soldiers of the squad drove the horse herd into camp, and while they were all changing horses at the same time, the Pananas and the French attacked, having hidden and waited to ambush at the [Spaniards'] least carelessness. They attacked with guns, spears, and arrows, and at the sound of gunshots the horses stampeded but were recovered by the squad detailed to guard them. This squad was able to repulse the enemy three times and to recover three wounded men from among the dead in our camp, which numbered slightly more than forty. With these wounded men and the Indian allies they retreated and saved themselves, according to the testimony of six witnesses and of the three [wounded] soldiers who, as eyewitnesses of this sad tragedy, made their depositions in the summary.

Certainly, although Don Antonio might have had the just cause that he alleged for not having gone on this expedition as he promised, he did not have one for entrusting the expedition to his lieutenant, who was very inexperienced, as the sequence of events has demonstrated. [First,] if the lieutenant had been expe-

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pueblos in the area, where they lived with the Pawnee and Jumanos. The French supplied these pueblos from three other settlements east of the Mississippi River. As a result of this occupation of their former lands, the Apaches had retreated to the Arkansas River.

11. This envoy was François Sistaca, a Panana servant of Don Cristóbal de la Serna (or Christophe de la Serne), a settler who had volunteered to accompany the expedition. Although Sistaca had lived away from his people for many years, he still spoke the language and remembered that a Pawnee village was located on the south side of the Platte River, approximately thirty-two kilometers east of the junction of the two forks.

12. Villasur's force originally camped on the banks of the Río San Lorenzo (North Platte River). Perceiving the danger of their proximity to the Pawnee, however, they retreated to the Río Jesús María (the South Platte).

rienced, he would not have chosen, as he did, to cross the river so close to the Pananas as to enter their settlement with his troops, since to do so without previously having made an agreement securing their friendship was to sacrifice his security—especially when the suspicious nature of the Pananas was known, as they had earlier detained the envoy sent by the Spaniards and had sent Indian messengers who were of a recognizably reserved and malicious disposition to the Spanish camp.

Second, his lack of experience is indicated by his having sent an envoy to ask the Pananas what other peoples lived among them without previously securing their cooperation. Since there were Frenchmen among them, and the [French] nation was at war with ours,[13] it was inevitable that their only response to the question would be with arms.

Third, the Pananas' attitude became more evident when they captured our allies at the river. This led to the war council's decision to retreat to the other river, at which point [the lieutenant] should have placed the most vigilant Spaniards on guard duty to watch the river, rather than relying on our Indian allies. Exhausted from the day's march and naturally negligent, it was very likely—and necessary—that they would go to sleep, which is what occurred.

Fourth, once he was in enemy territory, he should have stationed Spanish pickets to observe the movements of the enemy, who had already declared themselves as such by their actions.

Fifth, as soon as the sound of swimmers in the river was heard through the silence of the night and it was suspected that they were the enemy, he should have increased vigilance and posted sentinels throughout the camp to give warning.

Sixth, once the barking dog had warned the [Spaniards] of the enemy, its masters, [the lieutenant] should have roused the men from their unguarded sleep and kept the squad that was protecting the horses together, bringing them nearer instead of commanding them to retreat, as he did.

Seventh, given that this detachment alone was enough to repel the enemy three times, as the soldiers who were eyewitnesses to the action testified, had the entire camp been strongly unified it would have put the [enemy] to flight. Instead, because of this lieutenant's carelessness, occasioned by a lack of training and military discipline, he, the soldiers under his command, and many of the Indian allies were unnecessarily killed, surprised by the gunfire, arrows, and spears. There is no evidence that their lives were sold at a cost to the enemy; rather, the enemies were left with a victory so cheap that one could more easily believe it a triumph of their cunning than of their arms.

The circumstances of this incident illustrate the lieutenant's lack of experience and refute the assumptions [that might be drawn] from [his military] record, which provides evidence of the posts he has had, but not of his accomplishments. His record attests to his honors, which are usually given "*ad honorem*," but not to his actual military experiences. His titles, which are presented to recommend him, do not demonstrate [his experiences], nor do they exonerate [Governor Val-

13. The Treaty of the Hague, signed in February 1720, had technically ended war between France and Spain. Since the two nations were not at war at the time, an attack by French nationals on Spanish troops constituted a violation of the truce.

verde], who selected him, of the resultant obligation to pay all the damages and interest caused by his lieutenant's poor conduct. According to the law, someone as suitable, virtuous, prudent, and experienced as the governor himself should have been selected, and his failure to [select such a person] has resulted in his being subjected to the [following] settlement. It conforms with laws laudably exercised in the chancery of Valladolid, which pronounced judgment against the worldly goods of a bishop's curate for not having carried out a commission of force. Because the curate had no goods, the bishop himself was fined for having appointed him. Similarly, the chancery of Granada fined the Duke of Béjar for having chosen an ecclesiastical judge who likewise did not execute another commission of force, as testified to by Señor Amaya as eyewitness. Although Señor Amaya weighed these rulings at length, and Señor Solórzano has solemnly accused the general whose fleet was captured by the Dutch as a result of carelessness similar to that considered here, the fiscal has not indicted this governor for having selected his lieutenant for this expedition, because he did not consider the evidence of carelessness sufficient to argue for [prosecution] and to demand payment for the damages caused.

Your excellency will please absolve Governor Don Antonio Valverde from the prosecution of this judgment and [instead] sentence him to pay 50 pesos in alms for masses [to be said] for the souls of the soldiers killed in this campaign, plus another 150 pesos to help with the purchase of chalices and ornaments for the missions of La Junta de los Ríos,[14] to be applied as a contribution to the missionary fathers. [The latter payment] is also to be applied on behalf of the souls of these dead men and should be delivered to Reverend Father Varo, their president, who will send a receipt for it. An appropriate dispatch is to be issued for the above, or whatever your excellency deems best.

México, May 29, 1727.

Don Juan de Oliván y Rebolledo[15]

CONTINUATION

I complied with this judgment in a decree dated the eighteenth of this month. Accordingly, and keeping in mind the principles assumed by the fiscal and the auditor general, I hereby absolve the said Governor Don Antonio Valverde y Cosío

14. Between 1714 and 1716, friars from the custodia of Nuevo México returned to La Junta de los Ríos, after an absence of twenty-six years. They established a group of five missions near the confluence of the Río Conchos and the Río Grande del Norte. One of the missions was located on the site of present Ojinaga, Chihuahua. The others were north and southeast of San Francisco, with one on the left bank of the Río Grande in present Texas and the others on the right bank of the river in Mexico.

15. Juan Manuel de Oliván Rebolledo (1676–1734), economist, priest, and lawyer, served as oidor of Guadalajara, governor and captain general of Texas, and auditor of the viceroy in Mexico. In his writings, he proposed the liberalization and modernization of the colonial economy.

from prosecution in this case. However, I order him to produce 200 pesos, 50 of which are for alms for masses to be said for the souls of the soldiers who perished in the said military engagement. The remaining 150 pesos are to help with the purchase of chalices and ornaments for the missions of La Junta de los Ríos.

Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, Reel 6, Frames 482–499

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Don Juan de Acuña, marqués de Casafuerte, caballero del Orden de Santiago; comendador de Adelfa, en la de Alcántara, del consejo de su majestad en el supremo de guerra; capitán general de los reales, ejecutor virrey, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la real audiencia de ella [ilegible].

Por cuanto el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera, visitador de los presidios internos de tierra adentro, en virtud de mis órdenes, estando entendiendo en su visita, formó un cuaderno de *autos* en la villa de Santa Fe, capital de la Nuevo México, siguiendo los que en sumaria había dejado don Antonio Cobián Busto, cuando entendió en visitas aquel reino; cuyos cuadernos se entregaron a dicho brigadier para la conclusión de varios puntos. Y habiendo pasado a dicha villa de Santa Fe, antes de dar principio a su visita, trató de pesquisar el motivo que había tenido el general don Antonio Valverde y Cosío siendo gobernador de aquel reino, para no haber ido en persona, con el destacamento necesario, al reconocimiento del Río Jesús María, población de los indios de la nación panana, confederados con los franceses, como había prometido hacerlo al excelentísimo señor marqués de Valero, para cuya empresa le expidió despacho en 26 de septiembre del año pasado de 1720, con inserción de la junta de guerra, formada al asunto, en que se le prevenían órdenes convenientes para su logro; y que por haber fiado esta expedición a don Pedro de Villasur, su teniente general, hombre poco experto en la milicia, acaecieron las muertes de varios soldados veteranos de aquel presidio, que fueron en destacamento a la facción. Y para averiguar la verdad y justificar la culpa de esta omisión, hizo comparecer ante sí, el expresado brigadier, a dicho don Antonio Valverde, y recibida información con varios testigos, le tomó su confesión, en la que hizo presentes los motivos que le habían impedido la salida: la confianza que tenía de dicho don Pedro de Villasur, su teniente, explicando con individualidad, sobre cada una de las preguntas y repreguntas. Y conclusa, por antes de 5 de julio de 1726, se recibió la causa a prueba con cierto término, y se dedujeron dos cargos contra dicho don Antonio: el uno, no haber pasado a dicha expedición personalmente, como ofreció, y se le ordenó; y el otro, el que había fiádola de su teniente, siendo inexperto en actos de milicia y manejo de armas, como se experimentó en el lamentable suceso de tantas muertes, que no hubieran sucedido, si en orden de milicia hubieran procedido.

Dada prueba por don Antonio, con nueve testigos que depusieron ante dicho brigadier, al tenor del interrogatorio formado, se alegó por él lo que a su derecho convino. En vista de todo, se proveyó auto por el brigadier, a los 10 de julio del citado año de 1726, en que declaró la causa por conclusa, y en estado de senten-

cia; en el que la remitió a mi superior gobierno, con su consulta de 24 del mismo mes. Y dada vista al señor fiscal de su majestad, me dió esta respuesta.

RESPUESTA DEL FISCAL

Excelentísimo señor:

El fiscal de su majestad, en vista de estos *autos* hechos por el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera, visitador de los reales presidios del reino, sobre la averiguación del motivo que tuvo don Antonio Valverde, para confiar la expedición, y reconocimiento del Río Jesús María, y población de los indios Pananas, confederados con los franceses, a su teniente general, y no haber ido a ella personalmente como se le ordenó por el excelentísimo señor marqués de Valero, de donde se ocasionaron las muertes de muchos soldados = Dice, que de la sumaria culminada por el expresado brigadier, está constante, que el día 14 de junio de 1720, destacó un trozo de cincuenta soldados del presidio de Santa Fe, que fué bajo del comando de don Pedro de Villasur, a fin de ejecutar la referida inspección, donde habiendo llegado, a los sesenta y tres días, fueron insultados de los indios a hora insueta [incierta] de la que regularmente acostumbran sus avances; y atendiendo a que en ese tiempo no se había expedido el despacho de dicho excelentísimo señor, por ser la fecha de él, que se halla en estos autos, de 20 de septiembre del mismo año, en el cual estaba ya muy próxima la facción, por haber sido ésta a los sesenta y tres días de la salida de dicha villa, por lo que no pudo haber llegado a manos del dicho don Antonio, a ocasión oportuna; y cuando hubiese acaecido así, no se prevenía en él, el que por su persona se hiciese el referido reconocimiento; antes sí se aprueba en su narrativa la resolución que expuso de elegir para él a su teniente general; y percibiéndose así mismo de la serie del proceso, no haberse ocasionado por culpa o impericia de éste, los expresados homicidios, sino por la del subalterno, en no haberle participado el rubor que se sintió por la centinela; ni menos por ignorancia en el manejo de las armas, por haberse ejercitado mucho tiempo en diversos empleos militares. No halla el fiscal mérito por dónde pueda fundar acusación contra el dicho don Antonio, en cuya atención, se ha de servir vuestra excelencia de absolverle de los cargos que se le hicieron por el mencionado visitador, sobre que vuestra excelencia determinará lo que juzgase más conforme a justicia, cuyo cumplimiento pide el fiscal.

México y noviembre 23 de 1726.

Licenciado Palacios

PROSIGUE

Y por decreto de 27 del mismo, mandé se llevasen los *autos* al señor auditor general de la guerra; quien pidió que para resolver con más pleno conocimiento de la materia, se le llevasen los *autos* antecedentes; y llevados, pidió después que en esta causa se pusiese copia a la letra del capítulo penúltimo de su parecer de 19 de mayo de 1723, que es en el que se previno, que dicho brigadier don Pedro de Rivera, pesquisase el motivo que don Antonio Valverde, había tenido para no

haber pasado personalmente al Río Jesús María, y lo demás que en él se menciona. Puesto testimonio del dicho párrafo, y vueltos al señor auditor los autos, en su inteligencia, expidió el dictamen del tenor siguiente.

PARECER DEL SEÑOR AUDITOR

Excelentísimo señor:

Dió cuenta don Antonio Valverde Cosío, gobernador del Nuevo México, que en la campaña a que salió, halló un herido de un fusilazo, que dijo haber recibido de los pananas, o franceses; y que en la del año siguiente, pasaría por sí, o su teniente general, a reconocer el sitio de los pananas o franceses. Y en su vista, con acuerdo de junta de guerra, y con el recelo de haber los franceses roto la guerra, se determinó así como ofreció el gobernador, y se libró despacho, en creencia de que sería tan experto su teniente que pudiese substituir sus veces y desempeñar su oferta. No pudo ir el gobernador y envió a su teniente con los soldados de aquel presidio e indios confederados.

Y habiendo llegado a vistas la población de los pananas, en que habitan franceses, envió un panana católico, para que a sus nacionales les expresase iban en paz. Quedóse entre los suyos, y ellos enviaron a unos indios, con respuesta que no fue entendida, pero sí percibida su reserva y malicia. Determinaba el teniente pasar el río, que dividía su campo de la población, y buscando vado, se supo que los pananas habían preso en el río a uno, o dos, de nuestros confederados. Con lo que hizo junta de guerra, en que se resolvió la retirada a otro río, distancia de éste un día de camino; y vadeado se asentó el real, y se encomendó la centinela del río a los indios confederados. Y entrada la noche se oyó ruido de nadadores en el río, y con éste, aviso se dió a la escuadra que velaba las caballerías, para que estuviesen con cuidado. Después se oyó ladrar un perro, de que no se hizo aprecio; al amanecer arrimaron las caballerías al real, los soldados de la escuadra, y al remudar todos a un mismo tiempo, los atacaron los pananas y franceses, que emboscados, esperaron lograr el tiro al menor descuido. Acometieron con fusiles, lanzas y flechas, y al estruendo de los tiros, estampió la caballería; recogiéndola la escuadra que la cuidaba. Y pudo, en tres veces que esta escuadra rechazó a los enemigos, sacar tres heridos, de entre los muertos de nuestro campo, que fueron cuarenta y tantos, y con estos y los indios amigos, se retiró y salvó, según resulta de las declaraciones de seis testigos y de estos los tres soldados, que como inspectores de esta triste tragedia depusieron en la sumaria.

Es cierto que cuando don Antonio, por sí hubiese tenido la justa causa que alegó, para no pasar a esta expedición, como ofreció, no la tuvo para fiarla a este teniente suyo, tan poco experto, como manifiesta la serie de este justificado hecho; pues si hubiese sido experto, no hubiera querido, como quiso, pasar el río inmediato a los pananas, para entrarse en su población con su gente; pues sin tener amistad previamente asentada y seguía [su guía] con ellos; entrarla sin este seguro, era sacrificarla; mayormente cuando estaba conocido el ánimo sospechoso de los pananas, así en haberse retenido el enviado de los españoles, como en haber enviado al campo de los españoles indios de las reservas, y malicia, que se conoció.

Lo segundo, se conoce su inexperiencia de haber enviado a los pananas a preguntar, qué gente vivía entre ellos, sin tener antes asegurada su buena correspon-

dencia; cuando habiendo entre ellos franceses, y en guerra su nación con la nuestra, era forzoso, que no respondieron a la pregunta sino con las armas.

Lo tercero, que declarado más el ánimo, con haber apresado en el río a nuestros confederados, y por esto resuéltose en la junta de guerra la retirada del otro río, debió sobre éste ponerse centinela de nuestros españoles más desvelados, y no confiarse a los indios, que fatigados con la marcha de un día y naturalmente descuidados, era muy contingente y necesario, se rindiesen al sueño, como se experimentó.

Lo cuarto, que una vez, que estaba en país enemigo, debió poner piquetes españoles, que observasen el movimiento de los enemigos, ya declarados por sus acciones.

Lo quinto, que una vez que se sintió ruido de nadadores en el río, en el silencio de la noche, y que se creyó era de enemigos, debió aumentarse el cuidado, y ponerse centinelas sobre el mismo campo para el aviso.

Lo sexto, que una vez que el perro con su ladrido, les dió aviso de sus amos los enemigos, debió despertarlos del descuido en que dormían y mantener unida la escuadra, que estaba en custodia de la caballería, que se les acercó, y no mandarla retirar como se hizo.

Lo séptimo, que si esta escuadra sola fue bastante a rechazar tres veces al enemigo, como consta de los soldados testigos de vista de esta acción, forzosamente unida, a todo el campo los haría huir; y no con el descuido que tuvo este teniente, por defecto de ciencia y disciplina militar. Sorprendidos a tiro de fusil, flecha y lanza, fueron muertos indignamente con él los soldados de su comando y muchos de los indios confederados, sin que conste hubiesen vendido sus vidas a costa de las ajenas, sino dejando a los enemigos tan barata la victoria, que más pudo creerse triunfo de sus astucias que de sus armas.

Este suceso exentoria [ejemplifica] el defecto de experiencia en el teniente, por sus circunstancias, y vence las presunciones del papel, que es testigo de los empleos que tuvo, pero no de sus aciertos; es testimonio de sus honores, que suelen darse "ad honorem", pero no del ejercicio militar, que da las experiencias. Con que sus títulos, que para acreditárselas se presentan, no las prueban, ni releva del cargo que resulta contra el que le eligió, para que pagase todos los daños e intereses que causó con su mala conducta su teniente; porque conforme a derecho, debió elegirle tan idóneo, tan virtuoso, tan prudente, y tan experto, como el mismo gobernador, y por su defecto, se sujetó a esta satisfacción; conforme a leyes plausiblemente practicadas en la cancillería de Valladolid: que condenó en las temporalidades al vicario de un obispo, por no haber ejecutado un despacho de fuerza, y por no haber tenido el vicario bienes, multó al obispo, por la elección que de él hizo. Y la cancillería de Granada multó al señor duque de Béjar, por la que hizo de un juez eclesiástico que no ejecutó otro también de fuerza, como testifica de vista el señor Amaya. Más como pondera tanto estas leyes el señor Amaya, y acusa tan serio el señor Solórzano al general de una flota, que apresó el holandés, por otro descuido semejante a éste. El señor fiscal no acusa a este gobernador por la elección, que para esta expedición hizo de su teniente, porque no estimó por suficientes los méritos referidos de su descuido para arguirla, y pedir él intereses de los daños causados.

Se servirá vuestra excelencia de absolver al gobernador don Antonio Valverde, de la instancia de este juicio, y condenarle a que se entregue cincuenta pesos para

limosna de misas, por las almas de los soldados muertos en esa campaña; y en ciento cincuenta pesos para ayuda a la compra de cálices y ornamentos para las misiones de la Junta de los Ríos, aplicándose por limosna a los padres misioneros; aplicada también por las almas de estos difuntos, que entregará al reverendo padre Varo, su presidente, de que también enviará recibo, y para ello se libre el despacho necesario; o lo que vuestra excelencia estimare por mejor.

México y mayo 29 de 1727.

Don Juan de Oliván y Rebolledo.

PROSIGUE

Con cuyo dictamen me conformé en decreto de 18 del corriente: en su conformidad, y teniendo presentes los fundamentos deducidos por los señores fiscal y auditor general, por el presente absuelvo de la instancia de este juicio al expresado gobernador don Antonio Valverde Cosío, y le condeno a la exhibición de doscientos pesos, los cincuenta de ellos para la limosna de misas, que se han de aplicar por las almas de los soldados que fallecieron en la enunciada facción; y los ciento cincuenta restantes, para ayuda a la compra de cálices y ornamentos para las misiones de la Junta de los Ríos.

VII

Reform of the Presidios of New Mexico

(1741-1761)

As midcentury approached Spanish administrators in New Mexico began to realize that their tenuous hold on the remote area depended upon an alliance with the sedentary native population of the province. The following series of three documents reflects presidial reforms directed toward strengthening the alliance.

Bando Prohibiting Gambling and Attacks on Defenseless Women and Children, 1741

In colonial New Mexico, both noble and common-born Spaniards employed captured gentile Indians as "servants," or slaves, for the performance of household and farm labor. In order to circumvent the Laws of the Indies, which prohibited the trade or ownership of Indian chattel, these "servants" were described as indios de rescate, *individuals who had been saved from damnation either by purchase at trade fairs or through capture in "just wars" against unconverted Indian groups. Spanish vecinos routinely attended the annual trade fairs at Pecos and Taos, where they could purchase young Indians taken from Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches in intertribal wars. They also obtained Indian piezas, or enslaved captives, as a reward for participation in punitive expeditions against hostile Indian groups. Among these human commodities, Native American girls were particularly prized, and it is in part from unions between Indian slaves and Spanish owners that the New Mexican caste of genízaros came into existence.*

Following the path of reforms ordered after Brigadier Rivera's 1726 visit, Governor Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza here proclaims the need to rein in extreme abuses by settlers and local authorities against unconquered Indians. Royal officials hoped that this more peaceful policy would clear the way for negotiations with hostile tribes and eventually stop the Indian raids that were draining the economic lifeblood of colonial New Mexican society. The nature of colonial society in Spain's distant frontier outposts, however, limited the possibilities for reform that had been opened by these shifts in policy.

Governor Mendoza is best known for his liberal reception of the first party of French traders to reach Santa Fe and for the chastisement he received for permitting Pierre Mallet to return to Louisiana with reports on the Spanish colony. During his governorship, Mendoza issued several proclamations aimed at protecting local Indians and breaking the reactive cycle of brutal raids and reprisals in which Spanish settlers, presidial soldiers, missionized Indians, and unconquered Plains Indians all engaged. Mendoza may have sincerely hoped to stop the bloody mayhem through the publication of reformist proclamations. More likely, he issued them in compliance with the orders of higher officials, with full knowledge that many of the local alcaldes who read his announcements were themselves slave owners, in some cases notorious for their mistreatment of Indians. The reformist but limited proclamation published here addresses only the most extreme cruelties perpetrated against Indian women and children, but does not attempt to change the long-established institutionalized servitude of Indian captives. On the distant and exposed New Mexico frontier, local interests did not correspond to this shift in strategic colonial planning.

I, Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza,[1] lieutenant colonel of the infantry of the royal army, governor and captain general of this kingdom of Spanish New Mexico and its armies, and servant of our lord the king (may God protect him from evil), [proclaim the following]:

It has come to my attention that during pursuits of the infidel Indians, or while returning from raids against them, small groups of women, young boys and girls, and other persons who are unable to defend themselves are encountered, and [the men] who go on these raids have attempted to mistreat them and take their lives. This is so inappropriate to the Catholic faith and contrary to the wishes of his majesty that it is necessary to bring this situation to the attention of all concerned.

Accordingly, it is commanded and ordered that all persons of this kingdom, whether entering or living here in any capacity or condition whatsoever, whenever engaging in such raids or forays shall refrain from committing any abuses of the sort mentioned above against Indian men or women. Rather, on all such occasions they should treat [the Indians] well and draw them toward the Catholic religion, insofar as it is possible and the occasion permits. All are hereby warned that all those who disobey this order and intentionally kill, wound, or mistreat any one of the mentioned infidels on such occasions shall be fined 300 pesos in silver, if they are Spanish. The fine will be divided into three parts for the royal court, the judge, and the informer. Should they be unable to produce the stated 300 pesos in silver, they are to be sentenced to six years of exile, and their destination shall be up to the higher government. Should they relapse into such violence against an Indian, they shall be given two hundred lashes with the whip and six months in prison as an example to others.

It is also my understanding that various debts have been contracted between presidial soldiers and settlers, and that many of these are the result of gambling and fraud. Since this is contrary to royal orders and public proclamations, it is hereby made known to all settlers, inhabitants, and persons who enter or leave this kingdom that debts resulting from gambling and fraud shall not be paid, and a fine of 40 pesos in currency will be levied against the perpetrator in this event. It should be understood that any prior debts between soldiers and settlers must be satisfied with provisions, clothing, or horses, and the satisfaction of these debts should be attended to insofar as possible. Therefore, I have ordered this proclamation to be sent out for each of the royal justices to announce to the natives and inhabitants of his respective jurisdiction, so that none can claim ignorance.

Thus have I approved, ordered, and signed in this capital town of Santa Fe on March 21, 1741. Since there is no royal or public scribe here due to the well-known shortage [of such people], I have signed with witnesses present and on ordinary paper, as paper with your excellency's mark is not available in these regions.

Diego de Ugarte
Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza
Joseph de Terrazas

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1. Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza served as governor of New Mexico from 1739 to 1743.

At the town of Santa Fe on April 5, 1741, this proclamation was published by me, the lieutenant general and alcalde mayor of this town, Juan Páez Hurtado, in the usual places and to the sound of bugles. A large congregation of people was present. In evidence of this publication, I have signed it on the aforementioned day, to which I swear.

Juan Páez Hurtado[2]

At this pueblo of San Gerónimo de los Taos[3] on April 13, 1741, this proclamation was published in the pueblo and its jurisdiction by me, the alcalde mayor of the said pueblo. The natives and settlers all assembled together, and I informed them all of its contents. In evidence of this publication, I have signed it on the aforementioned day, to which I swear.

Francisco Guerrero[4]

At this pueblo of Santo Domingo de los Keres[5] on April 21, 1741, this proclamation was published for the information of the governors, interpreters, and all the rest of the people under my jurisdiction—the Cochití[6] and those of the pueblo of San Felipe[7]—who were brought together in this pueblo of Santo Domingo. Here, those who did not understand Castilian were advised through an

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2. Spanish born, Juan Páez Hurtado came to New Mexico with Diego de Vargas, serving as leader of the military and civilian colonists. He served as lieutenant governor under Vargas, commanded many expeditions and, as Vargas' close friend, was executor of his will. He was serving as alcalde mayor of Santa Fe at the time of the publication of this proclamation and died the following year in 1742.

3. Taos is a Tiwa-speaking pueblo near the headwaters of the Río Grande that strongly resisted Spanish colonization. Although a mission was founded there around 1622, missionaries and Spanish villagers found themselves isolated and vulnerable to Indian attacks. The Pueblo Indian leader Popé is thought to have formed the core of the insurgency that led to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in the kivas of Taos Pueblo.

4. Francisco Guerrero later served as alférez at Santa Fe.

5. Santo Domingo is a Keresan-speaking pueblo founded as a mission community in 1604. After the reconquest, Spanish authority was not reestablished there until 1730.

6. Cochití is another Keresan pueblo located upstream from Santo Domingo along the Río Grande. The first alcalde mayor of the alcaldía of Los Queres, which included Cochití, Jémez, and Acoma, lived much of the time at Cochití.

7. The Keresan-speaking pueblo of San Felipe, which is located immediately downstream from Santo Domingo, was founded as a mission community in 1621. The mission seems to have been abandoned in 1664, and the remaining Spaniards were driven out during the rebellion of 1680. After the Pueblo Revolt, Spanish presence was reestablished by Vargas in 1694, and the pueblo did not participate in the rebellion of 1696.

interpreter. In evidence of this publication, I have signed it on the aforementioned day, to which I swear as alcalde mayor.

Joseph Rodríguez

At this pueblo of Señora Santa Ana de los Keres on April 24, 1741, this proclamation was published. All three pueblos of Zía, Santa Ana, and Jémez,[8] and the settlers at the post of Bernalillo,[9] were brought together, and [the inhabitants] of the three pueblos were informed through an interpreter. In evidence of this publication, I have signed it on the aforementioned day, to which I swear as alcalde mayor.

Luis García y Noriega[10]

At this town of San Felipe de Alburquerque[11] on May 2, 1741, I, Captain Don Nicolás de Habes, alcalde mayor and captain general of this town, the pueblo of San Agustín de la Isleta,[12] its watering post, and the ranches surrounding that post, had all the settlers assemble with the natives of the pueblo of Isleta and informed them of the proclamation. In evidence of this, I have signed it on the aforementioned day, month, and year.

Nicolás Habes

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8. Zía, Jémez, and Santa Ana are located along the Jémez River, a tributary of the Río Grande. Jémez is a Tiwa-speaking pueblo, while the people of Zía and Santa Ana speak dialects of Keresan. Zía was founded as a mission community in 1613, and Santa Ana was one of its visitas at this time. While all of these pueblos participated in the Pueblo Revolt, only Jémez did not accept Vargas' peace offers during the reconquest. Jémez began to attack the acquiescent neighboring pueblos of Zía and Santa Ana. The Jémez were involved in several violent conflicts with Spaniards and other Indians during the reconquest and subsequent rebellion of 1696, and these conflicts forced the Jémez to flee into Navajo country. They returned from their exile to the modern site of Jémez between the years 1703 and 1706.

9. Bernalillo was founded in 1695 by Spanish villagers drawn north to lands pacified during the reconquest; since that time it has remained a primarily Hispanic community.

10. Juan García de Noriega was a resident of San Antonio in the area called Río Abajo, not far from the Indian pueblos under his jurisdiction.

11. San Felipe Alburquerque was established by the Spanish in 1706 as an administrative residence for the alcalde mayor of the lower Río Grande pueblos.

12. Isleta is a Southern Tiwa-speaking pueblo located about twenty-five kilometers downstream from Albuquerque. Isleta did not participate in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and 317 native Isletans retreated to El Paso with the Spaniards. With the abandonment of the pueblo, 2,000 residents of the Bernalillo area settled there. In 1681, other Isleta residents were captured by Governor Antonio de Otermín and were taken to El Paso. Of these, the Piros were resettled at the earlier established Piro mission communities of Senecú and Soccoro, and the Isletans were resettled at Corpus Christi de la Isleta (also called Isleta del Sur), all of which are located near El Paso along the Río Grande.

At this pueblo of San Joseph de la Laguna on May 7, 1741, I, the alcalde mayor and captain of war of the pueblos of Laguna, Acoma,[13] and Zuñi,[14] had the aforementioned proclamation published through interpreters. In evidence of this, I have signed it as stated above.

Juan Miguel Alvarez del Castillo[15]

At the post of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Pecos[16] on May 10, 1741, this proclamation was published in the post and its jurisdiction by the alcalde mayor of the said pueblo. Having brought [the inhabitants] together, I informed them of [the proclamation] and made its content known through an interpreter. In evidence of its publication, I have signed it on the aforementioned day, to which I swear.

Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú[17]

Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Reel 8, Frames 48–49.

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13. Laguna and Acoma, Western Keresan-speaking pueblos, were trading centers for ethnic Laguna and Acoma people who live in several adjacent villages and hamlets. These villages are located within the watershed of the San José River Valley. Although a mission was tentatively founded at Acoma in 1629, Spaniards there were expelled during the Pueblo Revolt. Located on a steep mesa, this fortress-like pueblo was a center of resistance to Spanish colonization. Neither Laguna nor Acoma accepted missionaries until 1699, after the reconquest.

14. Within the Zuñi region, Spanish missionization was originally focused at the mesa village of Hawikuh. Following earlier reports, Coronado visited and captured the pueblo in 1540, but returned to Mexico in 1542. Although a mission was established at Hawikuh in 1629, by 1632 the missionaries had been killed and the inhabitants had fled. Reestablished in 1660, the mission was again abandoned during the Pueblo Revolt. During the reconquest most Zuñis left their traditional pueblos, including Hawikuh, and joined together in the village of Zuñi, where they seemed ready to accept Spanish influence again. However, by 1703 they had expelled the Spanish. Later in the eighteenth century, Spaniards regained control of Zuñi, maintained resident missionaries there, frequently had a resident alcalde mayor, and even procured some auxiliaries for Spanish campaigns from the pueblo.

15. Juan Miguel Alvarez del Castillo lived in the area of Río Abajo. He married into the Baca family.

16. Pecos was a Towa-speaking pueblo located on the Pecos River. The Pecos Valley provides a natural corridor toward the Great Plains, and Pecos served as an important trading center for Pueblo and Plains Indian groups at the time of initial Spanish exploration of the region. The Spanish also exploited this strategic position and established a mission and convento at Pecos in 1598. The pueblo was eventually abandoned in 1838, and the few remaining villagers were accepted by their linguistic kin at Jémez, where they live today.

17. Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú, a native of Spain and lieutenant of the Santa Fe garrison, was a property owner in Santa Fe and a *mayordomo* of the Conquistadora Confraternity.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, teniente coronel de infantería de los reales ejércitos, gobernador y capitán general de este reino del Nuevo México, castellano de sus fuerzas y presidios por el rey nuestro señor, Dios le guarde de malo.

Por cuanto ha llegado a mí noticia que en las correrías y mariscadas que se hacen contra los indios infieles, ha sucedido que a la ida o la vuelta de éstas, encontrar con algunos ranchitos de mujeres, niños o niñas y otras personas de estos incapaces de defensa, y los que van en estas correrías han procurado maltratarles, quitarles la vida, siendo esto tan impropio a la fe católica y contra la mente de su majestad (Dios le guarde), que precisa hacerlo notorio para la inteligencia de todos.

Por lo que se ordena y manda a todas las personas de este reino, entrantes y habitantes de cualquiera calidad o condición que sean, que siempre que se les ofrezca salir en dichas mariscadas o correrías, no cometan semejante exceso con indios e indias de la calidad y especie que arriba se expresan. Antes bien, si llegase este caso se les agasajará y atraerá en la mejor forma que sea posible y la ocasión lo permita, procurando en su conducta a la religión católica, con apercibimiento que el que contraviniese a este bando, y en las ocasiones referidas matase, hiriese o maltratase alguno o algunas de las mencionadas infieles, en caso pensado, si fuese español, se le multará en trescientos pesos en plata, aplicados por terceras partes a la real cámara, juez y denunciador. Y si estos no tuvieren para exhibir la mencionada cantidad de los trescientos pesos en plata, se les apercibe con seis años de destierro, lo que se dará parte al superior gobierno para su destino. Y si recayese este exceso en indio, se le mandará dar doscientos azotes y seis meses de prisión para su ejemplar castigo.

También se hace saber a todos los vecinos, habitantes, entrantes y salientes de este reino, que teniendo entendido que entre los soldados presidiales y vecinos, se contraen diferentes deudas, y éstas muchas de ellas causadas de juegos y baraterías, y siendo esto contra las reales órdenes y bandos generales, se hace saber a todos que siendo dichas deudas causadas en baraterías y juegos, no serán satisfechas. Y se le apercibe con la multa de cuarenta pesos al corriente para el denunciador de esta causa, debiendo entenderse que las deudas que precedan entre soldados y vecinos deben ser para su satisfacción en comestibles, ropas o caballos, en lo que se atenderá a su satisfacción en lo que haya lugar. Y por tanto mandé despachar este bando para que las reales justicias, cada uno en sus respectivas jurisdicciones, lo hagan saber a los naturales y habitantes en ellas, y a fin de que ninguno pueda alegar ignorancia.

Así lo probé y mandé y firmé en esta capital villa de Santa Fe, en 21 de marzo del año de 1741, con testigos de mi asistencia por la notoria falta de escribano real y público que no lo hay, y en el común papel por no correr el señalado en estas partes de vuestra excelencia.

Diego de Ugarte
Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza
Joseph de Terrazas

En la villa de Santa Fe, en 5 días del mes de abril de 1741, se publicó este bando por mí, el teniente general y alcalde mayor de dicha villa, Juan Páez Hurtado, en los parajes acostumbrados, al son de los instrumentos militares, hallándose presentes a su publicación un gran concurso de gente. Y para que conste de su publicación, lo firmé en dicho día, de que doy fe.

Juan Páez Hurtado

En este pueblo de San Gerónimo de los Taos, en 13 días del mes de abril de 1741 años, se publicó este bando en él y su jurisdicción, por mí, el alcalde mayor de dicho pueblo. Y estando los naturales y vecinos juntos les hice saber todo lo en el contenido. Y para que conste de su publicación, la firmé en dicho día, de que doy fe.

Francisco Guerrero

En este pueblo de Santo Domingo de los Keres, en 21 días del mes de abril de 1741 años, se publicó este bando, habiendo hecho concurrir para su inteligencia a los gobernadores, intérpretes y demás gente de mi jurisdicción, que son los Cochitis y los del pueblo de San Felipe, en este dicho pueblo de Santo Domingo, donde les hice capaces por intérprete a los que no lo entendían en castilla. Y para que conste de su publicación, lo firmé en dicho día, de que doy fe como alcalde mayor.

Joseph Rodríguez

En este pueblo de señora Santa Ana de los Keres, en 24 días del mes de abril de 1741 años, se publicó este bando, habiendo hecho concurrir a todos los tres pueblos de Zia y Santa Ana y Jemes y vecinos del puesto de Bernalillo. Y [a] los de los tres dichos pueblos se les hizo capaces por intérprete. Y para que conste de su publicación, lo firmé en dicho día, de que doy fe como alcalde mayor.

Luis García y Noriega

En esta villa de San Felipe de Alburquerque, en 2 días del mes de mayo del año de 1741, yo, el capitán don Nicolás de Habes, alcalde mayor y capitán general de dicha villa y del pueblo de San Agustín de la Isleta, y puesto de tome y ranchos comarcanos del referido puesto. Los hice juntar a todos y a los naturales del pueblo de la Isleta, y les hice saber de dicho bando. Y para que conste, lo firmé en dicho día, mes y año.

supra Nicolás Habes

En este pueblo del Santo San Joseph de la Laguna, en 7 días del mes de mayo corriente el año de 1741, yo, el alcalde mayor y capitán a guerra de los pueblos La-

guna y de Acoma y Zuñi, hice publicar por medio de los intérpretes el bando arriba expresado. Y para que conste, lo firmé ut supra.

Juan Miguel Alvarez del Castillo

En el puesto de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Pecos, en 10 días del mes de mayo del 1741 años, se publicó este bando en él y su jurisdicción por el alcalde mayor de dicho pueblo, habiendo concurrido les hice saber de él y hecholes notorio su contenido por medio de un intérprete. Y para que conste de su publicación, lo firmé en dicho día, de que doy fe.

Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú

Court Martial of Soldiers from the Alburquerque Company, 1742

The soldiers whose testimony is recorded in this document had committed a grave dereliction of duty. For a military unit, loss of any portion of the horse herd rendered the unmounted soldiers helpless. Without horses, the squad of soldiers stationed at Alburquerque could neither attack nor pursue enemy Indians, nor respond in an emergency. In addition, the number of horses in enemy possession proportionally increased the enemy's relative power and ability to commit depredations. Although the following document does not state the number of horses lost in this particular case, presidial horse herds often numbered in the hundreds. The herd for the Santa Fe presidio, which was often pastured near La Ciénega south of the town of Santa Fe, frequently contained more than two thousand horses. Their responsibility for the loss of such a crucial element in presidial defense and what may have been a large number of horses explains why these soldiers took such desperate action.

Hiding out in a mission church to avoid arrest was an extreme plan, albeit one that might have worked. Although prior to the Pueblo Revolt, Franciscan missionaries had achieved de facto authority in both religious and civil matters in New Mexico, following the reconquest their control gradually eroded. As Franciscan and civil officials struggled for control of New Mexico, missions themselves became contested spaces, symbols of the boundaries between political and religious authority. During the first half of the eighteenth century, local Franciscans were enmeshed in a number of legal maneuvers with New Mexican governors, as well as with the bishop of Durango. New Mexican officials accused Franciscans of failing to learn native Indian languages and of abandoning their spiritual charges in favor of trade with Chihuahuan merchants. Franciscans responded that any such shortcomings resulted from decreases in royal funding. By seeking refuge in the missions at Alburquerque, Zía, and Isleta the fugitive presidial soldiers would have played directly into the political struggle between religious and civil officials.

At the same time that their momentary sanctuary tended to ally the soldiers with local Franciscans, their choice of refuge might also be considered a challenge to the authority of Spanish outsiders from Mexico, who demanded that the presidial soldiers themselves pay for losses of cavalry stock. The soldiers whose testimony appears in this document were resident New Mexicans and several of them were apparently related through marriage. This kinship connection, along with their common experience of service in the presidios of New Mexico and residence in the province would have tended to bind these men as a faction at odds with the captain general of the province, Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, whose appointment came from Mexico City. The penalization of local soldiers for the loss of presidial horses, while codified as royal law in the Reglamento de Habana, must nonetheless have represented an extreme hardship and imposition on the soldiers. From this perspective, their treasonous flight into local missions

was a response to the military reforms begun by Brigadier Pedro de Rivera, which sought to shift the responsibility for frontier defense from the royal treasury to local presidios.

Court martial action brought against the corporal and soldiers of the Alburquerque squad, 1742.

Writ of process against the corporal and soldiers of the Alburquerque squad.

Writ of process and the depositions given by Squad Corporal Francisco García and the eight soldiers under his command in the Alburquerque squad, which was assigned [to check] the hostile incursions that could occur in those surrounding areas:

The aforementioned squad abandoned its duty on June 18, 1742, and, through its poor guardianship, allowed the heathen enemies to steal the horse herd, [of which] I was informed. For this reason I, Lieutenant Colonel Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza,[1] governor and captain general of this kingdom of New Mexico, sent a written order commanding the corporal and his company to return to this capital,[2] in order to determine the most appropriate [action]. The order was made known to them by Salvador Yáñez, the lieutenant of that jurisdiction. They ignored it, however, and retreated to the havens of the church of Alburquerque, [the church] in the pueblo of Zía, and [the church] in the pueblo of Isleta.[3] Having pledged my word of juratory security[4] to them, the corporal in question and the eight soldiers appeared in court in this capital, where they are imprisoned in the public jail. I summoned them to my presence and asked them, upon the customary oath, to give their statements and explain what motivated them to flee instead of responding to my order. They made the following statements:

DECLARATION OF COMPANY CORPORAL FRANCISCO GARCÍA

When he was asked his reason for having taken refuge in the church and for having disobeyed the order of his superior, [García] stated that because the lieutenant had ordered the collection of his weapons and the seizure of all his other posses-

1. In 1740 Governor Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza became the first New Mexican governor to allow French deserters to settle in the province.

2. Santa Fe was the capital of New Mexico from 1610 to 1680, when it was moved to El Paso because of the Pueblo rebellion of that year. At the end of 1693, during the reconquest, the capital was again moved to Santa Fe, where it remained throughout the colonial period.

3. Both Zía and Isleta were founded as Spanish mission communities in 1613. The native people of Zía are Keresan speakers, while the people of Isleta speak a Tiwa language. Both of these pueblos were abandoned during the Pueblo rebellion. After the reconquest, Spanish governance was again established at Zía in 1694, and at Isleta in 1709.

4. Juratory security was a judicial procedure for releasing accused persons on their own recognizance. Rather than posting a bond, poor people were allowed to take an oath to return to prison when called.

sions in lieu of 440 pesos that he owed to the presidio, he abandoned his post and his duty and became an accomplice in the flight of the others. When asked different questions and cross-examined pursuant to the origin of this reason, he stated that he knows nothing more, and that this is the truth by the oath that he has taken. When asked whether he knows how to sign [his name], he said that he does not, and for the record I, Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú, signed it at his request.

On behalf of Francisco García,[5]

Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú[6]

DECLARATION OF ANTONIO VARELA

On being asked his reason for having taken refuge in the church and for having disobeyed the orders of his superior, [Varela] stated that he had heard different orders from the governor and, afraid that they would be punished, he sought asylum in the church along with the others. When asked different questions and cross-examined pursuant to the origin of this reason, he stated that he knows nothing more, and that this is the truth by the oath that he has taken. Because he does not know how to sign [his name], he requested that Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú sign for him,

On behalf of Antonio Varela,[7]

Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú

[The declarations of Antonio Cedillo,[8] Joseph García,[9] Cristóbal Jaramillo,[10] Bernardo Chávez,[11] Lázaro García,[12] Mateo Gutiérrez, and Pedro Marcial Rael

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5. Francisco García [de Noriega] was possibly the widower of Juana Sedillo, whose son Lázaro García married Francisca Varela. It seems likely that she may have been a daughter of one of the codefendants, Antonio Varela.

6. Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú (1707–?) was a native of Spain and a lieutenant of the Santa Fe garrison. He was a mayordomo of the Conquistador Confraternity.

7. Antonio Varela was most likely a descendant of one of the Varela brothers who came to New Mexico from Santiago de Compostela in 1598, as part of Oñate's troops.

8. Antonio Cedillo (also spelled Sedillo) was probably born in 1702, the son of María Varela and Joaquín Cedillo Rico de Rojas of the Río Abajo region.

9. Joseph García may have been one of the sons of Juan Esteban García de Noriega, a prominent settler of the Río Arriba region.

10. Cristóbal Jaramillo was possibly the son of Cristóbal Varela Jaramillo, who appeared on the lists from 1680 and 1681. He was a resident of Bernalillo and a property owner near the present site of Algodones.

11. Bernardo Chávez was probably the son of Nicolás D. y Cháves and Juana Montaño. He first married an Apache woman, María Benavides, and later his first cousin's widow, María Josefa Núñez.

12. Lázaro García was probably the son of codefendant Corporal Francisco García, as García is known to have had a son of that name.

are nearly identical to this declaration by Antonio Varela, and so have been omitted.]

SENTENCE

In the town of Santa Fe, capital of the realm of New Mexico, on July 16, 1742, I, Lieutenant Colonel Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, governor and captain general of this kingdom, have seen the interrogations and the statements made by the squad corporal and the rest of the soldiers in the Alburquerque squad regarding the known abandonment [of their posts] and their slight regard for what was in their charge, as well as their disobedience of my repeated written orders, and lastly, on June 19 of this present year, their forsaking their obligation to my summons to this capital. It is my intention to punish their negligence and, at the same time, remove this squad because it is my understanding that [the squad] was away from the main body of the company for a long time and that not only did [these men] fail to respond to my summons, but all of them were accomplices and, by having retreated behind holy sanctuary, they identified themselves as deserters and fugitives. Although I should proceed secure in the punishment mandated by his majesty for military criminals who absent themselves in holy sanctuaries, I am of a mind to forgo the rigor of the edicts and pronouncements. These require [such criminals] to be summoned to appear in court to give their statements, and in the event [they] fail to do so, that the law of rebellion and contempt of court be imposed against them and that they not be permitted to live in any of his [majesty's] realms, under penalty of death. Furthermore, once [the criminals are] outside the holy sanctuary, the regular authorities may, whenever they apprehend [them], punish them at any time for rebellion and contempt of court without any obligation to turn them over to the military judge, knowing simply that [the criminals] have had the sentence imposed by the council of war. However, recognizing the newness of this province and the possibility that [the soldiers] are not aware of the above regulations, I have decided to remove all of the accused from their posts and fill [the latter] with persons who are capable of serving in them. I judge [the accused] unfit for service to the king or to receive his wage; they are disobedient and abusive of their superior's orders and so have made themselves accessories to the same crime. In order that [this judgment] be recorded where appropriate and remain in the archives of this capital, I have signed it today, July 16, with witnesses present because of the known lack of a royal or public scribe, there not being one in this entire realm. [This decree] is on ordinary paper because there is none bearing the seal in this region. So be it.

Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza
Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú, witness
Bernardo Bustamante, witness

Spanish Archives of New Mexico, Reel 8, Frames 125–132.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Causa de Guerra culminada contra el cabo y soldados de la escuadra de Alburquerque. Año 1742.

Cabeza de proceso contra el cabo y soldados de la escuadra de Alburquerque.

Cabeza de proceso y declaraciones hecho por el cabo de escuadra, Francisco García y ocho soldados que tenía a su cargo en la escuadra de Alburquerque; la que se hallaba destinada para las correrías que se podían ofrecer en aquellas cercanías

Y habiendo dicha escuadra abandonado su obligación el día 18 de junio de 1742 y dejado llevar la caballada los enemigos gentiles, por mala guarda, se me dió parte. Por lo que yo, el teniente coronel don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, gobernador y capitán general de este reino de Nuevo México, remití orden por escrito para que dicho cabo, con su escuadra, se restituyese a esta capital para determinar lo que más conviniese. Y habiéndoles hecho notorio mi orden por el teniente de dicha jurisdicción, Salvador Yáñez, se abusaron de ella y se retrajeron a los sagrados de la iglesia de Alburquerque, pueblo de Zía y el de la del pueblo de la Isleta. Y habiéndoles empeñado mi palabra de caución juratoria, comparecieron el dicho cabo y ocho soldados en esta capital, en donde se hallan presos en la cárcel pública de dicha capital. Los hice llamar en mi presencia preguntándoles, sobre el juramento acostumbrado, diesen sus descargos y declarasen qué les movió a hacer fuga y no haber venido a mi mandato y declararon como se deja conocer.

DECLARACIÓN DEL CABO FRANCISCO GARCÍA

Preguntado qué fue la causa de haberse retraído en la iglesia y no haber obedecido la orden de su superior, dijo que por haber mandado el teniente recogiese las armas y embargase sus bienes en virtud de cuatrocientos y cuarenta pesos que estaba debiendo al presidio, abandonó su puesto y obligación y se hizo cómplice en la fuga de los demás. Y habiéndole hecho diferentes preguntas y repreguntas al tenor de la cabeza de esta causa dijo que más no sabe y que ésta es la verdad por el juramento que ha prestado; y preguntado si sabe firmar, dijo que no sabe y para que conste lo firmé a su ruego, yo, Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú.

Por Francisco García,

Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú

DECLARACIÓN DE ANTONIO VARELA

Preguntado qué fue la causa de haberse retraído en la iglesia y no haber obedecido la orden de su superior, dijo que habiendo oído diferentes órdenes del señor gobernador y timorato que los había de castigar se refugió a una con los demás en la iglesia; y habiéndole hecho diferentes preguntas y repreguntas al tenor de la cabeza de esta causa dijo que más no sabe y que ésta es la verdad por el juramento que ha prestado. Y por no saber firmar, rogó a Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú lo hiciese por él.

Por Antonio Varela,

Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú

[Se omite las declaraciones de Antonio Cedillo, Joseph García, Cristóbal Jaramillo, Bernardo Chávez, Lázaro García, Mateo Gutiérrez, y Pedro Marcial Rael.]

SENTENCIA

En la villa de Santa Fe, capital de este reino del Nuevo México, en 16 días del mes de julio de 1742 años, yo, el teniente coronel don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, gobernador y capitán general de dicho reino, habiéndose hecho a mi vista las preguntas y declaraciones, por el mencionado cabo en ella y demás soldados que se hallaban en la escuadra de Alburquerque, con el conocido abandono y poca guarda, en lo correspondiente que de su cargo, como en la desobediencia a las repetidas órdenes mías, por escrito, y últimamente en la del 19 de junio del presente año, en que abandonaron la obligación a mi llamamiento a esta capital; siendo mi inteligencia darles una corrección a sus descuidos, y al mismo tiempo mudar dicha escuadra, por la inteligencia que me asistía de tanto tiempo fuera del cuerpo de la compañía no sólo [no] vinieron a mi llamada sino es que todos juntos se hicieron cómplices, y se dieron a conocer por desertores y trasfugos, habiéndose retirado a la inmunidad del Sagrado. Y aunque debía proceder con la seguridad del castigo que su majestad manda contra los reos militares que se ausentan a las inmunidades sagradas, me ha parecido que dejando lo riguroso de los edictos y pregones, con que debían ser llamados para que compareciesen a dar sus descargos, y de no hacerlo echarles la ley de la rebeldía y contumacia, con la pena de muerte, y que no pudiesen habitar en todos los dominios del reino vuestro. Y que siendo fuera de los Sagrados, en cualquiera tiempo pudiesen las justicias ordinarias, siempre que los aprendiesen, castigarlos con la pena de la rebeldía y contumacia, con sólo saber tenían echada la sentencia por el consejo de guerra sin obligación de entregarlos al juez militar. Y reconociendo lo nuevo de este país, y que pudiera ser no estar inteligenciados de lo referido, he venido a quitarles las plazas, a todos los declarantes, y ocuparlas en personas que las puedan servir, dándoles por sentencia inhábiles del servicio del rey y de tomar su sueldo, desobedientes y abusivos a las órdenes de su superior, como haberse hecho cómplices todos en un delito. Y para que conste en donde convenga y quede en el archivo de esta capital lo firmé hoy dicho día 16 de julio con los testigos de mi asistencia y por la notoria falta de escribano real, ni público, que no le hay en todo este reino, y en el presente papel por no correr el sellado, en esta parte. Vale.

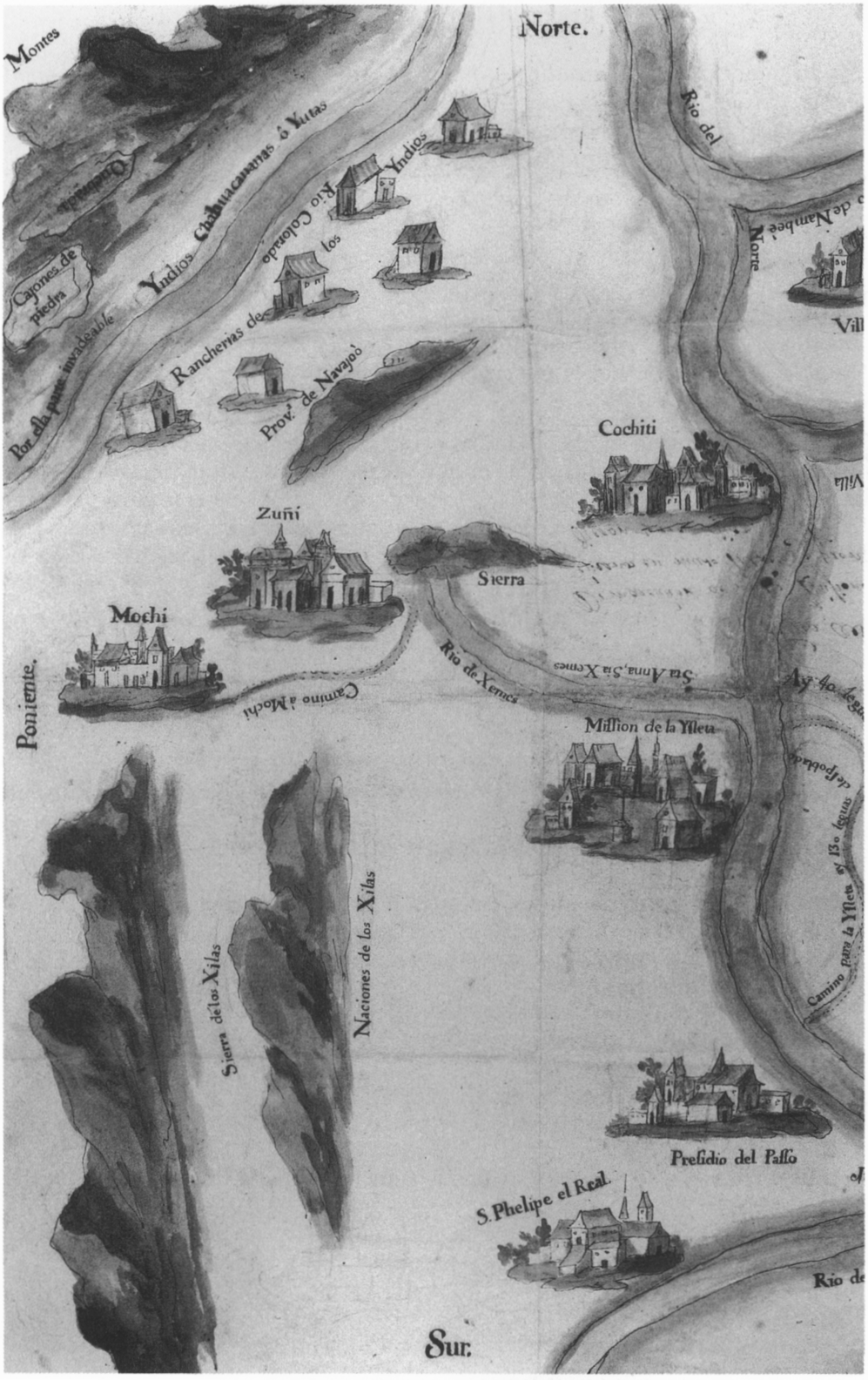
Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza
Testigo: Manuel Sáenz de Garvizú
Testigo: Bernardo Bustamante

Roster and Inventory for the Santa Fe Presidio, 1761

During the first half of the eighteenth century, New Mexico's presidios were ill equipped, staffed by poorly paid criminal exiles and vagabonds, and severely beset by Apache, Navajo, Ute, and Comanche depredations. From the time of the reconquest, provincial governors had pleaded with viceregal officials in Mexico for increased military supplies to battle Indian enemies. Transport to the frontier was difficult, however, and corruption was rampant. Supplies often did not reach the apathetic presidial soldiers charged with defending the province. When salaries managed to reach New Mexico, they were often usurped by the governor, who also padded presidial rolls with personally selected reformados. *These locally appointed presidial officers enjoyed a military salary while shouldering none of the burdens of warfare against the surrounding Indian groups. After the visit of Brigadier Rivera in 1726, however, many of these breaches of royal authority began to be corrected. At the same time, viceregal officials in Mexico became much more concerned over the encroachments of Frenchmen onto Spanish soil than they had been with the inconveniences caused by the northern raiding Indians. As combating these encroachments became a priority, both salaries and supplies of military equipment made their way northward more frequently.*

This document shows that by the second half of the eighteenth century, the presidio of Santa Fe had achieved at least a semblance of military professionalism, and that its soldiers were relatively well equipped. For royal presidial soldiers in 1761, a full set of equipment would have included a thigh-length protective leather coat, a saddle with saddlebags and wooden stirrups, a rifle or musket, a lance, a pistol, a shield, leather leggings, and heavy metal spurs. This roster also shows that French weapons were included in the presidio's stock of arms. These weapons were probably obtained from Comanches through trade or capture. By the 1740s, pioneering French traders had come to terms with the Wichitas of the eastern Great Plains, who shortly thereafter built stockaded villages that served as trading centers along the Missouri River. From these centers French merchants established trading relationships with groups of Plains Indians to the west, including various Comanche groups. During this time French merchants also showed up in Santa Fe with plans to expand their trade into New Mexico. These proposals were initially supported by Governor Mendoza in 1740—a controversial position that made him highly suspect with the viceregal government. Later provincial governors capitulated, however, outlawing such trade. Nonetheless, French weaponry continued to augment the Spanish military arsenal in New Mexico.

By 1761, the year when Portillo y Urrisola took over the New Mexican governorship from Marín del Valle, the Santa Fe presidio was well enough supplied and the soldiers sufficiently professional to give the new governor the confidence to challenge the Comanche militarily. In December 1761, seven months after taking office, Urrisola broke off negotiations with a group of Comanches who



Nuevo México, Tejas, and Nueva Vizcaya, 1746 (W. B. Stephens Collection, University of Texas Library, Austin)

had been enticed to the trading grounds at Taos to turn over Spanish women taken captive in an earlier raid. Instead of negotiating for the women's release, the new governor seized the captives, then massacred four hundred Comanche warriors on the outskirts of the pueblo.

DOSSIER NO. 8, 1761

Correspondence with the governor of New Mexico, Don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola,[1] and the transfer of the governorship by his predecessor, Don Francisco Marín del Valle.[2]

An accounting of the military equipment that exists among the royal guard, and of the transfer of [authority over the equipment] from Don Francisco Antonio del Valle, former governor of this realm, to me, Don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola, governor and captain general of this same realm, on May 16, 1761. I take charge of [the equipment] in the following manner and form:

The royal standard with its silver cross
The banner of the royal presidio
The banner of the civilian militia
2 war chests
A cannon with its carriage
An iron and mark for branding the presidio's horses
77 of his majesty's horses and mares, large and small, for use by the militia
6 of his majesty's horses at Taos Pueblo, where they are being held for sale due to their old age
3 horses belonging to the Indian Joseph Botas, former ambassador to the Comanches
A rifle belonging to the aforementioned Indian, Joseph Botas
A rifle belonging to the genízaro Indian Diego de Sena
10 of his majesty's leather jackets that are in the armory
34 spears in the armory
1 sword in the armory
A *macana* [large club] in the aforementioned armory
1 copper bullet mould
A rifle that looks like a very large musket
Another of the same, more moderately sized
5 ordinary French rifles
21 shotguns; 10 serviceable, although badly maintained, and 11 useless at the present time
5 bronze gun chambers

1. Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola remained governor only until the following year, 1762.

2. Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle was governor of New Mexico from 1754 to 1760.

2 *arrobas*[3] and 8 pounds of gunpowder for the civilian militia's use, and 4 arrobas of lead for the same purpose
3 shotguns at Taos Pueblo and 1 at San Joseph de Gracia de las Trampas,[4] vouched for by the lieutenant, Joseph Zamora
6 shotguns in the jurisdiction of Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de la Cañada,[5] certified by the alcalde mayor, Nicolás Ortíz[6]
2 cannons on the frontiers of Pecos and Galisteo,[7] with 500 balls and 6 pounds of gunpowder for the two, certified by the alcalde mayor, Cayetano Tenorio
1 cannon at Taos Pueblo, with 386 balls and 9 pounds of gunpowder, vouched for by the corporal, Francisco Javier Fragoso[8]
1 cannon at Picurís Pueblo,[9] with 290 balls, 112 *cortadillos*, 3 master shells, and 6 cases of powder; confirmed by the under-corporal, Nicolás Mares

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3. An arroba is a measure of weight. Twelve arrobas of gunpowder made up a single *carga*, the amount a mule can carry (about 140 kilograms).

4. At the time this document was written, San Joseph de Gracia de las Trampas (now Trampas, New Mexico) seems to have been made up largely of genízaros, Plains Indians who had been captured and were settled there to act as a buffer against depredations on the frontier.

5. Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de Españoles Mexicanos del Rey Nuestro Señor Carlos Segundo, usually referred to simply as Santa Cruz or La Cañada, was refounded on the site of the Tano pueblo of San Lázaro during Vargas' reconquest. It was located on the east side of the Río Grande, across from Santa Clara Pueblo, just south of the point where the Río Chama flows into the Río Grande.

6. This probably refers to Nicolás Ortíz III. He was most likely born at Bernalillo, where his father Nicolás Ortíz II married his mother Juana Baca. In 1730 he married Gertrudis Páez Hurtado, the daughter of Juan Páez Hurtado. He was widowed and remarried to Doña Josefa Bustamante y Tagle in 1751. He was killed by Comanche Indians while on a military campaign in 1769. After his death, his widow was instrumental in reestablishing the Conquistadora Confraternity.

7. Pecos, a Towa-speaking pueblo on the Pecos River, became a Spanish mission after 1598. Defense was important at this strategic settlement on a natural gateway to the Great Plains. Galisteo, a Tano pueblo located southeast of Santa Fe, was founded as a mission community in 1612, but was abandoned by the Spanish during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. During the reconquest the Tanos moved to the rebel-held fortress of Santa Fe but lost to Vargas, and many were executed at his hands. Eventually the Tanos of San Lázaro and San Cristóbal, who were displaced by the resettlement of Spaniards during the reconquest, took up residence in the pueblo.

8. Francisco Javier Fragoso, a native of Guadalajara, was born in 1734, to Domingo Fragoso and Beatriz de Hijar. He was married to María Francisca Alarí and had three children. His only son, José Manuel, died of smallpox in 1778, at the age of nineteen.

9. The pueblo of Picurís was deeply involved in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and during this time a Picurís man, Tupatu, became an important leader among the northern Pueblos. By 1696, the people of Picurís had abandoned their pueblo to live with an Apache group at a place on the plains called El Cuartelejo. They remained there until 1706, when Juan de Ulibarrí's expedition to this place managed to retrieve the Picurís and return them to their pueblo. After their return the Picurís became active allies of the Spaniards, and their pueblo was an important strategic location for checking French movement on the northern Spanish frontier.

1 bell in the royal guardroom
1 of the king's horses, which the teniente alcalde mayor, Francisco Sánchez,[10] owes [to the presidio]
Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle
Manuel de Portillo y Urrisola

A general accounting of the officers, petty officers, and soldiers in the company of the royal presidio of Santa Cruz de la Villa de Santa Fe in New Mexico, and of the transfer [of command] to Don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola, governor and captain general of this realm (by his majesty), from Don Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle, former governor of this realm. [The accounting] is in the following manner and form:[11]

First:
Lieutenant Don Carlos Hernández: equipped as he stated, of which I am certain
Alférez Don Bartolomé Francisco: equipped as he stated, of which I am certain
First Sergeant Bartolomé Maese:[12] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, of which I am certain
Second Sergeant Miguel Tenorio:[13] nine horses and otherwise fully equipped

CORPORALS

Luis Jaramillo:[14] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joseph de Herrera:[15] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Trujillo:[16] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped

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10. This may refer to Francisco Sánchez, the son of Jacinto Sánchez de Iñigo of the Río Abajo region. Francisco Sánchez married and had five children with Josefa de Cháves.

11. Many of the names of these presidial soldiers appear in the Santa Fe telephone directory today, indicating a remarkable continuity of residence in the former provincial capital.

12. Bartolomé Maese was born December 17, 1735, to Marcial Maese and Rosalia Abeyta, probably in Santa Fe.

13. This probably refers to Miguel Tenorio II of La Ciénega, who had three children with Bárbara Tofoya. In 1758, he married Teodora Fernández de la Pedrera. By 1794, he had died.

14. Luis Jaramillo was probably a member of the Jaramillo Negrete family of the Río Arriba region.

15. Joseph de Herrera was the son of Antonia Archuleta and Miguel de Herrera of Santa Cruz. His father was murdered in 1712 or 1713; Joseph de Herrera's name was not mentioned in the trial, however, suggesting that he had not been born yet or was an infant at the time.

16. There were several Antonio Trujillos in New Mexico during the time this document was written. It seems likely however that the man mentioned here was related to Antonio Trujillo of Pojoaque, who died in 1755.

Diego Antonio Márquez:[17] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a blunderbuss[18]
Joseph Maldonado:[19] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Salvador de Rivera:[20] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Javier Fragoso:[21] seven horses and otherwise fully equipped

SOLDIERS

Tomás Casillas: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Salvador Durán: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Cristóbal Madrid: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Manuel Sandoval: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Tafoya: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Ribera: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Ortega: ten horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Bautista Herrera: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Nicolás Mares: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Marcos de Apodaca: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Domingo Luján: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Luján: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Ortega: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Bartolomé Lobato: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Eduardo Martínez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco García: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joseph Mares: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Tomás García: eight horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a blunderbuss
Mateo Gutiérrez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Miguel Tafoya: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Joseph Durán: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joseph Antonio Gallego: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Diego Romero: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Bartolomé Gutiérrez: eight horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan de Alari: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Nieto: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped

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17. This probably refers to Diego Márquez II, who married Gertrudis Esquivel in Santa Fe on August 25, 1730.

18. A blunderbuss was a short musket with a broad muzzle.

19. Joseph Maldonado married María Luisa Tenorio in Santa Fe on March 19, 1754. He had seven children with her, and died in 1789 in Santa Fe, where he was buried in the military chapel.

20. Salvador de Rivera married Tomasa Rael de Aguilar on June 17, 1747. In 1790, at the age of seventy, he was married again to Juana Abeyta.

21. The corporal referred to here is probably the same individual referred to in note 8.

Joseph Miguel Garduño: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Agustín Griego: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Martín Torres: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a blunderbuss
Joseph Antonio Solici: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Guerrero: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Antonio Ortiz: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Xavier Rodríguez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joaquín Martínez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Trujillo: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Salvador Sandoval: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Lobato: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Tomás Roybal: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Armenta: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joseph Pacheco: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Santiago García: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Pablo Bata: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Lázaro García: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Manuel Ortiz: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Manuel Paulín Rael: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a pistol
Juan Cayetano Uranus: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a pistol
Luis Felipe de Ribera: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Tomás Gallegos: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Tomás Aliri: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Nicolás Rael: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Francisco Cayetano Sandoval: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joaquín Gauna: seven horses with one mule, and otherwise fully equipped
Manuel Rodríguez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Escudero: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, including a pistol without its case
Isidro Antonio Maese: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Isidro Martín: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Luis de Herrera: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Pedro Benito de Aliri: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a pistol
Isidro Rodríguez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Joaquín Romero: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a blunderbuss
Joseph Rael: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Pablo Sandoval: seven horses and a stallion, and otherwise fully equipped
Antonio Lucero: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Ramón García Hurado: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Salvador Martín: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a pistol
Manuel Vigil: six horses and a stallion, and otherwise fully equipped
Juan Antonio Alari: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped, except for a pistol

Juan Domínguez: seven horses and otherwise fully equipped
Miguel Lobato: six horses and a stallion, and otherwise fully equipped, except for a pistol

Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle
Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola

AGN (Mexico City), Provincias Internas, vol.102, ff. 304–310.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Carpeta No. 8. Año de 1761

Correspondencia con el gobernador del Nuevo México, don Manuel [del] Portillo y Urrisola, y entrega del gobierno por su antecesor don Francisco Marín del Valle.

Razón de los pertrechos de guerra que hallan existentes en el Real Cuerpo de Guardia y entrega que me hace de ellos don Francisco Antonio del Valle, Gobernador que fué de este reino, a mí, don Manuel del Portillo [y] Urrisola, Gobernador y Capitán General de este dicho reino, hoy 16 de Mayo de 1761; de lo que me hago cargo en la forma y manera siguiente.

El real estandarte con su cruz de plata.
La bandera del real presidio.
La bandera de los vecinos milicianos.
Dos cajas de guerra.
Un cañón con su cureña.
Un hierro y marca para herrar los caballos del presidio.
Setenta y siete caballos y yeguas, chicos y grandes, de su Majestad; para la habilitación de los vecinos milicianos.
Seis caballos de su Majestad en el pueblo de Thaos [Taos], donde se tienen con el fin de ver si se pueden feriar por ser viejos.
Tres caballos que tiene el indio Joseph Botas, que fue de embajador a los comanches.
Un fusil que tiene dicho indio Joseph Botas.
Un fusil que tiene el indio genízaro Diego de Sena.
Diez cueras de su Majestad que se hallan en el armero.
Treinta y cuatro lanzas en dicho armero.
Una espada en dicho armero.
Una macana en dicho armero.
Un balero de cobre.
Un fusil que parece mosquete muy grande.
Uno dicho mas mediano.
Cinco fusiles comunes franceses.
Veintiuna escopetas; las diez servibles aunque mal tratadas, y las once a la presente inservibles.
Cinco recámaras de bronce.
Dos arrobas y ocho libras de pólvora, para la habilitación de los vecinos milicianos; y cuatro arrobas de plomo para dicho fin.

Tres escopetas en el pueblo de Taos y una en San Joseph de Gracia de las Trampas; consta por costa del teniente Joseph Zamora.
Seis escopetas en la jurisdicción de la villa nueva de Santa Cruz de la Cañada; consta por certificación del alcalde mayor Nicolás Ortiz.
Dos cañones en las fronteras de Pecos y Galisteo con 500 balas y seis libras de pólvora, para los dos. Consta por certificación del alcalde mayor Cayetano Thenorio [Tenorio].
Un cañón en le pueblo de Taos con 386 balas y nueve libras de pólvora. Consta por costa del cabo Francisco Xavier Fragoso.
Un cañón en el pueblo de Picurís con 290 balas, 112 cortadillos, tres balas maestras y seis cargas de pólvora. Consta por razón del sota-cabo Nicolás Mares.
Una campana en el Real Cuerpo de Guardia.
Un caballo que debe el Teniente de Alcalde Mayor, Francisco Sánchez, del Rey.

Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle.
Manuel Portillo de Urrisola.

[Razón] general de los oficiales, cabos y soldados de la compañía de ese Real Presidio de la Santa Cruz de la Villa de Santa Fe, de la Nuevo México, y entrega que hace a el señor don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola, gobernador y capitán general de este Reino (por su Majestad), don Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle, gobernador que fué de este dicho Reino; y es en la forma y manera siguiente.

Primeramente:
El teniente don Carlos Fernández—aviado según dijo y me consta.
El alférez don Bartolomé Francisco—aviado según dijo y me consta.
El sargento primero, Bartolomé Maese—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás y me consta.
El sargento segundo, Miguel Thenorio [Tenorio]—nueve caballos y aviado de lo demás.

CABOS

Luis Jaramillo—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joseph de Herrera—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Trujillo—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Diego Antonio Márquez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás, menos un trabuco.
Joseph Maldonado—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Salvador de Ribera—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco Javier Fragoso—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.

SOLDADOS

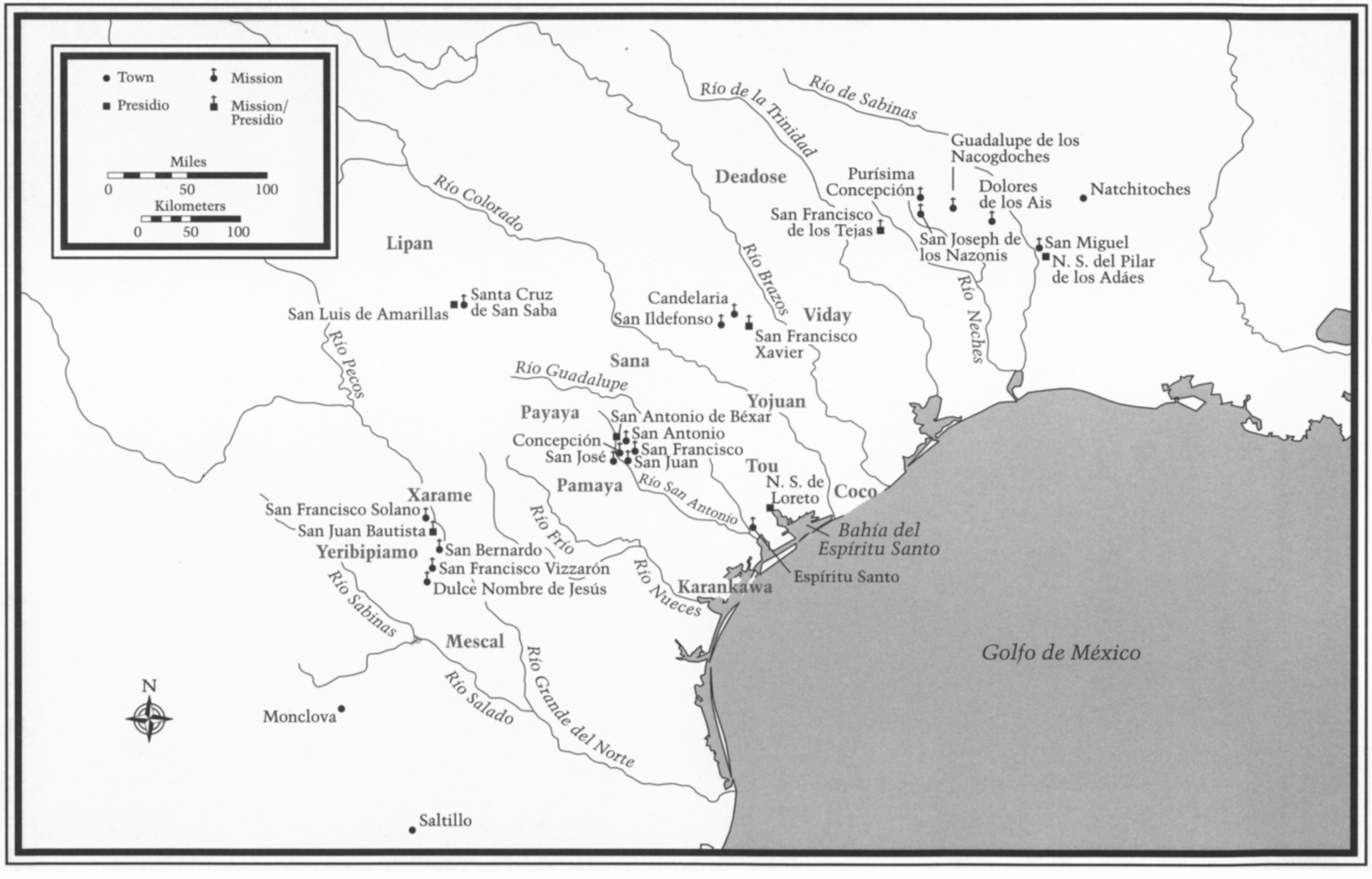
Tomás Casillas—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Salvador Durán—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.

Cristóbal Madrid—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Manuel Sandoval—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Tafoya—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Ribera—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Ortega—diez caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Bautista Herrera—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Nicolás Mares—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Marcos de Apodaca—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Domingo Luján—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco Luján—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco Ortega—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Bartolomé Lobato—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Eduardo Martínez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco García—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joseph Mares—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Tomás García—ocho caballos y aviado de lo demás menos un trabuco.
Mateo Gutiérrez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Miguel Tafoya—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Joseph Durán—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joseph Antonio Gallego—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Diego Romero—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Bartolomé Gutiérrez—ocho caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan de Alari—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco Nieto—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joseph Miguel Garduño—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Agustín Griego—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Martín Torres—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás menos un trabuco.
Joseph Antonio Solici—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Guerrero—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Antonio Ortiz—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco Xavier Rodríguez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joaquín Martínez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Francisco Trujillo—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Salvador Sandoval—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Lobato—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Tomás Roybal—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Armenta—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joseph Pacheco—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Santiago García—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Pablo Bata—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Lázaro García—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Manuel Ortiz—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Manuel Paulín Rael—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás menos una pistola.
Juan Cayetano Uranus—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás menos una pistola.
Luis Felipe de Ribera—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Tomás Gallegos—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Tomás Aliri—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Nicolás Rael—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.

Francisco Cayetano Sandoval—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joaquín Gauna—siete caballos con una bestia mular y aviado de lo demás.
Manuel Rodríguez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Escudero—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás y una pistola sin caja.
Isidro Antonio Maese—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Isidro Martín—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Luis de Herrera—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Pedro Benito de Aliri—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás menos una pistola.
Isidro Rodríguez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Joaquín Romero—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás, menos un trabuco.
Joseph Rael—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Pablo Sandoval—siete caballos y un macho y aviado de lo demás.
Antonio Lucero—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Ramón García Hurado—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Salvador Martín—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás menos una pistola.
Manuel Vigil—seis caballos y un macho y aviado de lo demás.
Juan Antonio Alari—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás menos una pistola.
Juan Domínguez—siete caballos y aviado de lo demás.
Miguel Lobato—seis caballos y un macho; aviado de lo demás menos una pistola.

Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle
Manuel [del] Portillo [y] Urrisola

The Texas Corridor



Texas during the first half of the eighteenth century

Introduction

New Spain's Occupation of Texas

The exploration and colonization of Texas by Spain was linked inextricably to Spanish developments set in motion almost two centuries earlier in the Caribbean and along the Atlantic coast of North America. To appreciate the dynamics of the later period, it is appropriate to review the earlier moves made by Spain and other European powers on this international chessboard.

Within two decades of Columbus' arrival in the New World, Spain had firmly established herself in the Caribbean. From their base on Hispaniola (Santo Domingo), the Spaniards had taken over Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba, and had begun the occupation of the continental mainland of South America and the Isthmus of Panama. Having heard reports from Carib Indians of a rich island known as "Bimini," Juan Ponce de León set sail in 1513 to investigate, discovering for Spain what he christened as "Florida." He sailed up the Atlantic coast as far north as Saint Augustine, or just below 30° north latitude, then doubled back and sailed up the gulf coast to Cape Ramón. Within the ensuing two years, the slaver Pedro de Salazar made landfall northwest of the Bahamas, which news reached the ears of the oidor and rich landowner Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón.

Two ships set sail toward this land from Hispaniola in 1521, with the expectation of finding new Indian populations to press into slavery, and Vásquez de Ayllón was the silent partner in one of them. The ships' crews found what they were looking for when they landed on the coastal area of the Chicora (South Carolina), a kingdom of exceptionally tall Indians and a land of rich agricultural potential with expectation of mineral resources that would make them all rich. There is a certain irony in the fact that in the same year those involved in this voyage found their cupidity fired, Ponce de León's expectations were dashed when he attempted to plant the first Spanish colony on the west side of his "island." The group was promptly driven off by hostile Indians, and the leader lost his life as a result of wounds he sustained.

As matters would have it, Vásquez de Ayllón was sent to Spain by the Audiencia of Santo Domingo to petition King Carlos V to restrict the powers of Governor Diego Colón. The king charged Vásquez de Ayllón with completing various investigations in Puerto Rico and Cuba that had been pending since 1516. The

power of the audiencia was also clarified, thus setting the stage for Colón's recall in 1523 and opening a way for the crown to exercise direct authority in the New World by henceforth appointing all officials.

Vásquez de Ayllón's months in Spain afforded him the opportunity to present his own petition for further exploration of the mainland coast. His glowing report of the potential wealth of the new land (introducing olive trees, silk, and viticulture; exploiting fisheries to compete with Newfoundland, as well as pearls, gold, and other gems; and capturing slaves from among the Chicora) made it seem a veritable "Nueva Andalucía." His plea won him a contract signed on June 12, 1523, for further exploration between 35° and 37° north latitude (his targeted area was actually 32° to 34°, but he bent the truth to align it more accurately with Spanish Andalucía). He was also awarded the titles of *alguacil mayor, adelantado,* and *gobernador* of the new land.

Vásquez de Ayllón followed through with a second voyage in 1525, during which the coast was reconnoitered some 688 nautical miles—from Delaware Bay to the Saint Mary's River, near Ponce de León's Florida—in just two and a half months. The patentee himself was finally to get a firsthand look at his new territory the following year, when he undertook the voyage of colonization in mid-July. Six ships set sail with some 600 people, including 100 to 150 sailors, black slaves, and would-be colonizers drawn from Spain and the Caribbean. The ships arrived on August 9, either on the South Santee River or Winyah Bay (South Carolina), but when the site proved unsuitable, they moved south, finally settling on Sapelo Sound (Georgia). The settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape was founded in September, but hunger, disease, and cold weather quickly took their toll. With Vásquez de Ayllón's death on October 18, the dispirited colonists fell to factional fighting and open rebellion, which resulted in their final removal to Hispaniola by mid-November. Four months after the expedition had set out, about 150 survivors returned.

Vásquez de Ayllón's colony had failed, just as Ponce de León's had, but the tale of Chicora's rich kingdom had not. While the Spaniard had been laying the groundwork for his venture, the Florentine Giovanni da Verrazzano was making preparations for his own voyage of exploration for the French king François I. When Verrazzano sailed in 1524, he was probably unaware of Vásquez de Ayllón's claim of 1521, because the area designated T[ier]ra Nueva de Ayllón did not appear until 1526, on a map by Juan de Vespucci. The Italian chose to make landfall at about 34° north latitude for very sound reasons. He hoped to find the fabled passage that all cartographers of the day were certain existed somewhere along the Atlantic seaboard, a passage that would give direct access to the Pacific Ocean and the Orient (the enormity of the North American continent that separated the two oceans was not grasped for another two hundred years). This sought-for passage, he thought, must lie between Spanish Florida and the fishing banks of Newfoundland. From a map published in Peter Martyr II, he also knew that Ponce de León had reached approximately 30° north, and he was uncertain whether Spain had founded any settlements in the area. He certainly did not want to put his single vessel at risk of capture. The significance of Verrazzano's voyage to this story is that at about 37° north, probably near Cape Lookout (North Carolina), he espied what he believed to be an isthmus, with an arm of the Pacific on the far side that would go "around the tip of India, China, and Cathay." The notion was

subsequently incorporated into a number of maps, which led a generation of European explorers and colonizers to search for Nueva Andalucía and the passage to the Orient later in the sixteenth century.

With the first Spanish attempts at colonizing Florida having ended so disastrously, Felipe II called a moratorium on further efforts in 1561. News of French colonies planted on the Carolina and Florida coasts soon changed his mind, however. In 1565, he dispatched Pedro Menéndez de Aviles, as adelantado and governor and captain general of La Florida, to rid the coast of the hated French and to finally establish Spain's first colony at Saint Augustine. During the next century Spanish missionary outposts spread northward along the Georgia and Virginia coasts, westward into the interior Indian kingdom of Timucua, and beyond into the kingdom of Apalachee, where nine missions were planted by 1655.

By right of discovery and justified by Pope Alexander's donation, Spain considered the Caribbean her exclusive territory. Yet, when she proved unable to colonize her claims—because of both the enormous expense and the manpower required—envious European powers moved into the vacuum. During the seventeenth century the French, Dutch, and English established lawless outposts on numerous Caribbean islands, from which they preyed on Spanish mercantile ships and raided coastal settlements. The English had by now become the main threat in the Floridas. Their founding of Jamestown in 1607 began the colonization of Virginia, and their settlement of the Carolinas began in 1670 with Charleston. The Carolinians inaugurated trade with the Indians and within a decade were vying with the Spaniards for the allegiance of the Apalachecola Confederacy (Lower Creeks), far inland. Encroachment by the brash newcomers forced Spanish withdrawal to a line drawn at the Saint John's River by the end of the century.

The second engagement of the French and Indian Wars, known as Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), drew Spain into an official state of war with England. In 1703, the Carolinians captured Saint Augustine but could not take the fortress of San Marcos. From there they marched overland and destroyed the Apalachee missions.

While the Spaniards were preoccupied with protecting the Floridas from the English, they were suddenly threatened on another front by their old antagonists, the French. Throughout the 1600s, France and England had been in fierce competition to stake their claims of empire across the northern portions of the continent (and incidentally, to dominate the lucrative fur trade). By midcentury the English were in firm control from the Atlantic to the Appalachians, while the French hoped to dominate the interior. During Louis Jolliet and Père Jacques Marquette's 1673 descent of the Mississippi from Canada to its juncture with the Arkansas, they had learned from Indians that the great river beyond (the Mississippi) emptied into the Gulf of Mexico.

Their discovery coincided with the appearance in Europe of Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, a Peruvian who had served as governor of the province of New Mexico from 1661 to 1664. He had been tried by the Inquisition in Mexico on various charges, which led to his being fined, publicly humiliated, stripped of his office, and permanently exiled from New Spain. Peñalosa sought revenge by approaching first the English, and then the French with his schemes for establishing a colony at the mouth of the Río Grande or striking directly at the Río Pánuco. Either would serve as a base from which to conquer northern New Spain and cash

in on its rich silver production, and to conquer the Indian "kingdoms" of Quivira and Taguayo on the northern frontier, which he "knew" from his own entradas to hold immense wealth. Reasoning that Spain might easily close the gap between her settlements in New Spain and the Floridas, and that the English seemed poised to spill over the Appalachians into the interior, the French seized the opportunity to strike first. The Norman-born Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, a veteran frontiersman of the Great Lakes region, followed the Mississippi to its delta in 1682 with his lieutenant, Henri de Tonty. They claimed it and the land as far as the mouth of the River of Palms (Pánuco) for their king, Louis XIV, naming this vast territory Louisiana to honor their sovereign.

The Council of the Indies, having been alerted to Peñalosa's intrigues, recommended to the king that the feasibility of establishing a colony at the Bay of Espíritu Santo be considered by the viceroy. The king duly sent a cédula to that effect dated December 10, 1678. While the Spanish authorities "considered," however, France seized the initiative. Some historians have argued that the plans of La Salle and Peñalosa were melded to a degree and, even though Peñalosa was eased out of the plot for some unknown reason, La Salle carried secret instructions to establish his colony on the Texas coast and to enlist Indian allies with the intention of invading northern New Spain. A more recent reevaluation of documentary evidence suggests that inadequate charting of the gulf at that time and broken or poor navigational instruments used during the expedition were responsible for the expedition's failure to recognize the Mississippi.

Indisputably, late in July 1684, La Salle as expedition leader and Captain Tanguey Le Gallois de Beaujeu as fleet commander sailed from La Rochelle with the four ships *Joly, Belle, Aimable,* and *Saint–François*. The ships carried about 400 persons, including 100 soldiers, some 280 settlers, and 6 priests. By the time they arrived at Matagorda Bay on February 15, 1685, their numbers had been reduced by half and the long voyage had proven inauspicious. The *Saint-François,* laden with provisions for the colony, had been lost to Spanish corsairs off Santo Domingo. During a two-month layover in Haiti, many of the intended settlers deserted or became ill. The voyage had been lengthened by sailing past the confusing maze of rivulets of the Mississippi Delta that masked the great river, and the two commanders had developed an intense dislike for each other.

The situation did not improve. The *Aimable* ran aground trying to negotiate the shallow channel, and although some tools, munitions, baggage, and utensils were retrieved from the storeship before it broke up, the Indians stole much of the supplies. Furthermore, the Indians were testy at best. La Salle had the men hastily build temporary shelters. Beaujeu was so anxious to leave with the *Joly* for the return voyage to France, he refused to unload the cannons intended for the fort, which were in the hold of the ship, and he sailed on March 12. In June, La Salle moved his small colony to a more defensible position farther up Garcitas Creek, where they built Fort Saint Louis—a palisaded stronghold enclosing six houses built of timber and mud and roofed with buffalo skins, a chapel, and a large building constructed of timber and roofed with boards and rawhides. Eight pieces of artillery were mounted at the corners of the stockade for protection.

By October, La Salle felt the small outpost was reasonably secure. Leaving his lieutenant, Henri Joutel, in charge of the camp with thirty-four people, he set out with the others to explore Matagorda Bay and "beyond." The leader and a few

companions stumbled back into the fort six months later (October 1685–March 1686). They had wandered among many tribes, some of whom were acquainted with the Spaniards, and they had encountered a large river but had determined it was not the Mississippi. La Salle, learning of the loss of the *Belle* in a squall during his absence, became ill and depressed that this means of finding aid was now lost. By April 22, he was able to travel again and set out with twenty handpicked men that included his brother, Abbé Jean Cavalier, his nephew, Crevel de Moranget, and Friar Anastasius Douay. Having made contact with the Cenis, La Salle returned in August with only eight men, the others having deserted or been lost, killed, or left along the way because of sickness. The situation at the fort was desperate, and it was clear that unless help could be brought from Canada, all would be lost. The discouraged colony celebrated Christmas (1686) and Twelfth Night (January 6, 1687) together before La Salle and twelve men set out on their final journey on January 12.

The rescue party headed toward the country of the Hasinai with the intention of proceeding on towards the Mississippi and ascending it to Fort Saint Louis on the Illinois, for succor. Each step, however, brought seething hatreds closer to the boiling point. When La Salle dispatched half the party to hunt, three of its members—a man by the name of Pierre Duhaut, an Englishman (or German) named "James" (rendered Hiems), and the surgeon Liotot—conspired to kill the others. Apparently, Duhaut held La Salle responsible for the death of his brother, Dominique, on the previous expedition. Others had come to dislike the harsh, cold leader, and the arrogance of Crevel de Moranget had fueled their discontent. On March 17, Liotot fell upon those loyal to La Salle with a hatchet; Moranget, La Salle's Shawnee hunter Nika, and La Salle's valet Saget lay in their own blood. Knowing full well that La Salle would come looking for the tardy hunters, the conspirators waited in ambush and killed the leader with a shot to the head (March 19). Father Douay, who had accompanied La Salle, witnessed the murder and took the sad news to the camp. Henri Joutel assumed command of the innocent survivors and set out, probably in June, for the Mississippi, to raise a rescue party for those left at the colony. With him were La Salle's brother and another nephew—Abbé Jean Cavalier and Colin Cavalier, respectively—Father Douay, the pilot Tessier, the Parisian Pierre Barthélemy, and the Sieur de Marle (a survivor of the hunting camp massacre).

The remainder of the party, who stayed among the Hasinai, were further reduced by fighting among themselves. As soon as the rescue party left, Duhaut seized command of the seven or eight left behind, but was himself slain two or three days later by James. James, in turn, was killed by the sailor Rutre within days, and Rutre quickly died at the hands of the surgeon Liotot. Liotot, fearful for his own life, took refuge with the Toho Indians, but was killed in a raid against their enemies.[1]

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1. Several survivors of La Salle's colony left accounts of the star-crossed expedition, including Joutel, Father Douay, Minet, and the brothers Pierre and Jean-Baptiste Talon. No two agree on all points. The outline of events presented here generally follows the most recent study *La Salle, the Mississippi, and the Gulf*, edited by Robert S. Weddle, Mary Christine Markovsky, and Patricia Galloway with commentaries on ethnology, natural history,

In the meantime the French colonists left at Fort Saint Louis—their numbers probably reduced to no more than twenty-five—had been beset by smallpox and bickering and were struggling to survive. By Christmas 1688, the Karankawas, who were watching the lonely outpost like so many buzzards, had received word of the death of La Salle and the others in Hasinai territory and, realizing the weakened position of the colonists, fell on the fort. Every adult was slain, while the Indian women carried off the children. The tragic fate of the colony became known to Jean L'Archevêque and Jacques Grollet, two of La Salle's men left among the Hasinai, when, with their guides, they looked in on the fort while en route to visit a Spanish priest (possibly Fray Nicolás López[2]) living among the Jumano Indians in southwest Texas. According to their subsequent testimony, they buried fourteen bodies and returned to the Hasinai without completing their trip. Via an Indian courier, they sent a plea to the Spaniards to be rescued.

Spanish authorities first learned of French intentions to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi from French sailors when one ship of a fleet of corsairs that had raided Campeche on July 6, 1685, was taken. An alarmed government moved quickly, mounting both sea and land expeditions to search out the French colony. A single ship, under the command of pilots Juan Enríquez Barroto and Antonio Romero, sailed along the eastern portion of the gulf from January 3 to March 13, 1686, but found no trace of a settlement. Like La Salle, they failed to recognize the Mississippi and named it the Río de la Palizada. Two ships were next sent out, one under Captain Martín de Rivas with Barroto as pilot, and the other under Captain Antonio de Iriarte with Romero as pilot. During their voyage, from December 25, 1686 to July 3, 1687, they found the *Belle* still stranded on the sandbar in Matagorda Bay, along with abandoned cannon and powder. Finding no trace of the French, however, they concluded that they had perished. When the ships of Rivas and Iriarte failed to return at the expected time, two frigates were dispatched on June 30, to search for both the missing ships and the French outpost. Their captains, Andrés de Pez and Francisco Gamarra, also spotted the *Belle* but encountered no survivors. A fourth sea search was conducted without success from March to late April 1688, under Pez and Barroto.

Although the viceroy sent an order to the governor of Nuevo León in January 1686, to mount a land expedition to reconnoiter the Bay of Espíritu Santo, the party under Alonso de León did not leave until the end of June. It explored the mouth of the Río Grande and noted wreckage washed ashore, but found no colony. The following year (February 1687) León led another exploratory party north of the Río Grande, but was stopped by a large body of water, perhaps Baffin Bay. León made a third trip north in May and June 1688, this time in response to the news brought him by a Tlaxcaltecan Indian of a white chief living in a sizable

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and Karankawa linguistics by Mardith K. Schuetz, Del Weniger, and Rudolph Troike, respectively.

2. Nicolás López founded the first missions for the tribes living in the La Junta area in December 1683, in response to a request by the Jumano chief Juan Sabeata. López was assisted in his efforts by Fray Juan Zavaleta and Fray Antonio Acevedo.

ranchería of Indians. There León found the tattooed Frenchman Jean Géry living the life of a wilderness potentate.

Interestingly, the Franciscan padres laboring among the Jumano and Cíbolo Indians of the missions at La Junta (the junction of the Río Conchos and Río Grande in Chihuahua) learned of the French presence in Texas in the fall of 1687, from those Indians, who annually met the Tejas for trading and hunting buffalo. As soon as confirmation arrived the following year, the news was hurriedly passed on to the governor, who ordered that an expedition be sent from the presidio of Conchos to search for the intruders. The expedition, under Captain Juan de Retana, was delayed due to a revolt of the La Junta Indians that had to be put down first. As a result, Retana had scarcely crossed the Río Grande, probably in early January 1689, when he met Juan Sabeata, chief of the allied tribes of Jumanos, returning from the Tejas country. Sabeata informed him of the massacre of the French colony and produced several sheets of paper with French writing and the drawing of a ship on parchment. In light of this information, Retana suspended his march to await further instructions.

In the meantime the Indianized Frenchman Géry, who had been taken by León, had been sent to Mexico City to be examined there by the viceroy. Satisfied as to the reality of a French colony, the latter ordered a fifth maritime expedition to search every inlet and river from Tampico northward. From August through September 1688, Rivas and Pez carried out their orders, even ascending the Río Grande some thirty-six leagues. They entered Matagorda Bay, saw that the *Belle* had broken up, and further searched the area without finding Fort Saint Louis. Rescue for the French colonists was just thirty miles away and three months short of doomsday.

The newly arrived viceroy, the Conde de Galve, upon reading the report of this last maritime expedition, concluded that only a land search could find the colony. León, now a general and governor of Coahuila, rode out from Monclova on March 24, 1689, with 115 men, including troops from the Nueva Vizcayan presidios of Cuencamé, El Gallo, Conchos, Casas Grandes, and a new company from Coahuila and Nuevo León; Father Damián Mazanet and Bachiller Toribio García de Sierra; teamsters and servants; and Jean Géry, sent back from Mexico to serve as guide. Near the Río Grande the expedition came upon a large ranchería of Hapes, Jumanos, Mescales, and Xiabas, the followers of Géry, who were delighted at his return. Fortunately for the Spaniards there was among them a Quems Indian called Quen-Coqui, who had visited the French fort and now offered his service as guide. En route to the coast, the Spaniards learned from Indians of the massacre that had occurred at the fort "three moons ago." When they arrived there on April 22, the scene bore witness to the rest: three bodies, including one woman, were found on the surrounding plain; chests were broken open and their contents taken; furniture was smashed; books were ripped apart; and artillery was scattered, with carriages broken. The sight of such complete destruction inspired one soldier to pen an elegy.

Before their arrival at Fort Saint Louis, the Spaniards had learned from the Indians who reported the massacre that four Frenchmen had recently been visiting them but had returned to the land of the Tejas. Alférez Francisco Martínez wrote a letter in French asking them to meet the expedition at the site of the settle-

ment, and the note was sent by a runner. A few days later, the runner returned with a reply from L'Archevêque to the effect that he and Grollet were tired of living among savages and wished to join the Spaniards. León proceeded north to meet the two men, who were accompanied by a Tejas chief. The Frenchmen explained that they had been away from the fort at the time of the massacre, told of the assassination of La Salle by the Englishman James, and said they knew of other survivors among the different tribes. They had never seen nor heard of Géry, however, and wondered whether he had wandered south from the French fort on the Illinois. Of equal interest to the Spaniards and the particular delight of Father Mazanet was the Tejas chief, who brought with him a portable altar and a painted cross, expressed his desire to visit the viceroy, and asked for missionaries for his people. A few days later the expedition retraced its steps back to Coahuila, and on May 16, León dispatched his report with a map to the viceroy, along with the two new French prisoners.

VIII

The Failed First Attempts to Establish Missions in Texas (1690-1694)

After four years spent in verifying the French presence—only to find that disease, fighting among themselves, and hostile Indians had solved the immediate problem for the Spaniards, the crown might well have postponed any further action, if it were not for a phantom threat. On August 28, 1689, just three months after León's return from his fourth entrada, a Mescal Indian arrived in Monclova with the news that a number of Frenchmen had arrived from "a great river" with the intent of establishing a new colony near the Tejas—a believable rumor given the fact that war between the two countries had again erupted in May.

As a result, León was ordered to make another entrada, this time accompanied by missionaries who would establish the first two missions among the Tejas. He was authorized to enlist 110 men from the presidios and cities of the interior for the expedition. Father Mazanet selected three companions from the College of Querétaro for the proposed new missions. León was instructed to burn the French fort at La Bahía so that it could not be reoccupied and to round up all French survivors as prisoners.

León had recommended the establishment of four forts and civilian settlements stretching from the Río Grande to the principal village of the Tejas, in order to impede further French encroachment into the area, but this proposal was vetoed by a general junta. The decision played into the hands of Father Mazanet, who, although he agreed with León on the advisability of a Spanish settlement on the lower Guadalupe to serve as a midpoint between Coahuila and the Tejas, was sure that the friendly, hardworking, sedentary agricultural Tejas and Cadodachos could be readily converted without a military presence. Whether soldiers should even be left to protect the missionaries would be decided upon arrival.

Subsequent to the 1690 entrada a maritime expedition was ordered to chart and sound the Bay of Espíritu Santo, to determine whether the river that flowed into it led to the interior and might be used to supply the outpost in the Tejas country, and to remove what had been perceived, erroneously, as French buoys.

In the following year, the recently named governor (January 23, 1691) of the Province of Tejas, Domingo Terán de los Ríos, was charged with leading another expedition to supply the new outposts, establish additional missions, find a

shorter route, make careful geographic observations, learn what he could concerning French activity, and explore the new country. His position was subordinate to the overall wishes of Father Mazanet, however, who was given full charge of the supplies and whose approval had to be sought for any intended action.

The expedition that departed Monclova on May 16, 1691 with such ambitious plans made their weary way back during the winter and spring of the following year. The news they brought back was not good. They found that an epidemic had ravaged the village of San Francisco. Father Miguel de Fontcuberta had died in February, and the missionaries were in sore need of supplies. First a prolonged drought and the intense heat of midsummer, and then the cold and rain of winter, took their toll on the exhausted mounts of the troops. Supplies dwindled, in spite of provisions brought to Espíritu Santo by two ships. They were unable to establish the four missions planned for the Cadodachos for lack of supplies. More ominous yet was the increasing sullenness of the Tejas, who were stealing horses and cattle. Before going on the warpath, the Indian governor warned the missionaries that he did not want to find any Spaniards in his territory upon his return.

Terán took his leave of this wretched land on January 9, 1692. Taking most of the remaining horses and cattle for himself, he, his soldiers, and six disillusioned ministers retraced their route southward. The march to the coast took a full two months, but at least fresh supplies awaited him. Terán sailed home on the supply ship, leaving Captain Francisco Martínez to lead the march back to Monclova when the horses had recovered sufficiently to travel. Another year and a half passed before a supply train led by the new governor, Gregorio Salinas Varona, reached San Francisco de los Tejas on June 8, 1693, to find the ministers in desperate straits—their provisions gone and most of the cattle dead.

Alonso de León's Expedition in Search of the French, 1690

Governor and Captain General de León's letter to Viceroy Conde de Galve, dated July 12, 1690, is the first of two documents that pertain to the initial outcome of the French threat. At the request of the viceroy, León made five expeditions into Texas between 1686 and 1690 in search of signs of La Salle's colony. In the following document, he reports on his fifth and final expedition.

León's letter records the first rescue of survivors from La Salle's ill-fated colony. In addition, it announces the establishment of the first Spanish mission on Texas soil and contains valuable observations on the culture of the Tejas Indians. In relating the presence of the Coahuiltecan Tomás from El Paso, it illustrates the communication maintained among geographically distant and culturally and linguistically diverse tribes, and its reference to the numerous tribes requesting missionaries "in imitation of the Tejas" backs up the ministers' customary appeal for more support.

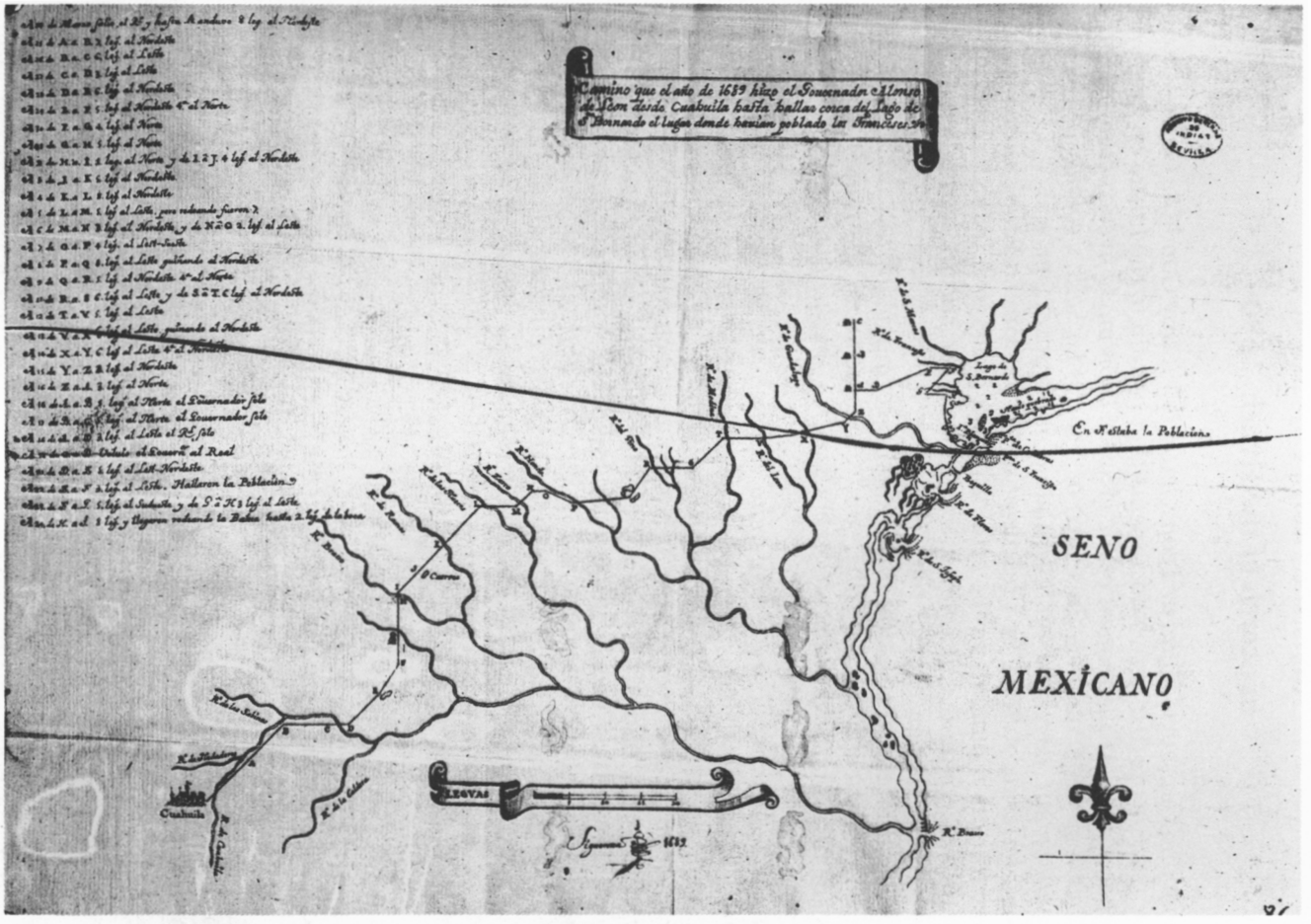
Alonso de León was born in Cadereita, Nuevo León, in 1637 or 1640, the son of a pioneer Indian fighter. During the 1650s, he completed his education in Spain, and in 1657, he enlisted in the Royal Armada. By 1660, however, he was back on the frontier of New Spain. There, having risen from the rank of private to captain, he was named interim governor of Nuevo León in December, 1682. Although the position was confirmed the following year, he served in that capacity only through 1683. He was named governor and captain general of Nueva Extremadura de Coahuila in October 1687, and was authorized to establish the villa and presidio of Monclova with thirty families. It was as governor of Coahuila that he completed the expedition described in this document. He died in March 1691, one year after completing the expedition.

Alonso de León informs the viceroy about his recent trip to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo and the founding of San Francisco de los Tejas (Río Grande, July 12, 1690).

Your Excellency:[1]

God has been served, for after the various inconveniences that have taken place during the journey, which was very long, the two main objectives your excellency ordered me to execute in the dispatch you sent have been ac-

1. Gaspar de la Cerda Sándoval Silva y Mendoza, Conde de Galve, held office from 1688 to 1696. Several major historic events mark his term as viceroy, including the occupation of Pensacola and the initial occupation of Texas.



Governor Alonso de León's route from Coahuila to the French settlements in Texas in 1689. (Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 86)

complished. The *autos* and declarations that I am remitting to your excellency, along with the diary of the entire journey, detail the events that occurred.[2]

The first objective, which was to scout out the settlement rumored to have been recently established by the French, was inconclusive.[3] However, we have evidence that a French ship entered the Bahía [del Espíritu Santo],[4] took on water and wood, and left after a few days. Having captured two Frenchmen[5] in different places and having no reason to believe there were others, we journeyed on in search of the province of the Tejas. We had encountered a [Tejas] Indian, who left his wife and a brother-in-law with us in order to guide us to the province. The Indian arrived at the main settlement of the Tejas[6] at the perfect time, for a message had just arrived from four Frenchmen who had come from the east. They asked the Indian governor for friendly relations and permission to settle with their families in the province.[7] The governor sent them word that he could not admit them because he had already established friendly relations with us.[8] He told them that he was coming to meet us with some of his chief men and that they should go back because he would not allow them in his settlement. In fact, the governor did set out to receive us, meeting us some twenty-two leagues from

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2. There are three transcripts of the diary that vary in their starting and ending dates. The expedition started from the Villa de Santiago de la Monclova on Sunday, March 26, and returned there on Saturday, July 15, 1690. In addition to 110 soldiers and 3 ministers, there were 200 head of cattle and 400 horses.

3. León is referring to the rumor of a new French colonization effort near the Tejas, which had been reported by a Mescal Indian the year before.

4. Apparently, León is referring to what he supposed to be two buoys marking the channel of the Río San Marcos (Lavaca River), which he spotted when he explored the bay. Lacking a boat, he was unable to positively identify them. La Bahía del Espíritu Santo was the Spanish name for Lavaca Bay, which opens out into the larger Matagorda Bay. It was near here that La Salle, having failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi, planted his colony in 1685.

5. These were Pierre Talon and Pierre Meunier, who had accompanied La Salle to the Cenis (Tejas) on his final trek in 1687. La Salle left the ten-year-old Talon with the Cenis to learn the language, while he proceeded toward the Mississippi to bring help to his colony. Talon was fourteen and the Parisian Meunier twenty at the time of their capture by the Spaniards. The two subsequently served as interpreters and helped the ministers to compile a lexicon of Caddoan words.

6. The principal village was where the first mission, San Francisco de los Tejas, was founded on May 25 and the church dedicated on June 1. It was the principal village of the Nabedache. The Tejas (known as Hasinai or Cenis to the French) were actually a confederacy of Caddoan-speaking tribes inhabiting the area of the Neches and Angelina Rivers. Fray Casañas identified nine tribes as belonging to the confederacy at the time: Hasinai, Nabedache, Nacogdoche, Nacanish, Namadish, Nacachau, Neche, Nechavi, and Nasayaha.

7. This statement indicates that there was a factual basis for the Mescal's exaggerated report concerning French efforts to establish another colony. On this occasion, the French emissaries were led by La Salle's lieutenant, Henri de Tonty, in his second attempt to reach survivors of the colony.

8. This governor is the same chief who had accompanied Jean L'Archevêque and Jacques Grollet when they surrendered to the Spaniards the year before. At that time, he had asked that missionaries be sent to his people.

his settlement. We greeted him warmly and explained that your excellency had sent me, along with the religious missionaries, in order to instruct [his people] in Christian doctrine, as they had requested on the last journey. We also gave them the adornments and clothing that your excellency had sent them as a symbol of respect and kindness. [The governor] took us to his principal settlement, which was composed of many families. [They live] in round houses made from wood and straw, which are very tall and spacious.[9] Inside the houses, they store enough corn, beans, and acorns under the eaves to sustain them throughout the year. They sleep in elevated beds around the interior walls of the house, with alcoves made of straw matting, all very clean. They have great quantities of pots and jars in which they store water and cook *atole* and tamales made from corn that they grind with mortars. They have benches made from a single piece of wood on which to sit. They grow large quantities of corn, beans, squash, and watermelon with the help of wooden hoes that they make themselves.

They are a very friendly and attentive people who share with one another. The number of fields they plant is so large that no one would steal even one ear of corn. Even the owners of the fields will sample neither the corn nor the other crops until the Indian priest has made an offering of the first fruits to God.[10] They have always done this. The same Indian priest has his carved saints and a large cross, with a type of chapel where he makes his offerings to God. After the governor and all his captains had pledged obedience to his majesty (may God keep him) and the religious had been received, the Indian [priest] came to see us. After we greeted him warmly, he pledged his loyalty to his majesty and told us, through an Indian interpreter, that he was very pleased to see us and to have the missionaries stay with [his people], and that all the Indians would give them the first fruits of the harvest to offer to God, for the missionaries were his true priests. Not knowing this, he had made the offerings [in the past], but from now on he would cease to do so and would carry out everything the religious ordered, as would the rest of the Indians of the settlements. The Indian governor and all his captains were very content that the religious should stay, along with three soldiers whom I left to assist and accompany them.[11] The [Indian] governor requested that I leave more soldiers to guard the settlement from the many enemies that they had to the west,[12] but we decided not to leave more because of the harm that they might

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9. The beehive-shaped houses were framed with saplings and covered with meadow grass. They were tall and spacious indeed, reaching to forty and fifty feet according to contemporary sources.

10. The Caddoan-speaking confederacies had a highly developed hierarchical priesthood and multiple temples, including one midway between the Neches and Hasinais where a perpetual fire was maintained. Their sanctuaries contained effigies of crocodiles, snakes, lions, bears, and "other ugly simulacrum." Nevertheless, they also conceived of a Creator God ("grand Caddi") as the supreme being.

11. Three priests were left at the new mission: Miguel de Fontcuberta, Antonio Bordoy, and Francisco de Jesús María Casañas.

12. Reference is to the Apaches. Through their allies the Jumanos the Tejas had appealed in 1683 to Governor Pétris de Cruzate of New Mexico for missionaries and help against this enemy.

do as bachelors. This was in consideration of the Indian governor's initial objection to the soldiers he requested staying without women to care for them, because they might molest the women of his settlement.[13] For the moment the three would suffice until we could report to your excellency. The Indian governor sent his brother, a nephew, and two other relatives to come visit your excellency; two of them returned because they felt tired, but the other two will come to the court.[14] The principal settlement encompasses fourteen to fifteen leagues, but we were unable to see all of it because of a river that passes through the middle.[15] In the part that we did see there were more than four thousand people.

The Indian governor and the two Frenchmen also informed us that there are many other settlements in the vicinity. To the north and northeast are the large settlements of the Cadodachos,[16] whose people all plant and store [enough produce] for the year. A swift five days' journey to the north are two missionaries who carry staffs and crosses, teach the Christian doctrine, and perform baptisms, but where they come from or where they go is not known.[17] Also, a message came to the Indian governor that the four Frenchmen had returned and were three days' journey from the settlement. They sent word that they had come back because we were their enemies and very bad people, and [the governor should] watch that we did not take their women and children, along with everything else they had. They said where they were from and that they would return at the corn harvest. Three of them had come through the province of Canada, and the other was from a settlement located near a stream that emptied into the sea above the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. Between the Tejas and this French settlement there is a very large river that can be crossed only by canoe or boat, as these four Frenchmen had done to reach the Tejas.[18] The Tejas are continually at war with the Apache Indians who live to the west of their settlements.

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13. León had intended to leave a forty- to fifty-man garrison, according to one of Mazanet's letters.

14. The chief's nephew, Bernardino, and another relative went on to Mexico City with Mazanet. Bernardino was returning to serve as guide to the Terán-Mazanet expedition in 1691, when his relative was killed accidentally in Querétaro.

15. This is the Neches River.

16. Cadodacho, or Kadohadacho, was the name both of the confederacy of allied groups (Nasoni, Upper Natchitoches, Nanatsoho, and Cahinnio) that inhabited the area of the bend of the Red River where Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma come together, and of its principal tribe. They were related by language and culture to the Tejas.

17. These may have been missionaries from Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, proselytizing among tribes along the Mississippi River. Strangely, León makes no mention of them in his diary.

18. This is apparently a reference to the party led by La Salle's aide, Henri de Tonty, who hoped to rescue survivors of the colony. Tonty, with five Frenchmen, two slaves, and an Indian scout arrived among the Caddos on the Red River on March 28, 1689. At that point, most of his party refused to venture farther, but the leader pushed on with the others toward the village where James was said to be living. There they found no trace of the surviving Frenchmen and concluded that they had been killed. Because they had lost their

We came across a *ladino* Indian named Tomás, who was from the province of Coahuila. He had come with some soldiers and the custodio from El Paso in New Mexico as far as a mountain range that lies some twelve leagues above the ford at the Río Hondo.[19] They were coming to the Tejas, but did not dare to cross the mountains. He had been sent to find the Tejas settlement and had spent more than a year among the Tejas, passing from group to group. After we had greeted him and given him clothes, I told him to remain with two of his men in case it was necessary to send some reports to Coahuila, for which he could be useful in the future. As this was something that required accuracy, I left orders with the cabo who stayed to send word there, and ordered the religious to do the same. With this is an accounting of the equipment and provisions that stayed with the religious and the soldiers.

The land between the bay [del Espíritu Santo] and the Tejas is very fertile, with an abundance of water, grasslands, and woods, and in some areas there are large quantities of buffalo, deer, and prairie chickens; fruit-bearing trees such as mulberries; and other kinds [of fruits and nuts] such as apricots, grapes, blackberries, plums, and walnuts. I do not wish to trouble your excellency with too much detail in this report, but I cannot ignore what I know may be important to the service of God and our lord the king. As I advised your excellency in the report you ordered me to make last time, if settlements are not made among the Tejas—along the Río Guadalupe and the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, for example—it will not be possible to travel about in the province of the Tejas, nor will it be possible to reduce the great number of infidels who live in these parts.[20] All of them are requesting missionaries in imitation of the Tejas. The French already know very well this land and the bay, where they dock to take on meat, wood, and water. From that port they could gain control of the province of the Tejas, which is of grave importance and could result in great harm to all of New Spain. In regard to going forward with the reduction and conversion of the infidels, it will be necessary to send many missionaries to several places, judging from the fervor with which the Indians are requesting them. The reverend father comisario, Fray Damián Mazanet, will explain in more detail to your excellency when, by the grace

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ammunition in crossing a river and the Tejas refused to give them guides, they reluctantly gave up their intent of rescuing survivors from the colony on the coast.

19. In 1687 Fray Nicolás López accompanied Captain Juan Domínguez de Mendoza on an entrada into west Texas that started below El Paso. Members of nineteen tribes went with the expedition, and Tomás undoubtedly belonged to one of them. The party probably penetrated as far as the confluence of the Conchos and Colorado Rivers, where they awaited numerous other tribes, including the Tejas. Many tribes annually convened there to hunt buffalo.

20. The Río de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was named by León during his expedition of the previous year (1689). It was generally known as the Guadalupe, although Domingo Terán de los Ríos called it the San Agustín in 1691. In a letter to the viceroy dated August 12, 1689, León had recommended the establishment of a presidio, garrisoned by sixty soldiers, as a safeguard against further French colonization attempts at La Bahía and as a midpoint between Monclova and the Tejas.

of God, he arrives at your court with the Tejas governor's nephew and another of his relatives.

In addition to the two Frenchmen whom I captured first, we took two boys about seven or eight years old and a French girl of twelve to fourteen years of age from among the coastal Indians. After we had rescued them, the Indians wanted to take them back and attacked us with arrows. We charged them, killing four Indians and wounding three before they fled. The two boys, who were carried from the French settlement during the attack a little more than a year ago, do not know how to speak their language and speak only the Indian tongue. They are the younger brothers of the French girl and of the younger of the two men first captured. All of them are tattooed on the face. I will keep them in custody until your excellency sends me orders regarding what to do with them.[21]

I have greatly missed the old Frenchman[22] during this journey, because of his knowledge of the land and all the Indian languages. I always found him to be loyal, and it is only through him that the bay settlement from which he came could be discovered—which I suspect is the same area from which the four other Frenchmen have now come to the Tejas.

We burned the wooden fort that was located in the bay [del Espíritu Santo]. The twenty soldiers from the two presidios of Cuencamé and El Gallo,[23] who caught up with me a day's journey from the Río Guadalupe and accompanied me to the Tejas, have done very well on the entire journey. Likewise, those who came from the realm of León and other parts have been very punctual. As for the

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21. These were Robert (age 5), Marie Magdelaine (16), and Lucien (age unknown), who had been adopted by the Cascossi (or Caocosi), a Karankawan band. All three were siblings of Pierre Talon, and two other children from the Talon household were found the next year by the Terán-Mazanet expedition. Their parents were Lucien Talon the elder, a Norman carpenter, and Isabelle Planteau, a Parisian, who had sailed with La Salle as colonists. The father had been "lost in the woods" while on an excursion with La Salle, and the mother was slain during the massacre. The Talon children were placed in the household of Viceroy Conde de Galve, where they lived as household servants. Lucien was enlisted as a soldier with the Armada de Barlovento shortly before the expiration of the viceroy's term (1696), while Marie Magdelaine and Robert accompanied the viceroy and his family back to Spain.

22. This refers to Jean Géry, whom León found living as a chief among the Indians on the Texas side of the border (perhaps Kinney County) in 1688. He was judged to be about fifty years old at the time (another account says "old and naked"). Identifying himself as a native of St. Jean de Orleans, France, he claimed that he had come from a large French settlement on a big river and that he had been living with the Indians for three years. After being sent to Mexico City for further interrogation, he was returned to Monclova to serve as guide to León's 1689 entrada. Given that L'Archevêque disclaimed any knowledge of him, Géry may have been a deserter from Fort St. Louis on the Illinois. Nothing more is heard of Géry after this expedition.

23. The new presidios at Cuencamé and El Gallo were authorized December 22, 1685, by Viceroy Conde de Paredes. Cuencamé was a mining center 120 kilometers northeast of Durango, but the presidio was actually located 15 kilometers to the northwest, at El Pasaje. San Pedro del Gallo, a former cattle hacienda, was north of the Río Nazas, 90 kilometers northwest of Cuencamé. Each was garrisoned by fifty men at the time of León's entrada.

horses, many have tired and died, due to the many skirmishes we have engaged in and their having begun in poor condition because of the snow that fell before the journey. The pack train was chartered for the 4½ months that we have taken; if there are no new accidents, when it arrives at Saltillo and the realm [of León] there should be 3 months owed, as we paid 1½ months in advance at the rate of 5½ pesos per animal per month. The 177 mules chartered will be delivered to whatever destination your excellency would like, and the payment to the owners of the mules will be settled. Captain Gregorio Salinas is in charge of remitting payment to the mule drivers. The elder Frenchman, Pedro Muni, is also going along in the event that your excellency might wish a statement or declaration from him.[24]

The principal settlement of the Tejas lies at 34°7′.[25] Captain Gregorio Salinas will inform your excellency of everything else that has occurred. May God keep your excellency in his highest glory for many years.

Río Grande, July 12, 1690. Your excellency, your most obedient soldier kisses your excellency's feet.

Alonso de León

AGI, Audiencia de México, leg. 617.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Alonso de León informa al virrey sobre su nueva visita a la Bahía del Espíritu Santo y la fundación de San Francisco de los Tejas (Río Grande, 12 de julio de 1690).

Excelentísimo Señor:

Ha sido Dios servido que después de varios inconvenientes que se han ofrecido en el discurso de la jornada, por ser tan dilatada, se han logrado los dos puntos más principales a que se dirigió el despacho que vuestra excelencia fue servido de enviarme mandándome en él lo ejecute según su contenido, pues por los autos y declaraciones que remito a vuestra excelencia, con el "diario" de toda la jornada, consista por extenso lo sucedido en ella.

El primer punto que fue el reconocer la poblazón que nuevamente se decía habían hecho los franceses salió incierta; solo sí tuvimos razón de un navío que entró en la bahía e hizo agua y leña y dentro de pocos días se volvió a salir, y habiendo [cogido] dos franceses en distintas partes y no habiendo dado razón ninguna

24. Upon reaching the Río Grande, the León expedition found it flooded and had to wait until the water went down. Captain Gregorio de Salinas Varona was sent ahead to Mexico with León's report and the Frenchman Pierre Meunier (Pedro Muni). Salinas Varona had recently arrived from Spain after many years of service in Flanders. He accompanied subsequent expeditions into Texas and replaced Domingo Terán de los Ríos as governor of Coahuila from 1693 to 1698.

25. The original site of the mission was near the present town of Weches, Houston County, and just west of the Neches River. It is actually situated a bit above 31° north latitude.

de otros, pasamos a la provincia de los tejas habiendo anticipado a un indio de ellos, dejándonos a su mujer y un cuñado suyo, para que nos guiaran a dicha provincia, el cual indio llegó a tan buena ocasión a la poblazón principal de los tejas que acababa de llegar correo de parte de cuatro franceses que venían de la parte de levante, en que llamaban al dicho gobernador para hacer amistad con él y venirse a poblar con familias a dicha provincia; el cual gobernador les envió a decir no podía admitirlos, por ser nuestros amigos y haber recibido correo en que lo llamábamos; y que nos venía a encontrar con algunos indios de sus principales, y que así se volviesen porque no les había de admitir en su pueblo, y con efecto nos salió a recibir como veinte y dos leguas de su pueblo, donde le encontramos y habiéndose alegrado mucho y agasajándole y dándole a entender a dicho gobernador como vuestra excelencia me enviaba con los religiosos misioneros, como habían pedido el viaje pasado, para que los industriasen en las cosas de nuestra santa fe católica, y las alhajas y ropa que vuestra excelencia fue servido de remitirles en señal de agasajo y cariño, nos llevó a su pueblo principal, el cual se compone de mucha cantidad de familias en sus casas de madera y zacate redondas, muy altas y capaces, y dentro de ellas tienen sus techos donde guardan su maíz, frijol y bellota para el sustento de todo su año. Y alrededor de la casa, de la parte de adentro, sus camas altas en qué dormir con sus boveditas hechas de petate a modo de un carro, con mucho aseo. Tienen muchísima cantidad de ollas y tinajas en qué tener agua y cocer atole y tamales, que hacen de maíz, el cual muelen con morteros; tienen sus bancos en qué sentarse de madera labrados de una pieza cada uno. Siembran mucha cantidad de maíz, frijoles, calabazas y sandías, beneficiándolo con asadones de madera que hacen ellos.

Es gente muy afable y agasajadora y muy partidos unos con otros y en tanta cantidad de milpas que siembran no se hurtan un elote tan sólo unos a otros, ni lo prueban los mismos dueños, ni de las demás semillas, hasta haber dado a un indio que tenían por ministro las primicias para que las ofreciera a Dios; que esto han observado siempre, y el tal indio ministro de ellos tiene sus hechuras de santos y una cruz muy grande, con su modo de oratorio o capilla donde hace su ofrecimiento a Dios. El cual indio, después de haber dado la obediencia al gobernador y todos sus capitanes y su majestad (que Dios guarde) y recibido los religiosos, vino a vernos y habiéndole agasajado dió la obediencia a su majestad y dijo por medio de un indio intérprete que se holgaba mucho de habernos visto y de que se quedaran los religiosos con ellos, a quienes darían todos los indios de los pueblos lo primero de los frutos que cogieran para que los ofrecieran a Dios, pues eran ellos los verdaderos ministros suyos, que por no haberlo sabido los ofrecía él, y que desde luego cesaría y estaría a todo lo que los religiosos le ordenasen para ejecutarlo con los demás indios de sus pueblos, quedando muy contento el dicho indio gobernador y todos sus capitanes de la quedada de los religiosos y tres soldados que dejé para que asistiesen y acompañasen a los religiosos, que aunque el gobernador me pedía le dejase alguna cantidad para resguardo de su pueblo por los muchos enemigos que tienen de la parte del poniente, por el perjuicio que pudieran hacer por ser solteros y que por ahora bastarían los tres mientras dábamos cuenta a vuestra excelencia, y habernos dado el indio gobernador a un hermano, sobrino y otros dos parientes suyos para que viniesen a ver a vuestra excelencia, que los dos de ellos se volvieron por hallarse cansados y los dos van a esa corte, discurrimos el no dejar más soldados; por haber hecho reparo en los principios el indio

gobernador de que cómo habían de quedar los soldados que me pedían sin mujeres que los cuidaran y que podrían inquietar algunas de su pueblo. El cual pueblo principal cogera de catorce a quince leguas, que por atajarnos un río que pasa por medio del pueblo no lo anduvimos todo, y en lo que vimos sólo habrá más de cuatro mil personas.

También nos dió razón el indio gobernador y los dos franceses, de que hay otros muchos pueblos a los alrededores y para el norte y nordeste están los pueblos de los cadodachos que son muy grandes y toda es gente que siembra y guarda para su año, y que cinco días de camino a la ligera para el norte andan dos religiosos como los que llevamos con sus báculos y cruces, y que les enseñan la doctrina cristiana y los bautizan, y que no saben de dónde han venido ni por dónde. También le vino aviso al indio gobernador cómo los cuatro franceses se habían vuelto luego tres jornadas de su pueblo, enviándole a decir que se volvían porque éramos sus enemigos y que mirasen que les habíamos de quitar sus mujeres e hijos y todo cuanto tenían, que éramos malísima gente, y que nos dijeran de que parte venían, que a la siembra del maíz volverían a verlos, que los tres de ellos eran los que habían pasado a la Cañada [sic] por aquella provincia y el uno era de una población que está en un riachuelo que entra en la mar adelante de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, y que en el medio de los tejas y dicha población de franceses está un río muy caudaloso que sólo en canoas o barcas se puede pasar, como lo hicieron estos cuatro franceses para venir a los tejas. La guerra que continuamente tienen los tejas es con los indios apaches que están de la parte del poniente de su población.

Hallamos un indio ladino llamado Tomás, de la provincia de Coahuila, que entró con unos soldados y el custodio del paso del Nuevo México hasta una sierra que está como doce leguas arriba del paso del Río Hondo, los cuales venían a los tejas y no se atrevieron a pasar de dicha sierra y los enviaron a él para que viese y descubriese la población de los tejas, el cual, de indios en indios fue a dar allá al cabo de tiempo y ha más de un año que está en los tejas, a quien, después de vestirlo y agasajarlo, le dije se quedase con otros dos de los suyos por si fuera necesario despachar algunos avisos a Coahuila, por lo que se pudiera ofrecer en lo de adelante, que siendo cosa que pide precisión dejé orden al cabo que quedó allí avisara y lo que a los religiosos lo hicieran juntamente. Va con ésta la memoria de lo que quedó de avío y bastimentos a los religiosos y soldados.

La tierra de la bahía hasta los tejas es tierra muy fértil y abundantísima de aguas, pastos y maderas y en partes muchísima cantidad de cíbola, venados y gallinas de la tierra, árboles frutales como son moras y otro género a modo de alberchigos, uvas y zarzamora y endrinas y nogales. Y aunque quisiera no molestar a vuestra excelencia en lo dilatado de estos renglones, no puedo excusarme, por lo que puede importar al servicio de Dios y del Rey nuestro señor por lo que tengo reconocido, que si no se puebla así en los tejas como en el Río de Guadalupe y puerto de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, según y como informé a vuestra excelencia en el informe que vuestra excelencia fue servido de mandarme hacer la vez pasada, ni se podrá trajinar a la provincia de los tejas ni se podrán reducir muchísimo número de infieles que hay por estas partes, que todos ellos están pidiéndome ministros a imitación de los tejas, y que teniendo ya los franceses tan reconocida esta tierra y el puerto de la bahía donde entran a hacer carne, agua y leña, se podrán apoderarse así del puerto como de la provincia de los tejas, que

es de muchísima consecuencia, y podrán ser de muchísimo perjuicio a toda la Nueva España; y de haberse de proseguir en la reducción de infieles y nuevas conversiones, son necesarios muchos ministros y en distintas partes, por el fervor con que todos los indios los están pidiendo; que el reverendo padre comisario fray Damián Mazanet dará razón a vuestra excelencia más por extenso cuando con el favor de Dios llegue a esa corte con un sobrino del gobernador de los tejas y otro pariente de él.

Demás de los dos franceses que cogí primero, saqué otros dos muchachos de siete a ocho años, y una francesita de doce a catorce, de entre los indios de la costa, que después de haberlos rescatado nos los quisieron quitar poniéndose a flecharnos, a quienes embestimos, y habiéndoles derribado cuatro indios y herido tres, se pusieron en huída. Los dos muchachos, con haber poco más de un año que los llevaron de la poblazón, cuando la azotaron, no saben hablar su lengua sino la de los indios; son hermanillos de la francesita y del uno de los que cogí primero, el más pequeño; todos ellos están rayados con una raya en el rostro; los tendré en casa hasta que vuestra excelencia me mande lo que he de hacer de ellos.

Mucha falta me hizo esta jornada el francés viejo, por el conocimiento que tiene de todas las lenguas de los indios y de la tierra, y que siempre reconocí en él fidelidad, y sólo por medio de ése se pudiera, por la Bahía, descubrir la poblazón de donde él vino, que juzgo es de a dónde ahora venían estos cuatro franceses a los tejas.

Quemamos el fuerte de madera que tenían en la bahía. Los veinte soldados de los dos presidios de Cuencamé y el Gallo me alcanzaron una jornada adelante del río de Guadalupe y pasaron conmigo hasta los tejas lo han hecho muy bien en todo el viaje; y así mismo los que vinieron del Reino de León y las demás partes, han andado muy puntuales. De la caballada se nos han cansado y muerto muchas por las muchas mariscadas que hemos hecho, y haber salido maltratada con la nevada que antes de la jornada tuvimos. Se deben de flete de cuatro meses y medio que tardaremos, si no hay nuevos accidentes, en llegar con las recuas al Saltillo y Reino los tres meses, por haberles pagado mes y medio adelantado, a razón de cinco pesos y medio cada mes por cada mula, que son ciento y setenta y siete las mulas que fueron fletadas; que, siendo servido vuestra excelencia, de mandarlos librar en la parte que vuestra excelencia gustare, se ajustara la paga de dichos fletes a los dueños de dichas recuas, que va encargado el capitán don Gregorio Salinas de remitir la libranza de la paga de los arrieros. Va juntamente el francés grande llamado Pedro Muni, por si fuere necesario tomarle su declaración u otra resolución que vuestra excelencia fuere servido de tomar con él.

Está el pueblo principal de los tejas en treinta y cuatro grados y siete minutos. De todas las demás cosas que se ofrecieron, dará razón a vuestra excelencia el capitán don Gregorio Salinas. Guarde Dios a vuestra excelencia muchos años en su mayor grandeza.

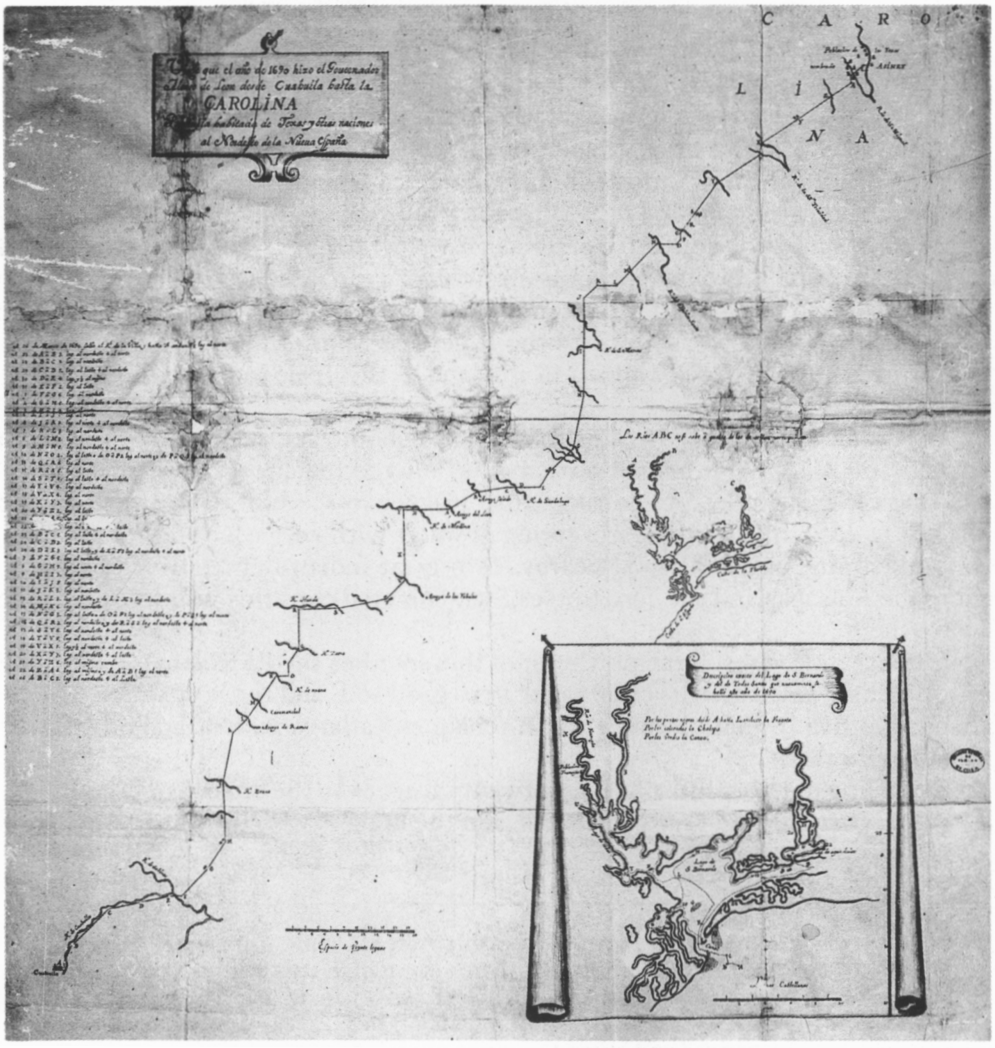
Río Grande y julio 12 de 1690. Excelentísimo señor, besa los pies de vuestra excelencia su más obediente soldado.

Alonso de León

Mazanet on the Prospects for Settlement, 1690

Fray Damián Mazanet, a native of Mallorca, arrived in New Spain in 1683 as one of twenty-four Franciscans who came to establish the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro as a training center for missionaries. He was sent to the Coahuila frontier about 1687, and in 1688 founded Mission San Salvador del Valle de Santiago (also called Misión de Caldera), next to the old mission of San Bernardino de la Caldera (today the town of Santiago de Valladares, near Candela). In 1689, he accompanied León to Matagorda Bay and subsequently was named comisario of the new missions to be established in Texas in 1690. During his third trip into Texas with the Terán expedition (1691), he penned a diary that is one of our best sources of ethnographic information on Texas Indians. After the 1693 withdrawal of the Texas missions, Mazanet was attached to the Franciscan province of Michoacán as guardian of Zacapu, custodio of the Río Verde missions, and provincial secretary. His incorporation into that province was nullified in 1702, and his whereabouts for several years after are uncertain, although he may have returned to Mallorca. He reappeared in Guatemala from 1713 to 1716, where he served as secretary of the Franciscan province, after which he disappeared from the record.

Mazanet's letter to the viceroy of September 1690 complements Alonso de León's ethnographic information on the Tejas by enumerating many of the numerous nomadic hunter-gatherer tribes located between the mission of San Salvador, Coahuila, and the land of the Tejas. He is the first to record the appearance of Mother Agreda among the Tejas. In addition, his letter is relevant to the theme of presidial development in Texas, for at the time of writing he was in agreement with León on the advisability of establishing a settlement of soldier-settlers on the Guadalupe. The settlement would serve as a midpoint between Coahuila and the Tejas country and would protect the Bay of Espíritu Santo from further French attempts at occupation. At the same time, he specified that the Spanish outpost be distant from Indian settlements and that a Protector of Indians be appointed to look out for their interests. He was adamant that no presidio be established and no soldiers be stationed among the Tejas, which is particularly significant in light of his subsequent reports to the viceroy. He did, however, recommend that a few craftsmen be sent to that frontier, along with youths to be raised among the Indians—under the supervision of the ministers—in order to foster understanding and affection between the races.



Governor Alonso de León's route from Texas to the Carolinas in 1690.
(Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 88)

Letter from Fray Mazanet to the Conde de Galve, informing him of his trip to Tejas and relating his ideas about the settlements and growth of the missions. Mexico, September 1690.

Most Excellent Sir:
Your excellency ordered me to inform you in writing of everything that I have learned of the land that lies between the mission of San Salvador del Valle de Santiago and the province of the Tejas Indians. [Your excellency] also [asked] what can be done to further the conversion of those poor infidels in the province of the Tejas and in the other realms that we have heard lie farther on, as well as with the nations of Indians in the areas before the Tejas and those who re-

quest ministers and desire to be Christians. Likewise, [your excellency wanted to know] which places should be settled with Spaniards, with consideration to minimizing the expense to his majesty in everything. In addition, [your excellency asked] what things are required for the priests and soldiers who stayed behind [among the Tejas] and for the new priests who are now needed. With regard to this and everything that I might inform your excellency, I swear before God, who will judge the living and the dead, that my only goal in all that I shall say is that those poor infidels be converted and redeemed by the blood of Christ, our life. For lack of ministers innumerable souls are lost, and our Lord suffers more for each soul lost due to the lack of ministers than everything he endured in his passion and death. He revealed as much to the venerable Mother María de Jesús Agreda on the occasion when she walked in the land of the Tejas Indians, whom we are discussing.[1]

Before anything else, it seems to me that I should tell your excellency about the existing trail, the principal settlements, and the Indians who are at each one. Leaving the mission of San Salvador, five leagues to the northeast at the edge of the Sierra de Santiago,[2] there is a spring of water with very good soil for planting, and much pine and oak wood nearby. Two great Indian nations live in that region: the Alasapas and the Tacaguitses,[3] who planted corn this year from the seed I gave them.

About ten leagues to the northeast of this spot lies the Río Sabinas.[4] The river is full of fish, [and there is] cedarwood, very good soil, and the best water. The Indians who live in that place are the Parchaques,[5] a large nation, and others who usually join them.

Traveling north, it must be about twenty leagues to the crossing of the Río del Norte. In that area are very good lands, and the Indians who live there are the fol-

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1. From 1621 to 1631, Mother María de Jesús de Agreda, while in repeated states of religious ecstasy, appeared before various Southwestern Indian tribes from Arizona to Texas through bilocation, that is, while she was physically in Spain. Missionaries at San Antonio de Isleta, New Mexico, became aware of her visits on July 22, 1629, when a delegation of fifty Jumano Indians arrived and asked that missionaries be sent to instruct them in Christianity. They were following the command of a mysterious young and beautiful Lady in Blue who taught them in their own tongue. The lady in the blue cloak was María de Jesús, the daughter of Francisco Coronel and Catalina de Arana of the Villa de Agreda, Old Castile. Born April 2, 1602, she entered the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in 1619 (founded by her parents), and took her formal vows a year later. She served as abbess there almost continuously from 1625 until she died in 1665.

2. The Sierra de Santiago is a spur range of the Sierra Madre Occidental.

3. Both the Alasapas and Tacaguitses were Coahuiltecan-speaking tribes. Missionary efforts among the former, and perhaps the latter, were undertaken as early as 1675. The Alasapas were being missionized at Boca de Leones between 1688 and 1690, but those early efforts were short-lived.

4. The Río Sabinas is a tributary of the Salado that runs from northwest to southeast across northern Coahuila.

5. The Parchaques were presumably Coahuiltecan speakers, but nothing is known of them.

lowing nations: Mexcales, Yoricas, Chomenes, Sanaques, Sanyaus, and Apis.[6] Beyond this crossing of the Río del Norte, heading north and northeast about twenty leagues, one comes upon the Río de las Nueces,[7] and the Indian nations that live there are as follows: Pacciquis, Pastaluc, Paac, Patchal, Papanacas, Chaguanes, Paiauam, Patsau, and Patau.[8] About twenty leagues farther to the north the Río Hondo[9] begins, and the Indians inhabiting that area are these nations: Sampanales, Pacuachianas, Putaay, Manico, Geyer, and Ataxal.[10] The Río Medina[11] rises about twenty leagues farther north, and the Indians at that place are the following nations: Tilpayay, Cauya, Semoman, Saracoam, Pulacmam, and Anxau.[12] About twenty leagues farther northward are the headwaters of the Río Guadalupe. It is the best spot in all the land, for this river enters the Bahía del Espíritu Santo and offers many benefits, such as plentiful bison, numerous fish, very good soil, and a great deal of timber. The land can be farmed by irrigation or by rainfall. It seems to me that it would be worthwhile to settle this river in order to secure the whole region. The Indian nations that live along the Río Guadalupe are the following: Tohaa, Toho, Emat, Cavas, Sana, Panasiu, Apaszam, and Manam.[13] To reach the Tejas from the Río Guadalupe one travels north, and the Río de San

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6. The Mexcales (Mescales), Yoricas, and Apis were Coahuiltecan tribes whose members were missionized at San Juan Bautista in 1699 and 1700. The Chomenes were the Jumanos, whose linguistic affiliation is unknown. These four tribes were found together in the ranchería of Jean Géry in 1688. The identities of the other two tribes are undetermined.

7. The Nueces River was named by León in 1689. The river, whose headwaters are on the Edwards Plateau, flows southeast and empties into Nueces and Corpus Christi Bays. During the colonial period, it formed the boundary between the provinces of Nuevo Santander and Texas.

8. Some of these Coahuiltecan tribes were represented at San Francisco Solano, Coahuila, and San Antonio de Valero, Texas.

9. This was probably the Frio River, rather than the Hondo. The Frio begins in Real County and flows south then southeast, joining the Atascosa and Nueces at present-day Three Rivers.

10. These, presumably, were Coahuiltecan-speaking tribes. The Pacuache (Pacuachianas) for the most part were missionized at San Bernardo, Coahuila, although a few were found at San Francisco Solano, Coahuila, and San Antonio de Valero, Texas. One well-used crossing of the Río Grande was located six miles northeast of Guerrero, Coahuila, at El Paso Pacuache.

11. The Medina River was so named by León in 1689, in honor of Pedro Medina, the Spanish engineer and scholar. It flows southeast through Bandera County in two branches to join the San Antonio River.

12. Tilpayay is probably a cognate of Tilija, Filijayes, and other variants. These Indians were missionized at San Juan Bautista, and some were later found at San Francisco Vizarrón, Coahuila. If they are the same as the Tiloja or Thelojas, some were also missionized at San Juan Capistrano, Texas. Nothing is known of the other tribes.

13. These tribes were Tonkawan speakers, some of whom were members of the Sana Confederacy when they came into the mission of San Antonio de Valero in the eighteenth century.

Marcos is reached after thirty leagues.[14] Before that river there are many streams of very good water, and the Indians inhabiting the land are the following nations: Chaguantapan, Muruam,[15] and other nations of which I was told, but did not see. The direct trail to the Tejas goes north from the Río San Marcos, but the Apaches usually come that far,[16] and the Apaches are enemies of the Tejas as well as of the Spaniards. Another route to the Tejas goes off to the northeast. Although it is longer, it is the safest way, for there are no enemies. Not even the Apaches come there, due to the rough terrain and the distance. Between the Río San Marcos and the Tejas there are two rivers: the Espíritu Santo and the Trinidad.[17] The land is very wild, and there are many mulberries, walnuts, and grapevines.

All the Indians referred to thus far live barbarously in the country, for they do not reside permanently in any part. They do not plant or have any seeds; their food is the fruit the earth gives them and the bison.

For these reasons, the missions built between the Río Guadalupe and here will be more costly than those built among the Tejas. The Tejas are people inclined to work. They plant corn, beans, watermelons, squash, and other seeds that they have, and they reside permanently in their houses, with considerable regulation.

Of the nations that live surrounding the Tejas, the Apaches are to the west. To the north are the Cadodachos, whose families, according to the Tejas, make up four great settlements. These settlements are divided by a great river, which the Cadodachos cross in their large canoes. They are a very knowledgeable and courteous people, quite united with the Tejas.

Beyond the Cadodachos lie the kingdoms mentioned by the venerable María Jesús de Agreda. I hope to God that the time comes when it will be possible to enter all those kingdoms to take away that great harvest from the devil.

The order in which I describe the rivers and the land here is not the same as that along the trail that one takes to reach the Bahía del Espíritu Santo. To go to the bay one heads always to the east after crossing the Río del Norte, and to go to the Tejas one heads always to the north. The places and the Indian nations to which I have referred are not the only ones that exist; they are only those directly

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14. What we know today as the San Marcos is actually a tributary of the Guadalupe, which it joins above the route that was probably taken by the León expeditions. The San Marcos River referred to here is more likely to have been the Colorado.

15. This was still Tonkawa territory. Moruame (Muruam) were present at San Antonio de Valero in the eighteenth century, along with the Sana and Toho.

16. This was an area known as the Lomería Grande, a wedge-shaped extension of the Apachería of western Texas that stretched across the central part of the state, between the Tonkawas and Coahuiltecas to the south and the Caddos to the east and northeast.

17. The Espíritu Santo was probably the Brazos, the main arms of which are in northwest Texas. In so naming it, the expedition probably assumed that the San Bernardo was part of its drainage. The confusion of names may be due to the fact that the Bahía del Espíritu Santo was sometimes called La Bahía de San Bernardo.

The Río Trinidad (Trinity River) has its source in four forks located in north-central Texas. It flows southeast and empties into the northern end of Galveston Bay. It was León who gave it the name of Santísima Trinidad.

en route. If we detoured from the trail, we would find many more good areas and Indian nations.

This, your excellency, is a brief account of what could be done to secure the region and to be able to supply it, but with the understanding that it would not be possible to do everything in one year, due to his majesty's many expenses. For now, it seems to me that it would be wisest to promote the major and most essential [parts] of whatever course of action your excellency decides to take. Your excellency, what appears to me to be important now, and a work of charity, is to render assistance to those poor religious who work in the Lord's vineyard, bringing souls into the lap of our Holy Mother Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, and also to the soldiers who stay to accompany those ministers. As for the religious that your excellency might wish to send, I think that for the moment fourteen priests and seven laymen will be necessary. There are two reasons to send laymen. The first is that in catechizing infidels a layman can do as much as a priest. The second [reason] is to avoid bringing women into the kitchens.[18] The laymen can serve in the kitchens and teach the Indians. As to the ministers that are required, I request that your excellency please ask our reverend father comisario general not to hinder those religious from the provinces who wish to go and intend to do so, for the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro is authorized by his majesty to receive monks from all the provinces of the Indies. Whoever they are, they will be to my satisfaction.

Of all the places and regions that I have mentioned to your excellency, for now I think it would be enough to settle the Río Guadalupe, because the site is approximately midway on the trail from Coahuila to the Tejas. The reasons that lead me to recommend this are the following: First, if the area at the entrance to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo is fortified and settled, the whole land will be secured and it will be possible to live without fear of enemies. We know, of course, that the French have sounded the entire coast and have surveyed the land. Second, some of the Frenchmen speak the Indians' language like natives. If the French take control of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo, they will enter the territory of the Tejas and the other Indians that are nearby. Once they enter, they will have a great following among the Indians because, as we have learned from the Frenchmen we have found among the Indians, they teach the Indians nothing of the law of God our Lord.[19] To the contrary, if there is evil among the Indians, the French surpass them in wickedness. As human nature leans toward wickedness, it follows that if the French take control of the lands at the Bahía del Espíritu Santo,

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18. Using male cooks apparently became the custom quite early, for missionaries had found that having women in the kitchen of their convent caused "disorder." The anonymously written "Instructions for the Minister of the Mission of Purísima Concepción of the Province of Texas," probably penned about 1760, warned against allowing women in the kitchen.

19. It was not the policy of the French crown to attempt the conversion of Indian tribes, as it was with the Spanish. Nevertheless, within the religious orders there was genuine concern for the heathen state of the natives, as illustrated by the work of the French Jesuits in Canada and across the northern United States. More to the point here is that Fray Anastase Douay of La Salle's colony planned to begin a mission among the Cenis (Tejas).

the Tejas, and the other infidel Indian nations in those parts, they will have a great following of Indians against the Spanish. The third reason is that the Río Guadalupe offers many advantages for those who might settle there. The soil is excellent and can be planted under irrigation or rainfall. A variety of wood is found along the river from its origin to its mouth at the bay, which covers about thirty leagues, and the river can be traversed in canoes. There is also meat from bison, abundant fish, nuts, and many grapes.

In case your excellency decides to undertake the settlement of that region, it seems to me that the necessary people could be assisted. Your excellency could arrange for these soldier-settlers to be paid their wages in advance, as is done in all the presidios. As you know, the usual wage his majesty pays presidial soldiers is 450 pesos.[20] At the same time, since they must be settlers as well as soldiers, they should be advanced along with their salary the same amount that his majesty gives to settlers of new lands, which is 200 pesos, as was done in Coahuila.[21] To ensure that the soldier-settlers obtain their wages, and in order to encourage them further, your excellency could assign an honest paymaster who would have no dealings whatsoever with the designated monies. The salaries should be paid in reales, not in other goods as is often done, whereby the poor soldiers are forced to accept for 12 [pesos] [goods] that have a value of 4.

For the greatest security, assuming that your excellency sends Spaniards to settle that area, the Spaniards should be situated at the entrance to the bay, and the Indians who want and request ministers should settle at the river's source—either in that region or in another place along that river, if that is more convenient. It does not seem appropriate to me that the Spaniards should live with the Indians, and even less so that the corporal or captain of those Spaniards should have jurisdiction over the Indians' settlement. The Indians should have a *capitán protector* in their town to govern, protect, and assist them, even though the salary for a capitán protector is 500 pesos. To avoid expenses for his majesty, the protectorate of Mazapil could be transferred to that settlement. The protector of Mazapil is a protector without Indians, because the Indians died out many years ago.[22]

In the province of the Tejas it is not worthwhile to send soldiers to settle or to man presidios.[23] What I believe would be advisable is to send some tradesmen—

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20. The salary of the presidial soldier in Coahuila and Nuevo León was still 450 pesos a year in 1724, except at the presidio of Río Grande, where the soldiers drew only 300 pesos. When presidios were finally established in Texas, only the soldiers at Los Adáes received 450 pesos. The others were paid only 400 pesos.

21. The government was offering a bonus of 200 pesos to lure colonists into Coahuila.

22. The title Protector of the Indians was first conferred in 1516 upon the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas, who devoted his life to protecting the Indians of the New World from rapacious Spaniards. The concept of a capitán protector dates to the Chichimec War of the late sixteenth century, when authorities switched from the unsuccessful policy of subduing the Chichimecas by force to buying their goodwill through regular distribution of peace goods. Presidial captains became the protectors of their former enemies, shielding them from mistreatment by Spaniards or still-hostile Indian tribes.

23. Following his fourth entrada into Texas León had proposed the establishment of presidios on the Río Grande, Río Frio, Río Guadalupe, and in the principal village of the Tejas.

carpenters, masons, and others—to build dwellings and churches, as well as to teach the Indians. Along with the tradesmen, it would be good to have a protector in the town of the Tejas, to govern those Spaniards and to help the Indians. Your excellency can appoint that protector without adding to his majesty's costs, because the protector of Saltillo was appointed not for the Tlaxcaltecans,[24] but for the Indians that have since died out. Today, not one of that nation can be found.

I beseech your excellency, and request on behalf of the wounds and passion of Christ, our life, that the soldiers sent to Tejas neither enter the settlement nor arrive at the homes of the Tejas, due to what happened on the last trip.[25] Your excellency can (should you wish) state this in the orders given to the cabo who is [appointed].

If your excellency deems it appropriate, some children could be taken to the Tejas to be raised among them and under the instruction of the religious. It seems to me that children raised there would have a great love for that land and that the Indians would love them deeply, for we saw that the Indians loved the little French children as if they were their own.[26]

This is all that I can inform your excellency of, and is as much as my limited capacity permits. Your excellency will act for the best in everything.

Mexico, September 1690. Most excellent sir, I kiss your excellency's hand.

Fray Damián Mazanet

AGI, *Audiencia de México, leg. 617.*

Missionaries would be stationed at each, with a governor residing at the last. Such a line of forts would facilitate communication with and supplying of remote missions from Coahuila, Christianize and civilize the Indians, and protect the province from further French incursion. León's scheme was turned down by the junta general because it appeared to force Christianity on the native population. The rumor of a new French colonization effort and the outbreak of hostilities between the two countries caused the fifth entrada to take on a more militaristic aspect. Fray Mazanet interpreted this as León's way of subverting his own intended peaceful missionary establishment.

24. Mazanet is suggesting, as an alternative to substituting the now-unnecessary position of protector of Mazapil for one in Texas, that the position in Saltillo—which was also unnecessary for the same reason—be eliminated. The Tlaxcaltecans, allies of the Spaniards since the conquest and Christianized early, had been used extensively in frontier areas since 1586 to help pacify the wild tribes. In 1591, Francisco de Urdiñola conducted the Tlaxcaltecans to Saltillo. There they established their own colony of San Esteban de Nueva Tlaxcala, adjacent to the civilian town.

25. During their stay among the Tejas, the officers were guests in the household of the Indian governor. In declining his invitation, the ministers cited their need to stay near the chapel, and the Indians obliged them by building a residence adjacent to it. The nature of Mazanet's objections to soldiers being quartered with the Indians was not revealed in his letter.

26. Mazanet's idea of sending children to the Texas frontier never bore fruit (although twenty orphans—both boys and girls, ranging in age from ten to fifteen—were sent to Alta California from the orphanage in Mexico City in 1800). The Indians who had adopted the French children were, indeed, sad to lose them and were reported to have wept bitterly at their departure.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Carta del padre Mazanet al Conde de Galve, informándole sobre su viaje a Tejas y exponiendo sus ideas sobre su población e incremento de las misiones. México, septiembre de 1690.

Excelentísimo Señor:
Vuestra excelencia se sirvió de mandarme le informase por escrito de todo lo que tenía reconocido de la tierra que hay desde la misión de San Salvador del Valle de Santiago hasta la provincia de los indios tejas, y juntamente lo que se puede obrar y adelantar en orden a la conversión de aquellos pobres infieles, así en la provincia de los tejas como en los demás reinos de los cuales se tiene noticias hay adelante; como también los parajes y naciones de indios que hay antes de los tejas, y los que piden ministros y desean ser cristianos. Asimismo qué parajes serán menester por ahora poblar de españoles mirando en todo el menor gasto a su majestad. Y también las cosas necesarias, así para los religiosos y soldados que quedaron, como para los religiosos que ahora nuevemente son menester. Para lo cual, y en todo lo que informare a vuestra excelencia, protesto delante de aquel Señor que ha de juzgar a los vivos y a los muertos, que no tengo más fin en todo lo que dijere que es la conversión de aquellos pobres infieles redimidos con la sangre de Cristo, vida nuestra, y por falta de ministros se pierden tan sinnúmero de almas; su majestad siente más una alma que se pierde por falta de ministros que todo lo que padeció en su muerte y pasión; así lo reveló a la venerable madre María de Jesús Agreda, en ocasión que la venerable madre andaba en la misma tierra de los indios tejas, de quien estamos tratando.

Ante todas cosas me ha parecido hacer relación a vuestra excelencia del camino que hay y los puestos más principales con los indios que en cada puesto hay. Saliendo de la misión de San Salvador, a cinco leguas al nordeste, a la punta de la Sierra de Santiago, está un ojo de agua con muy buenas tierras para sembrar y mucha madera de pino y encino cerca; los indios que viven en dicho puesto son dos naciones grandes, que son los alasapas y los tacaguitses, los cuales este año sembraron maíz que les dí yo la semilla.

De este puesto referido para el noroeste está el Río de las Sabinas, que distará como diez leguas; este río tiene mucho pescado, madera de sabino, las tierras muy buenas y el agua mejor. Los indios que en dicho puesto viven son los parchaques, nación grande, y otros que se suelen juntar con ellos.

Caminando para el norte, al paso del Río del Norte habrá como veinte leguas; en dicho paso hay muy buenas tierras, y los indios que viven en dicho puesto son las naciones siguientes: mexcales, yoricas, chomenes, sanaque, sanyau, apis. Adelante de este paso del Río del Norte, caminando para el norte y nordeste como veinte leguas, sale el Río de las Nueces, y los indios que viven en dicho puesto son las naciones que se siguen: pacciquis, pastaluc, paac, patchal, papanacas, chaguanes, paiauam, patsau, patau. Adelante para el norte, como veinte leguas, nace el Río Hondo, y los indios que en dicho puesto viven son estas naciones: sampanales, pacuachianas, putaay, manico, geyer, ataxal. Adelante para el norte, como veinte leguas, nace el Río Medina; los indios que viven en dicho puesto son las naciones siguientes: tilpayay, cauya, semoman, saracoam, pulacmam, anxau. Adelante para el norte, como veinte leguas, nace el Río de Guadalupe; es el puesto

mejor de toda la tierra, por ser este río el que entra en la Bahía del Espíritu Santo y hallarse muchas conveniencias en él, como son la cíbola, que no falta, mucho pescado, las tierras muy buenas, mucha madera. Es tierra que se puede sembrar de riego y de temporal; el poblar este río me parece que convendría para asegurar toda la tierra. Las naciones de indios que viven en este Río de Guadalupe son las siguientes: tohaa, toho, emat, cavas, sana, panasiu, apaszam, manam. De este Río de Guadalupe para ir a los tejas se camina al norte y después de treinta leguas está el Río de San Marcos, antes de este río hay muchos arroyos de agua muy buena, y los indios que habitan en dicha tierra son las naciones siguientes: chaguantapan, muruam y otras naciones me dijeron había, pero no les vide. De este Río de San Marcos va el camino derecho a los tejas para el norte, aunque los apaches suelen llegar hasta él, y dichos apaches son enemigos, así de los tejas como de los españoles; otro camino se aparta para los tejas, y es para el nordeste, éste es el más seguro aunque más dilatado, porque [no?] hay enemigos ni los apaches llegan a él por el mucho monte que hay y distancia. Del Río de San Marcos a los tejas están los dos ríos del Espíritu Santo y de la Trinidad; es tierra muy montuosa, hay en ella muchos morales, nogales y muchas parras.

Todos los indios hasta aquí referidos son indios que viven en el campo bárbaramente, porque no viven de asiento en parte alguna, no siembran ni tienen semillas algunas; las comidas que tienen son las frutas que les da la tierra y el ganado de la cíbola.

Y por estas razones las misiones que se hicieron desde el Río de Guadalupe para acá inclusive, serán de más costo que las que se hicieron en los tejas; por ser los tejas gente inclinada al trabajo, que siembran maíz, frijoles, sandías, calabazas y otras semillas que tienen, y viven de asiento en sus casas con mucho gobierno.

Las naciones que viven inmediatas a los tejas: por el poniente están los apaches; para el norte están los cadodachos, cuyas familias, dicen los tejas, componen cuatro grandes poblazones. Y divide dichas poblazones un grande río, el cual pasan dichos cadodachos en canoas que tienen muy grandes, y es gente muy política y de mucha razón, muy unidos con los tejas.

De los cadodachos para dentro están los reinos de quienes hace mención la venerable María de Jesús de Agreda; y yo espero en el Señor llegará el tiempo en que se podrá entrar en todos dichos reinos a quitar la cosecha tan grande como tiene el demonio en ellos.

De la manera que aquí pongo los ríos y la tierra, no es el camino que se ha llevado para ir a la Bahía del Espíritu Santo; porque para ir a la bahía, pasado el Río del Norte, se declina siempre para el oriente; y para ir a los tejas se va siempre al norte. Los parajes y naciones de indios que tengo referidos no son solos; estos están en el mismo camino, que si nos desviamos del rumbo, hallaremos muchos más parajes buenos y naciones de indios.

Esto es (excelentísimo señor) en breves noticias lo que se podía hacer para el seguro de la tierra y poder trajinarla, pero en consideración de que no se pude hacer todo en un año, respecto de los muchos gastos que se hacen a su majestad; y por ahora me parece que fomentar lo principal y más preciso será lo más acertado, en todo la resolución que vuestra excelencia fuere servido tomar en todo lo referido. Señor excelentísimo: lo que por ahora me parece preciso y obra de caridad es el socorro de aquellos pobres religiosos, que trabajan en la viña del Señor

reduciendo almas al gremio de nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia Católica Apostólica y Romana, y los soldados que quedaron en compañía de dichos religiosos; y también para los religiosos que ahora vuestra excelencia fuere servido mandar que vayan, que por ahora me parece serán menester catorce sacerdotes y siete legos; y el poner legos es por dos razones: la primera es que para catequizar a los infieles tanto hace un lego como un sacerdote; lo segundo es por no introducir mujeres en las cocinas, y los legos podrán servir para las cocinas y para enseñar a los indios. Para los religiosos que fueren menester, suplico a vuestra excelencia se sirva rogar a nuestro padre reverendísimo comisario general el que no impida a los religiosos de las provincias que quisieren ir y fueren al propósito, supuesto que el Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro tiene facultad de su majestad de poder recibir frailes de todas las provincias de las Indias; y los que fueren sea a mi satisfacción.

De todos los parajes y puestos que tengo referidos a vuestra excelencia, por ahora me parece que bastaba el poblar el Río de Guadalupe, por el puesto que, con poca diferencia, está a medio camino de Coahuila a los tejas: las razones que me motivan a ello son las siguientes: lo primero es que fortificado y poblado el puesto de la entrada de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, se asegura toda la tierra y se podrá vivir sin recelo de enemigos, pues sabemos que los franceses tienen toda aquella costa sondeada y la tierra registrada; lo segundo es que algunos de los franceses hablan la lengua de aquellos indios como nativa, y si una vez dichos franceses se apoderen de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, se han de entrar en la tierra de los tejas y demás naciones de indios que hay por allá; y una vez entrados, han de tener mucho séquito de indios, porque la experiencia nos enseña de los franceses que se han hallado entre los indios, que no tan solamente dichos franceses no les enseñaron cosa alguna de la ley de Dios Nuestro Señor, antes bien lo que entre los mismos indios es malo, los franceses les ganaban en maldades; y como la naturaleza humana es inclinada a lo malo, se sigue que si los franceses entran y se apoderan de las tierras que hay en la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, tejas y demás naciones de indios infieles que hay en aquellas partes, tendrán mucho séquito de indios contra los españoles. Lo tercero es que dicho Río de Guadalupe tiene muchas conveniencias para los que se hubieren de poblar en él; porque las tierras son admirables y se puede sembrar de riego y de temporal: hay en dicho río muchas maderas desde su origen hasta la entrada de la bahía, que tendrá como treinta leguas, y se puede andar dicho río con canoas; carne de cíbola y pescado en abundancia, nueces y uvas muchísimas.

Y si acaso vuestra excelencia se determinare a tomar resolución en poblar dicho puesto y Río de Guadalupe, me parece que se podía facilitar la gente que fuere menester, señalando vuestra excelencia para dichos pobladores soldados se les pagase adelantado el sueldo, como se estila en todos los presidios, y el sueldo ordinario que su majestad da a los soldados de presidios ya se sabe son cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos. Y juntamente, por haber de ser soldados y pobladores, se les diese adelantado, junto con el sueldo, lo que su majestad da a los pobladores de tierras nuevas que son doscientos pesos, como se dieron a los de Coahuila. Y para que dichos soldados pobladores lograsen su sueldo, y para alentarlos más, podía vuestra excelencia señalarles pagador fiel, que no tuviese trato alguno en dicho dinero; sí que diese el dinero en reales y no en otros géneros, como acostumbran muchos, que lo que acá vale cuatro hacen fuerza a los pobres soldados para que lo tomen por doce.

Y para el mayor acierto, en suposición de enviar vuestra excelencia españoles a poblar dicho puesto, los españoles habían de estar a la entrada de la bahía y los indios que quieren y piden ministros para poblarse en el nacimiento de dicho río, en dicho puesto o en otra parte de dicho río, si fuere más conveniente. Y no me parece conveniente el que los españoles vivan en pueblo de indios, y menos que el cabo o capitán de dichos españoles tenga jurisdicción en dicho pueblo de indios. Los indios que tengan en su pueblo un capitán protector para que los gobierne y rija y ampare; y aunque el sueldo de protector son quinientos pesos; por no hacer gastos a su majestad, se podía pasar la protecturía del Mazapil a dicho pueblo; porque el protector del Mazapil es protector sin indios, porque ha[ce] muchos años que se acabaron los indios.

En la provincia de los tejas no conviene vayan soldados para poblar, ni de presidio. Lo que sí me parece convendría es el que fuesen algunos oficiales de carpinteros, albañiles y otros, así para hacer viviendas e iglesias como también para enseñar a los indios, y de enviar dichos oficiales, fuera bueno hubiese en dicho pueblo de los tejas un protector para que gobernase a dichos españoles y amparase a los indios. Puede vuestra excelencia poner dicho protector sin añadir gastos a su majestad, porque el protector del Saltillo se puso, no para los tlaxcaltecos, si [no] para los indios que ya se acabaron, que hoy no se ha de hallar uno de aquella nación.

Suplico a vuestra excelencia y le pido por las llagas y pasión de Cristo, vida nuestra, que los soldados que enviare a los tejas no entren en poblado ni lleguen a las casas de los tejas, por lo que se experimentó en el viaje pasado. Puede vuestra excelencia (se fuera servido) expresarlo en la orden que diere al cabo que fuere.

Si a vuestra excelencia le pareciere conveniente el que se llevasen a los tejas algunos muchachos para criarlos entre los dichos indios tejas y debajo de la enseñanza de los religiosos; a mi me parece que dichos muchachos criados allá, habían de tener mucho amor a aquella tierra, y los indios los habían de querer mucho, pues vemos que [a] los francesitos los indios los querían como a sus hijos.

Esto es cuanto yo puedo informar a vuestra excelencia y lo que mi corta capacidad alcanza. En todo obrará vuestra excelencia lo mejor.

México y septiembre de 1690. Excelentísimo señor, besa la mano de vuestra excelencia.

Fray Damián Mazanet

Mazanet Seeks Aid for the Tejas Mission, 1693

When Fray Damián Mazanet wrote his letter to the viceroy in 1693, he could not have been aware that his complaints actually spelled out the reasons for the ultimate failure of the Spanish missionary effort in east Texas. The first was the unrealistic expectation that somehow the mission could become self-sustaining overnight. This resulted in the failure of the authorities to adequately supply the lonely outpost or to provide goods to retain the goodwill of the Caddos. The distance between Monclova and Tejas country was simply too great, and until a presidio and mission were planted on the San Antonio River in 1718, there was no midpoint. By the time Salinas Varona finally arrived, it was a question of too little too late to save this initial enterprise. The vagaries of Texas weather that resulted in the loss of wheat and corn crops, the loss of livestock run off or shot by the Indians, and an epidemic of six months' duration had undermined the most determined efforts of the padres to succeed. Furthermore, widespread hunger surely exacerbated the discontent of the natives.

Letter and report from Fray Damián Mazanet to Viceroy Conde de Galve concerning the critical situation of the Tejas missions. San Francisco de los Tejas, June 14, 1693.

Your Excellency:
May the grace of divine love dwell in your excellency's soul and fill your heart with spiritual comfort.

Sir, thanks be to God, Captain Gregorio de Salinas arrived safely at this mission on June 8, along with his company, livestock, and everything else that he brought as cargo. On October 14 of last year, I dispatched two soldiers to your excellency with a packet containing detailed information about this land and its state. By God's will, the Río Colorado refused them passage, and its waters did not recede until this past April. That your excellency did not receive my letter was not due to omission, but rather to my misfortune and poor luck. From the reports of Don Domingo Terán[1] and others who have left this area, along with what

1. In 1691, Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Mazanet led an expedition to establish new missions in Texas, which purpose, for various reasons given in the introduction, could not be realized. At the time he was appointed military leader of that expedition, Terán had thirty years' experience in the New World. He had served twenty years in Peru, before arriving in Veracruz in 1681, as deputy of the *consulado* for Sevilla. Soon afterwards he became captain of infantry at San Juan de Ulúa, and in 1686, was appointed governor of Sonora and Sinaloa. His pacification of the Indians of that province and his discovery of a rich mine put him in favor with the king, who recommended him to the viceroy for the entrada into Texas.

I have imparted to your excellency, you already know the state of these missions. After the company left, there was so much rain that the mission founded in my absence by Padre Jesús[2] was flooded out while I was at court.[3] The flood carried away what was left of his majesty's horse herd and everything else that remained. Because of the heavy rains, the lack of horses, and the Indians having run off the cattle[4] by shooting at them with arrows, [the cattle] were scattered about in the wilderness in such a manner that we did not have even the piece of a skinny bull to eat. After I bought a few beasts from the Indians they went searching for the herd little by little; they have been unable to find even half, however, because during the past year of 1692 there has been great hunger there—so great that the Indian women begged for any piece of cowhide to eat. By God's will we did not arrive at such a state of hunger, for the soldiers ate beef as if there were nothing else. We, the religious, had a very small corn tortilla in the morning and in the afternoon. Illness began in May and all of us except two of the religious were sick until November, and the Lord took one [of us] on November 14.[5] I took every care required to plant the corn and wheat seeds that we brought, but nothing took hold. The first planting of corn was lost due to heavy rains, and the second due to great drought. The wheat did well, yet when it ripened the same thing happened here as in all of New Spain,[6] and not even one seed remained. This year, the plots look very bad due to lack of rain, and so far the Indians have lost a great deal of corn and beans. May God, who is able to do so, remedy this.

When the assistance that your excellency ordered to be sent arrived, it was just in time, for we had only two weeks' worth of corn to eat. God our Lord will

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2. Padre Francisco de Jesús María Casañas, one of the three priests left among the Tejas in 1690, founded the mission of Santísima Nombre de María in the fall of 1691. It was located on the Neches River, about eight kilometers east of San Francisco de los Tejas. Padre Jesús was a Catalonian who arrived in Mexico in 1683 as one of the twenty-four Franciscans sent to establish the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Querétaro. The following year he was sent to Mérida, Yucatán, to help establish a convento. He was back in Querétaro from 1688 to 1690, although in early 1689, he took part in founding the failed mission of Río Blanco for the Huasteca in Nuevo León. After his stay in Texas from 1690 to January 1692, he returned to Querétaro, but was ordered in 1693 to join the missionaries who were reoccupying New Mexico. He was assigned to the pueblo of San Diego de los Jémez, where he was killed on June 4, 1696, during a native uprising.

3. Following his 1690 entrada with León, Mazanet went to Mexico. He returned to Texas the following year with Terán and stayed in the province.

4. The number of livestock left for the missionaries and soldiers after Terán's withdrawal in 1691 is not known. In 1690, however, they had been left with only nine horses, twenty cattle, and two yoke of oxen. They were also provisioned with twenty-six cargas of flour, tools, and "other necessary things."

5. The illness was smallpox, and the missionary who died in the epidemic was Fray Miguel Fontcuberta. One of the soldiers and perhaps as many as three hundred natives also succumbed. Native religious leaders suggested that the scourge was caused by the waters of baptism.

6. Mazanet is referring to a general scarcity of grain throughout New Spain in 1691 and 1692.

reward your excellency for such charity and for remembering us in the midst of so many duties, for I know your excellency is occupied. We have always experienced from your noble heart great promptness, consideration, and resolve concerning all aspects of government. I do not doubt, most excellent sir, that what happened in Mexico was the devil's plan to disturb your mind, to see whether perhaps by that avenue he could lead your excellency astray from your duties, prayer, and divine meditations. Your excellency knows well that the labors of this life serve to construct a crown for heaven. The incident has been quite grievous to me, and with your excellency's concern for my goodwill, which is beyond belief, I console myself that no other viceroy has had greater results in New Spain than your excellency.

Don Gregorio gave me all the supplies listed in the statement that your excellency ordered to be given to me. He leaves with the company to return to their presidio[7] as quickly as possible, for he arrived on [June] 8, and leaves today on [June] 14. The information I have been able to acquire regarding the French who passed through here is that they lived beyond the Cadodachos, at the edge of a large river some forty leagues from here, and that there were no more than eight men. The Indians have since said that this past winter [the Frenchmen] were killed by the Indians with whom they were living. I do not warrant the truth of this, because these Indians do not know what [truth] is.[8] The Indian Bernardino, whom your excellency saw in your court, has a fine French garment, and a few days ago he told me that the Indians of the Nacace nation[9] had brought it from other Indians who live near the indicated area of the Frenchmen.

Two discalced religious who stayed last year are now leaving. I remain with my companion from the Colegio de la Cruz de Querétaro, three lay brothers, two young boys, and eight soldiers. A servant also remains with us, so there are sixteen of us in total.[10] All the soldiers who remain are those who were here before. They stay more by force than voluntarily, for Don Gregorio did not consent to their leaving, and there were no others who were willing to stay due to the low

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7. Salinas Varona's pack train left from Monclova, which had a garrison but no formal fortification.

8. This is apparently a reference to Fort St. Louis at the juncture of the Illinois and Mississippi, and to Henri de Tonty's attempts to rescue survivors of La Salle's colony. The rumors of their demise, however, were just that.

9. The Nacace were probably the Nacachau, who were part of the Tejas or Hasinai Confederacy.

10. On his 1691 entrada with Terán Mazanet was accompanied by a cofounder of the Querétaran college, Fray Hidalgo, four Franciscan observants, and four discalced from the province of San Diego de México who had been incorporated into the Querétaran college. The three lay brothers and one youth from Querétaro were likewise members of the 1691 entrada. How the other youth and the servant came to be there is unknown. The Discalced Friars Minor (also called the Alcantarines) was a reform branch of the Franciscan Order founded in Granada, Spain, in 1496. Their rules prohibited the consumption of meat, libraries, and even the wearing of sandals—hence their name. Members of the branch first arrived in New Spain in 1580, and from 1596, they worked among Indian laborers in the Pachuca mines (Hidalgo). The organization was suppressed in 1897.

wages reported and also because of the great risk to which we are exposed from the Indians, as your excellency will see in the complete report that is attached to this [letter]. In it I discuss what I believe, in accordance with God, and what I know and have seen, as have the priests and the soldiers who remain. I beg of your excellency only that the decision regarding the matter be [made] in time, for I stay only to await the result. The supply of meat that remains is but ten oxen, which is enough for ten weeks. We had already determined to leave the day after Santiago[11] if help did not arrive. Here, sir, we do nothing, nor have we hope. The Indians' love for the Spaniards is due to the things your excellency has sent them and not to any desire to leave their witchcraft, superstitions, and deceits of the devil. I have not even succeeded in gathering them together for catechism. I know your excellency has much to attend to, yet I beg your excellency's compassion in deciding as quickly as possible what we must do. If the Indians are not to be forced to become Christians, and there is no presidio to subject them, then your excellency can simply give the order to Don Gregorio to come promptly with twenty men to bring us out. To do this it will not be necessary to spend anything on us, nor to bring us anything—it is only necessary that the order to leave be sent. Right now we have flour to take with us, even though the meat is running out. I will not be able to detain the soldiers who abandon us nor those who flee. Before the winter comes, we must have the decision here.

I hope that our Lord God will protect your excellency for many years. From this mission of San Francisco de los Tejas, June 14, 1693, the least of your chaplains kisses your excellency's hand.

Fray Damián Mazanet

REPORT

To His Excellency, the Conde de Galve, viceroy of New Spain

Most Excellent Sir:

I am responding to your excellency's instructions, written when you ordered the presidio of Coahuila to send supplies and assistance to these missions for the Tejas. Don Gregorio de Salinas, who is captain of the presidio of Coahuila, arrived here with the requested help on [June] 8 of this year. In your excellency's [letter], dated February 13 of this year, you ask me to inform you of the state of these missions. In compliance with your excellency's order, to unload my conscience, and so that his majesty does not expend the royal treasury without benefit, I will set

11. Mazanet's initial insistence that the Tejas could be converted to Christianity without a military presence reflected the sentiments of the king and his officials in New Spain, who were likewise unfamiliar with the reality of the frontier. His experience, however, brought him to the bitter realization that León had been right in advocating a presidio and sizable garrison to help in the conversion of the Indians. If a presidio could not be established immediately, the missionaries were resolved to leave the day following the feast of St. James (July 25). His request dismayed the authorities: "The fiscal marvels at the proposal of violence and the use of force of arms in the conversion of these savages to our holy faith, these means being contrary to sound theology and the dispositions of the sacred councils."

down the following concerns, which—leaving aside many other circumstances that greatly hinder the conversion of the Indians—are the most essential ones.

First, to the present these Indians have wanted neither to join in or attend Christian catechism, nor to listen to prayers. Second, the Indians whom they call *cona*—who are the ones who heal the sick—because of the interest they have in healing, tell the people not to accept baptism. They say that the water we pour on them kills them, even though many who were already dying recovered after receiving the water of baptism. This does not mean that they want to deceive [the people], but that they are blind to their errors. Third, some of them, many of whom have died baptized, have not wanted to be buried in consecrated ground; rather, they wanted to be buried in the country, in accordance with their ceremonies and superstitions of placing food and other things that they use in the grave. They say that they go to another world, in body as well as soul. Fourth, they do not want to believe that there is one God. Instead, they say that the Spaniards have a god who gives them clothing, knives, hatchets, hoes, and everything else that they have seen among the Spaniards. They say that they have another god who gives them corn, beans, nuts, acorns, and other things from the land, with water for planting. They also say that the path they take to heaven lies where the sun rises, and that their ancestors made heaven. For this [their ancestors] made a very big hill, which they say lies on land beyond the Cadodachos; they took half of the earth and placed it up high, and that is heaven. There they plant corn and do everything else that is done in this world. Fifth, they see no difference between the religious and laymen. Many times they have told us that if we will not go with them to war and to kill their enemies, then we should go back to our land. They attribute our presence here to the desirability [of their land], which [they think] is the best in the world. Sixth, every time I have told the leader to call his people and tell them to come for catechism, he has absented himself for a long time, telling them that we deceive them in everything. They are so hard on us that if payment is not made in advance they will not give us a thing, even if they have no use for it. Seventh, it has now been four years since priests entered this land and, from the first year, these Indians have not wanted to be reduced to the doctrine nor to our holy faith. On various occasions they have held meetings to decide whether to kill us, due either to their natural wickedness or their cupidity for what we have, because—as is the wont of all Indians—they are very greedy. Last year, in 1692, when coastal Indians of the Guatsas nation[12] stole our horses and killed our cattle, [the Indians here] permitted them to do so. They allowed them in their homes and assisted them, not to mention that a large part [of the loot] fell into their hands. Eighth, assuming that these Indians were worthy, it would not be possible to finance the excessive costs that his majesty faces for the land to support these missions and soldiers. Moreover, experience has taught us that this land is not suitable for planting, for there is no irrigation and the rainfall is unreliable. As for cattle and horses, it is necessary to bring them in from outside every year, because the pasture is bad and the water is insufficient. Ninth, if we search for sites to establish settlements, it follows that the Indians must leave

12. The identity of the Guatsas is undetermined.

their land, and I find that to be impossible. Last year they gave their word to Padre Jesús,[13] and later to me as well, that they would build all their houses together in the form of a pueblo. When the months of November and December came, they made many new houses, but they did not wish to move from where they were before. They chose to stay so that they would not be close to us or have any occasion to join us for religious instruction. If one of us is seen in their homes, they scowl. Tenth, on the one hand, the religious attempt to convert their souls, providing them with a good example in everything; on the other hand, however, the soldiers give them a bad example, beating Indians over any trifle [in order to get] their wives.

It does not seem to me that any benefit can be achieved by this course; instead, we will have to begin where others leave off. After all the expenses his majesty will have had the desired fruit will not be attained; it will all have been a diversion and a waste of time. In sum, your excellency, if the Indians are to convert to our holy faith and become Christians, three things are necessary: first, a force of soldiers, for they will be [converted] only by force; second, to search for appropriate sites, which will be found very far away; third, they must live together, not scattered around as they are now. This is what I believe, in accordance with God and my conscience. Your excellency will best see the wisdom of the decision that we await, and I beg of you that it be soon, because when winter arrives the trails are impassible due to extreme dryness or swollen rivers. Don Gregorio has been advised that as soon as he knows your excellency's decision, he is to send us a letter by means of the Indians he took as guides, who are the same ones I had in the mission of Santiago. I await your excellency's mercy, by which everything will turn out for the best, as usual.

I hope that our Lord God will protect your excellency for many years. From your mission of San Francisco de los Tejas on June 14, 1693, the least of your chaplains kisses your excellency's hand.

Fray Damián Mazanet, Comisario de los Tejas

AGI, Guadalajara, 151.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Carta e informe del padre Damián Mazanet al virrey Conde de Galve sobre la crítica situación de las misiones de Tejas. San Francisco de los Tejas, 14 de junio de 1693.

Excelentísimo Señor:
La gracia del amor divino more en el alma de vuestra excelencia y llene su corazón de consuelo espiritual.

Señor, el día 8 de junio llegó a esta misión el capitán don Gregorio de Salinas con la compañía, recuas y todo lo demás, que traía a su cargo, con muchísima fe-

13. Padre Francisco de Jesús María Casañas is meant.

licidad todo, a Dios las gracias. El día 14 de octubre del año pasado despaché dos soldados con un pliego para vuestra excelencia, en el cual iban con mucha individualidad las noticias de esta tierra y el estado que tenía. Quiso la majestad de Dios que el Río Colorado no les diese paso, [ni minuyó] su avenida hasta el mes de abril pasado. El no haber tenido vuestra excelencia carta mía no fue omisión sino desgracia mía y poca suerte. Por las noticias de don Domingo Terán y demás que se fueron de esta tierra y la que yo participé a vuestra excelencia, ya sabe el estado en que quedaron estas misiones. Después que se fue la compañía fueron tantas las aguas, que se anegó una misión que el padre Jesús fundó mientras yo falté y estuve en esa corte. Dicha avenida se llevó la caballada, que quedó de cuenta de su majestad, y la demás que había. Por las muchas aguas, la falta de la caballada y el haber los indios corrido y flechado el ganado vacuno, se alzó en los montes de tal manera, que no teníamos siquiera un pedazo de toro flaco que comer; después que compré algunas bestias a los indios, poco a poco fueron buscando ganado y no pudieron ni han podido hallar siquiera la mitad, porque el año pasado de [16]92 hubo acá mucha hambre, tanto, que las indias pedían por mucho favor cualquiera pedazo de cuero de vaca para comer. Nosotros, quiso la majestad de Dios que no llegásemos a tanta hambre, porque los soldados comían carne de vaca sin que hubiese otra cosa más; los religiosos tuvimos, que fue mañana y tarde, una tortilla de maíz muy pequeña. La enfermedad empezó por mayo y hasta noviembre estuvimos enfermos, menos dos religiosos, y uno se llevó Dios el día 14 de noviembre. Yo puse todo el cuidado que se requiere para sembrar las semillas que trajimos de maíz y trigo, y no se cogió nada, porque la primera siembra del maíz se perdió por mucha agua y la otra por la seca tan grande. El trigo muy bueno, y después de estar espigado, le sucedió lo mismo que hubo en toda la Nueva España, que ni aun semilla quedó. Este año las sementeras pintan muy mal, por falta de no llover y a la hora presente se les ha perdido a los indios mucho maíz y frijoles. Dios lo remedie, que puede.

Cuando llegó el socorro que la providencia de vuestra excelencia mandó enviar, llegó tan a tiempo, que sólo para dos semanas teníamos maíz que comer. Dios Nuestro Señor le pagará tanta caridad y el acordarse de nosotros en medio de tantas ocupaciones, como considero a vuestra excelencia ocupado, si bien que siempre habemos experimentado en su noble pecho mucho expediente, deliberación y resolución en todas sus cosas y gobierno. No dudo, excelentísimo señor, que lo sucedido en México, sería traza del demonio para perturbar su interior y quizá por ese camino ver si podría apartar a vuestra excelencia de su recogimiento, oración y divinas meditaciones; los trabajos de esta vida bien sabe vuestra excelencia que sirven de labrar corona para la gloria. Dicho suceso ha sido tan sensible para mí y al afecto que vuestra excelencia debe a mi buena voluntad, que no es creíble, sólo me consuelo que ningún otro virrey ha tenido en la Nueva España mayores sucesos de los que ha tenido vuestra excelencia.

Don Gregorio me entregó todos los géneros, según están expresados en la memoria que vuestra excelencia mandó remitirme. Sale con la compañía de vuelta para su presidio lo más breve que se ha podido, porque llegó a 8 y sale hoy 14 del corriente. Las noticias que he podido adquirir de los franceses que por acá pasaron, fue de que vivían a la orilla de un río muy grande, que está más allá de los cadodachos, como cuarenta leguas y que eran ocho hombres, no más. Después han dicho los indios, de que los indios con quien vivían los mataron este invierno

pasado; yo no aseguro la verdad, porque estos indios no la conocen, y ha pocos días que Bernadino, el indio que vuestra excelencia vio en esa corte, tiene un vestido bueno de francés, y me dijo que los indios de nación nacace, lo habían traído de otros indios de los que viven hacia el puesto señalado de dichos franceses.

Dos religiosos descalzos que el otro año quedaron, se van ahora. Quedo con mi compañero, que es del colegio de la Cruz de Querétaro, tres donados, dos muchachos y ocho soldados; otro mozo queda también, que por todos somos diez y seis. Todos los soldados que quedan son los que había de antes; quedan más forzados que voluntarios, por no haber consentido don Gregorio el que se vayan y no haber otros que quisiesen quedar, por decir que es poco el sueldo y también por el mucho riesgo de indios a que estamos expuestos, como verá vuestra excelencia en el informe de todo que va adjunto con ésta, en el cual hablo lo que siento, según Dios, y lo que sé y he visto, así yo como los padres y soldados que quedamos. Sólo suplico a vuestra excelencia la resolución de la materia que sea en su tiempo, porque yo sólo quedo a aguardar la resulta. El bastimento de carne que queda son diez bueyes, que hay para diez semanas. Ya teníamos resuelto de salir un día después de Santiago si no había venido el socorro. Acá, señor, no hacemos nada, ni esperanzas; porque los indios, el querer a los españoles es por lo que vuestra excelencia les ha enviado y no por querer dejar sus hechicerías, abusiones y engaños del demonio, ni he podido conseguir el que se junten para la doctrina. Ya veo yo que vuestra excelencia tiene mucho a que atender, suplico a la piedad de vuestra excelencia resuelva lo más breve que pudiere lo que habemos de hacer; si no se ha de hacer fuerza a los indios para que sean cristianos y que haga presidio que los sujete, podrá vuestra excelencia con brevedad dar orden a don Gregorio para que con veinte hombres a la ligera vengan a sacarnos, y para ello no será menester hacer gasto alguno para nosotros, ni que nos traiga nada, sino que venga la orden de salir, que acá ya hay ahora harina que llevar, en acabándose la carne. Yo no podré detener los soldados de que nos desamparen, o se huyan. Antes que entren los fríos, es menester tener acá la resolución.

Guarde Dios nuestro Señor a vuestra excelencia los años de mi deseo. De esta su misión de San Francisco de los Tejas y 14 de junio de 1693. De vuestra excelencia su menor capellán que su mano besa.

Fray Damián Mazanet

INFORME

Al excelentísimo señor Conde de Galve, virrey de esta Nueva España.

Excelentísimo Señor:

En conformidad de haber vuestra excelencia mandado escribirme, cuando mandó remitir al presidio de Coahuila los géneros y socorro de estas misiones de los Tejas, y que acá llegó con dicho socorro, el día 8 de este presente año, el capitán don Gregorio de Salinas, que lo es del presidio de Coahuila; y, pidiéndome vuestra excelencia en la suya, la fecha de ella de 13 de febrero de este presente año, el que le informe del estado de estas misiones, para cumplir con lo que vuestra excelencia me manda y para descargo de mi conciencia y que su majestad no gaste su real hacienda sin fruto, pondré las cosas siguientes, que son las más es-

enciales, dejando aparte otros muchos motivos que estorban mucho para la conversión de los infieles.

Lo primero, que hasta ahora estos indios no han querido juntarse, ni asistir a la doctrina cristiana, ni oír rezar. Lo segundo, que los indios a quien ellos llaman cona, que son los que curan los enfermos, por el interés que tienen en la cura, les dicen que no se dejen bautizar, porque el agua que les echamos los mata, y aunque muchos que ya se estaban muriendo, después de haber recibido el agua del bautismo, no murieron, no por eso se quieren desengañar, sino que están ciegos en sus errores. Lo tercero, que algunos y muchos que han muerto bautizados, después de muertos, no han querido que se entierren en sagrado, sino que ellos los entierran en el campo, según sus ceremonias y abusiones de poner dentro de la sepultura comida y otras cosas, de que ellos usan, porque dicen que van a otra tierra, así el cuerpo como el alma. Lo cuarto, que no quieren creer que hay un Dios, sino que dicen que los españoles tienen un Dios que les da ropa, cuchillos, hachas, azadas y todo lo demás que han visto entre los españoles; y que ellos tienen otro Dios, que les da maíz, frijoles, nueces, bellota y demás cosas del campo, con agua para los sembrados; que por donde sale el sol es el camino que ellos tienen para ir al cielo, y que el cielo lo hicieron sus antepasados, y para ello pusieron un cerro muy grande, que dicen está más tierra adentro de los cadodachos, y que cogieron la mitad de la tierra y la pusieron allá arriba, y que eso es el cielo; que allá siembran maíz y hacen todo lo demás que acá en el mundo. Lo quinto, que no hacen diferencia de religiosos a seculares, que han dicho muchas veces que si todos no vamos con ellos a la guerra y a matar sus enemigos, que nos volvamos a nuestra tierra; y el estar nosotros acá atribuyen a conveniencia y que su tierra es la mejor del mundo. Lo sexto, que todas las veces que he llamado al capitán para que llame a su gente y les diga que vengan a la doctrina, ha hecho ausencia por mucho tiempo, diciéndoles que en todo los engañamos; y obran con tanto rigor con nosotros, que, si la paga no va por delante, no darán cosa alguna, aunque sea que no les sirva. Lo séptimo, que ya va para cuatro años que en esta tierra entraron los religiosos y, tras de no haberse querido reducir estos indios a la doctrina ni a nuestra santa fe, desde el primer año, en diferentes ocasiones, han hecho juntas para tomar resolución y matarnos, o por su mal natural o por la codicia de lo que tenemos, por ser tan codiciosos, que lo son sobre cuantos indios hay, y el año pasado de [16]92, cuando los indios de la costa, de nación guatsas, nos hurtaron la caballada y mataron ganado, estos mismos de acá les consintieron, tenían en sus casas y les ayudaron, además de mucha parte que se halló en su poder. Lo octavo, de que en suposición de que estos indios fueran buenos, no se podrán costear los excesivos gastos que su majestad tiene por tierra, para poder socorrer estas misiones y soldados, además que la experiencia nos ha enseñado que esta tierra no es para sementeras, por no haber riego y los temporales no son ciertos; para ganados y caballada es menester traer todos los años de afuera, porque los pastos son malos y las aguas delgadas. El nono, que el buscar parajes a propósito para poblazones, se sigue el que los indios hayan de salir de su tierra, y eso lo hallo por imposible, porque habiendo el año pasado dado palabra al padre Jesús, y a mí después, de que harían todos sus casas juntas en forma de pueblo, cuando llegó el mes de noviembre y diciembre, que hicieron muchas casas nuevas, no quisieron mudarse de como estaban de antes; y todo por no estar cerca de nosotros ni tener ocasión de que los juntásemos para la doctrina, porque lo mismo es ver a uno de nosotros

en sus casas que ponernos mala cara. El décimo, que pretenden por una parte los religiosos la conversión de sus almas, dándoles en todo buen ejemplo, y por otra parte los soldados dan mal ejemplo, descalabrando cada nonada indios, por sus mujeres.

No me parece que por este camino se podrá conseguir fruto alguno, sino que será empezar por dónde otros acaban. Y después de muchos gastos que su majestad habrá tenido, no se conseguirá el fruto que se pretende, y habrá sido todo un entretenimiento y haber empatado el tiempo. Y al fin, señor excelentísimo, para que estos indios sean cristianos y se conviertan a nuestra santa fe católica, son menester tres cosas: la primera, que haya fuerza de soldados, que forzados sólo serán; la segunda, buscar parajes al propósito y esos se hallarán muy lejos; la tercera, el que vivan juntos y no como ahora que están muy desparramados. Esto es lo que siento, según Dios y mi conciencia. Vuestra excelencia lo mirará mejor para el acierto de la resolución que aguardamos, y le suplico que sea lo más breve, porque en entrando el invierno, se cierran los caminos por la mucha seca y ríos crecidos. Don Gregorio va advertido de que, sabiendo la resolución de vuestra excelencia, nos despache carta, por manos de los indios que trajo para guía del camino, que son de los que yo tenía en la misión de Santiago. Espero de la piedad de vuestra excelencia que en todo obrará lo mejor, como acostumbra.

Guarde Dios Nuestro Señor a vuestra excelencia los años de mi deseo. De esta su misión de San Francisco de los Tejas, en 14 de junio de 1693. De vuestra excelencia su menor capellán que su mano besa.

Fray Damián Mazanet, comisario de los tejas.

Mazanet Abandons the Tejas Mission, 1694

Mazanet's February 17, 1694 letter to the viceroy, in which he announced his retreat from Texas, reveals that Indian discontent had evolved into a very menacing situation, for he reported the conspiracy of the Indians—with the presumed complicity of the French—to attack and kill the Spaniards at the beginning of winter. Indeed, Mazanet's realization that no conversion would be effected without the support of the military held great significance for future Spanish plans to reoccupy the land. In his informe of 1693, Mazanet innocently put his finger on another reason for the failure of the missions in east Texas. The Hasinai were not subsistence nomads like the Indians with whom the fathers had been working in Coahuila. They were successful, sedentary agriculturists living under a sophisticated, theocratic system of government. Missionary efforts to Christianize the population were met with stout opposition from the Caddoan leaders themselves, who found it very easy to lay the failure of the crops and the rising death toll of their people at the feet of the Christian god.

Most Excellent Sir:
May the grace of divine love dwell in your excellency's soul and fill your heart with spiritual comfort.

Sir, I sent news of the state of the missions in the province of the Tejas to your excellency via Governor Don Gregorio de Salinas, who is the same man who brought the help your excellency ordered sent to us. I gave little detail concerning the great suffering among the Indians, as well as that among the soldiers who remain here; I thought it enough to say that there would be no benefit unless a presidio of soldiers were to be established; otherwise the soldiers should come to escort us out.

After Governor Don Gregorio de Salinas came, we began to see greater restlessness among the Indians. On August 14 of last year, 1693, an Indian called Juan Pablo, of the Mexican Indian nation, arrived at San Francisco de los Tejas.[1] When he was a boy, the Sumanes Indians[2] captured him in Parral and brought him to the Tejas, where he has lived ever since. He appears to be more than forty years old, but he still understands the Castilian language and speaks it well enough to make himself understood. This Indian informed me that six months ago the governor of the Tejas had sent Indians to summon the Nasonit, Nateau, Yattas, Ca-

1. The term "Mexican Indian" means a Nahuatl speaker from central Mexico.

2. The "Sumanes" were the Jumanos, who regularly ranged from Parral, Chihuahua, to the land of the Tejas.

dodachos, Nochettox, and Natsoos nations,[3] as well as the French, to come and help them kill us out of greed for what we had. The signal for the attack was the start of winter, when they were to gather together for this purpose. [He also informed me] that our greatest enemies were within our establishment and amidst the soldiers. I then arranged for both the soldiers and the lay brothers to stand sentinel day and night next to the cannons, with a lit fuse, in such a manner that the Indians who came and went would not see any change among us.

With great caution, I managed to retrieve four muskets the Indians had [received] from the French. I then sent the same Indian to the ranchería of the Cantona Indians on the Río San Marcos,[4] to find out whether there was news of Spaniards coming, or whether there was any letter; he then was to return with whatever news there might be. On October 6 of last year, Alférez Antonio Rodríguez, corporal of the soldiers who were in that area, arrived at the house of the Tejas governor. The governor told him to dismount from his horse, as he had not yet done so, and amidst much debate—in great friendship, for they were very fond of each other—the governor of the Tejas told Alférez Antonio Rodríguez that he and all his people were very irritated with the Spaniards, and that it would be best if the Spaniards went away and left their lands.

At this time, the Indians were daily shooting arrows at any horse that wandered a little way from the others, and they shot and killed all the cows [with arrows]. When I asked one Indian who had shot a horse why they were killing our horses, he responded that it was because they were inclined to do so, and so that we could see they had no fear of us. Considering on the one hand the warning they had given me, and on the other hand that many Cadodacho Indians had arrived and that the time they had arranged to gather together was approaching, I called for the Tejas governor. He came, and I asked him whether what Alférez Antonio Rodríguez had said was true. He replied, shamelessly and as if taunting us, that it was true and that his people had told him many times to throw us off their land because they were very displeased to see the Spaniards there. I then responded to the governor of the Tejas, emphasizing the Indians' ingratitude—especially his—for your excellency had given him and his nephew many gifts and entertainments when they went to the [viceregal] court.[5] So that he would not think that we were afraid of him, I told him that he and his [people] should stay in their land and we would return to ours, and that he should take care not to make any display [of violence], because we would fight to the death.

In complete secrecy I planned our withdrawal, and we left last year on Octo-

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3. These tribes can be recognized as the Nasoni, Noteau, Yatasi, Cadodachos, Natchitoches, and Nanatsoho—all probably members of the Hasinai Confederacy located along the Red River.

4. The Cantona were a Tonkawan-speaking tribe frequently found on the Colorado (Mazanet's "San Marcos").

5. The nephew of the governor was Bernardino, whom Mazanet had taken to visit the viceroy in 1690. He returned to the tribe the following year and had succeeded his uncle as chief by 1713, when Louis Juchereau de St. Denis visited the tribe.

ber 25, 1693. I could take only the vestments, chalices, sacramental vessels, and the other silver items. Everything made of iron or copper was buried with the cannons, and the bells stayed in place. Upon leaving, the mission was burned. We traveled day and night with great care, and after four days' journey we realized that we were being followed by a contingent of people. Every morning they burned the campsite where we had slept the night before, and this went on until we neared the Río San Marcos.[6] We never learned who the people were, nor did they do us any harm, thanks be to God. At the San Marcos, some Tejas Indians caught up with us, and they told us that the two soldiers who stayed behind the night we departed had dug up everything that was buried and had distributed it among the Indians. Of the ten soldiers who were there the night we left, those two had fled. On the road, four more wanted to flee and take all the horses, and as soon as we arrived at the Río San Marcos, two took off and returned to the Tejas.[7] In the end, I was relieved that those soldiers stayed with the Tejas, because they were all irresponsible people who had left the hand of God and given themselves over to vice with the Indian women.

Of the provisions your excellency sent to me, I gave the soldiers those listed in the report that accompanies this [letter]. Between the Río Colorado and the Río San Marcos,[8] God willed that because of my sins we should be lost for forty days in wilds where we had to open a trail for passage until we arrived at the coast of the bay. God's will ordained that we should find an Indian who gave us news of the Indian I had sent to find out whether there was a letter or news of the Spaniards. With him, we then set out for the ranchería of the Cantona Indians, where we arrived, some of us on horseback and others on foot. By this time, the flour we had taken from the Tejas had been finished for many days, and during our retreat God granted us no bison in all the land. Through the power of God we arrived at this presidio of Coahuila[9] on February 17 of this year. As soon as I arrived at this presidio of Coahuila Governor Don Gregorio de Salinas gave me a packet containing a letter from your excellency, dated August 25, 1693, and a dispatch from the *junta general.* In response to your excellency's order that I scout for sites on the trail where missions can be built, I saw and inspected them long ago. Because there was no means of removing anything other than the ornaments from the Tejas [mission], however, I now find that we lack seed for the Indians to plant and, additionally, provisions [to carry us over] until the planting and harvesting. Corn and wheat are in very short supply here, and even if I requested donations, I could not collect [even] two cargas of corn. Regarding the tools with

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6. He actually means the Colorado River. In other words, the Caddos followed him well beyond their own territory.

7. The four soldiers who deserted were Nicolás Rodelo, Francisco González, Marcos Juan, and Joseph Urrutia. The last lived among the Indians for seven years, leading war parties against the Apaches. He later returned to his own people, where he was recognized as an expert on Indian warfare and was made captain at the presidio of Béxar in 1733.

8. The retreating party, which was guideless, probably lost its way between the Brazos and Colorado Rivers.

9. That is, the garrison of Monclova.

which to begin, it would be possible to obtain some through donations, but oxen must be purchased, for they are not something people give as alms. However, should it be your excellency's will to command me thus, I will do whatever can be done.

If we are to start with the scant provisions currently available, the easiest place to establish [a mission] would be at a spring that lies on the spur of the Sierra de Santiago, which spot is in the jurisdiction of the Nuevo Reino de León.[10] There are places farther away, but at the moment they would require more work due to the shortage of supplies here.

I have learned that a soldier who came from the Tejas requested his salary and was paid without any deduction for what he had already received. Thus [he received] what your excellency had ordered given to each soldier in addition to what I had given him. I have also learned that the ones who have just arrived are asking for their wages, or have sent proxies for them. Therefore, I am sending an accounting of what I paid the soldiers there, so that if by chance your excellency sends them payment, [the amount already paid] can be deducted and his majesty will have fewer expenses. I trust that your excellency will resolve everything for the best, as always, and request that you advise me of your decision, of what should happen with the liturgical articles that remain in my possession, and to whom I should deliver them. Upon your order I will give them to whomever you direct me, which person should give me a receipt to show that I have surrendered them and that they belong to the royal treasury. I am at your excellency's service and pleasure, and I humbly request that you put me to work and give me orders as you see fit.

I hope that God may protect your excellency for many years. From this presidio of Coahuila, on February 17, 1694, your most humble servant and chaplain kisses your excellency's hand.

Fray Damián Mazanet

To the most excellent Conde de Galve, viceroy of New Spain

AGI, Guadalajara, 151.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Excelentísimo Señor:

La gracia del amor divino more en el alma de vuestra excelencia y llene su corazón de consuelo espiritual.

Señor, con el gobernador don Gregorio de Salinas que fue el que llevó el socorro que vuestra excelencia mandó remitirnos a la provincia de los Tejas di noticia a vuestra excelencia del estado en que quedaban aquellas misiones, y aunque

10. This is where the mission of Santa María de los Dolores de la Punta was founded on November 12, 1698, by Fray Diego Salazar and Fray Francisco Hidalgo, who had been at San Francisco de los Tejas from 1691 to 1693. Its site was then known as El Ojo de Agua de Lampazos (present site of Lampazos de Naranjo, Nuevo León).

anduve corto respecto de lo mucho que había padecido así con los indios como también con los soldados que allá quedaron, con todo eso me pareció bastaba decir que no se haría fruto alguno menos que no se pusiese presidio de soldados o fuesen para sacarnos.

Después que dicho gobernador don Gregorio de Salinas se vino empezamos a reconocer mayores inquietudes con los indios y el día 14 de agosto del año pasado de 1693 llegó a San Francisco de los Tejas un indio que se llama Juan Pablo, de nación de indios mexicanos, el cual siendo niño cautivaron en El Parral los indios sumanes y lo llevaron para los tejas en donde ha estado hasta ahora, y al parecer será de edad de más de cuarenta años y con todo eso todavía entiende la lengua castellana y habla lo suficiente para explicarse. Este indio me dió aviso de cómo el gobernador de los indios tejas hacía más de seis meses que había enviado indios para convocar a las naciones de indios nasonit, nateau, yattas, cadodachos, nochettox, natsoos, y a los franceses, que viniesen a ayudarles y matarnos, por la codicia de lo que teníamos, y la seña que habían dado era que al principio de los fríos se juntasen para dicho efecto, y los mayores enemigos estaban dentro de casa y de los soldados, luego dispuse que así soldados como los donados de día y de noche estuviesen siempre uno de centinela junto a los pedreros con cuerda encendida y de manera que los indios que entraban y salían no echasen de ver novedad alguna en nosotros.

Procuré con mucha cautela recojer las escopetas que los indios tenían de los franceses que fueron cuatro. Después despaché el mismo indio a la ranchería de los indios cantona y Río de San Marcos a saber si había razón de que venían españoles o si había alguna carta, y que luego se volviese con la razón que hubiese. El día 6 de octubre del año pasado llegó a casa del gobernador de los tejas el alférez Antonio Rodríguez cabo de los soldados que en aquella provincia estaban y le dijo dicho gobernador que se apease del caballo porque le había menester, y entre muchas razones que tuvieron y debajo de mucha amistad, porque se querían mucho, dijo dicho gobernador de los tejas al alférez Antonio Rodríguez que él y toda su gente estaban ya muy enfadados de los españoles y que lo mejor era el que los españoles se fuesen y saliesen de sus tierras.

A este tiempo los indios todos los días estaban flechando los caballos que hallaban algo desviados de los otros y las vacas todas las flecharon y mataron, y preguntando a un indio que había flechado un caballo que por qué causa nos mataban los caballos, respondió que porque les daba la gana y viésemos de que no nos tenían miedo alguno. Considerando por una parte el aviso que me habían dado, por otra parte el que habían llegado muchos indios de los cadodachos y que se acercaba el tiempo que ellos tenían señalado para juntarse, llamé al gobernador de los tejas, vino y le pregunté si era verdad lo que decía el alférez Antonio Rodríguez, y respondió con mucho desembarazo y como que hacía burla de nosotros que sí era verdad y que su gente muchas veces le habían dicho que fuese a echarnos de su tierra, porque estaban muy mal contentos de ver españoles en su tierra; entonces respondí a dicho gobernador de los tejas y le ponderé la ingratitud de todos ellos y en particular él a quien vuestra excelencia regaló con dádivas y bastantes agasajos como también su sobrino cuando fue a esa corte, y porque no entendiese que les teníamos miedo le dije que él y los suyos quedarían en su tierra y nosotros vendríamos a la nuestra, y que mirase no hiciesen alguna demostración porque habíamos de pelear hasta morir.

Luego determiné con todo secreto nuestra retirada y salimos el día 25 de octubre del año pasado de 1693; sólo pude sacar los ornamentos, cálices, crismeras y demás alhajas de plata, todo lo que fue de hierro y cobre con los pedreros quedó enterrado, las campanas en su lugar, y al salir se quemó la misión. Salimos con harto cuidado de día y de noche y a cuatro jornadas reconocimos que golpe de gente nos seguía y todas las mañanas acabados de salir de los parajes daban humazo en el mismo paraje en donde habíamos dormido, y esto duró hasta cerca del Río de San Marcos, nunca supimos qué gente era ni llegaron a hacernos mal alguno, sea Dios bendito. En el Río de San Marcos nos alcanzaron unos indios de los tejas y nos dijeron que los dos soldados que la noche que salimos se habían quedado habían ya sacado todo lo que quedaba enterrado y lo habían repartido a los indios. De los diez soldados que allí estaban la noche que salimos, se huyeron los dos referidos; en el camino quisieron huirse cuatro y llevarse toda la caballada, y así que llegamos al Río de San Marcos se fueron dos y se volvieron para los tejas. Al porte de esta fue el alivio que tuve en los tejas de los soldados que allá quedaron, porque era toda gente sin obligaciones, dejados de la mano de Dios y entregados al vicio con las indias.

De los géneros que vuestra excelencia me remitió di a los soldados lo que monta la memoria que va adjunta con ésta. Entre el Río Colorado y de San Marcos quiso Dios por mis pecados que estuvimos cuarenta días perdidos hasta llegar a la costa de la bahía, por montes que era menester abrir camino para pasar y quiso la majestad de Dios que hallamos un indio el cual nos dió razón del indio que yo había enviado a ver si había carta o razón de españoles y con él después salimos a la ranchería de los indios cantona, en donde llegamos unos a caballo y otros a pie, y a este tiempo había muchos días que se había acabado la harina que sacamos de los tejas, y en esta retirada nos regaló Dios con no haber cíbola en toda la tierra, que de obra de Dios llegamos a este presidio de Coahuila el día 17 de febrero de este año. Así que llegué a este presidio de Coahuila, me dió el gobernador don Gregorio de Salinas un pliego, el cual contenía una carta de vuestra excelencia y un despacho de la junta general, la fecha de dicha carta de 25 de agosto del año pasado de 1693 y en orden a lo que vuestra excelencia me manda de reconocer los parajes que hubiere en el camino y en donde se podrán formar misiones, ha mucho tiempo que los tengo vistos y reconocidos, sólo falta que como de los tejas no hubo forma de poder sacar más que los ornamentos, me hallo ahora que falta el avío para que los indios puedan sembrar y juntamente el bastimento hasta sembrar y coger la cosecha. Por acá hay mucha falta de maíz y trigo, que aunque me ponga a hacer limosna no se podrá juntar dos cargas de maíz; en lo que toca a la herramienta para empezar si se podrá hallar de limosna, los bueyes si no se compran no es cosa que lo den de limosna y en fin si vuestra excelencia me lo mandare y fuere de su agrado yo lo haré como se pudiere.

Para empezar con el poco avío que por ahora podrá haber se podrá hacer con más alivio, fundando en un ojo de agua que está a la punta de la Sierra de Santiago, que el puesto está en la jurisdicción del Nuevo Reino de León, otros parajes hay más distantes pero con más trabajo por ahora respecto de la falta de bastimentos que hay por acá.

He sabido cómo un soldado que vino de los tejas pidió su sueldo y que se le pagó por entero sin rebajarle lo que había recibido así de lo que vuestra excelencia mandó remitir a dichos soldados como también lo que yo le había dado. Junta-

mente he sabido que los que ahora han venido piden su sueldo y envían poder para ello. Por eso envío la memoria de lo que les dí allá, por si acaso vuestra excelencia les mandare pagar que se les rebaje, que esos menos gastos tendrá su majestad. En todo espero que vuestra excelencia determinará lo mejor como siempre, y le suplico mande avisarme de la determinación y que tengo de haber de los ornamentos que paran en mi poder y a quién los tengo de entregar, que con su orden los entregaré a la persona que me mandare, dándome recibo de lo que yo entregare y que pertenece a la real hacienda, y en cuanto fuere del agrado y servicio de vuestra excelencia le suplico me ocupe y mande, que es cuanto se me ofrece.

Guarde Dios Nuestro Señor a vuestra excelencia muchos años y como yo deseo. De este presidio de Coahuila y 17 de febrero de 1694. De vuestra excelencia su menor siervo y capellán que su mano besa, señor.

Fray Damián Mazanet

Al excelentísimo señor Conde de Galve, virrey de Nueva España.

IX

The Establishment of Permanent Missions and the First Presidios

(1716-1729)

Interest in Texas waned quickly following the 1693 withdrawal of the missionaries. But while the threat of French settlement west of the Mississippi had vanished for the moment, confrontation between Spain and France for domination of the gulf coast continued. French plans to establish another colony in the region were countered by Spain dispatching, in late 1698, a pair of expeditions to occupy the Bay of Santa María de Galve (Pensacola), the presumed destination of the French. A French expedition, under the direction of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, built a fort at Biloxi in April 1699. Alarmed by this new threat, Pensacola's captain, Andrés Arriola, hastened to Mexico for instructions. But the viceroy, distracted by a threat of a Scottish colony planned for Darién (Panama) and persistent rumors of English activities on the gulf coast west of Pensacola (actually French ships flying English flags to throw Spain off the track), failed to take prompt action. By March 1700 the French had built two additional forts farther upriver and were thoroughly entrenched in the lower Mississippi Valley.

Later in that year the Spanish king, Carlos II, died without an heir to the throne. The outcome of the War of the Spanish Succession was the crowning of Philip, the grandson of Spain's Felipe IV and France's Louis XIV, thus ending the Hapsburg Dynasty and beginning the Bourbon. An uneasy alliance was born between the two Catholic countries, imposed upon Spain by her obvious inability to force the French from the Mississippi and the two countries' mutual interest in preventing further English expansion westward from the colonies in Virginia and the Carolinas.

The French, interested in commerce above all else, immediately established trade with the Indians to the west and as early as 1701, were bartering their manufactured goods for salt with the Natchitoches of western Louisiana and were soon in contact with the Cadodacho and Hasinai tribes. But the French had their eye on a larger target. They needed the cattle and horses the Spaniards had in relative abundance, while the Spanish frontiersmen were hungry for French manufactured goods. Their hope of establishing an overland trade route with northern Mexico was rekindled when Father Francisco Hidalgo, who, in spite of the forced retreat from the Tejas mission in 1693, continued to agitate for the reoccupation

of the territory, even to the point of writing the governor of Louisiana concerning the possibility of renewing Franciscan missionary efforts among the Hasinai. Governor Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac used the priest's letter as an excuse to send Louis Juchereau de St. Denis to the Río Grande in 1713. It is of considerable interest that serving him as guides as far as the Hasinai villages were Pierre and Robert Talon, two survivors of the La Salle colony who had been rescued by the Spaniards in 1690.

St. Denis' party presented themselves to an astonished Captain Diego Ramón, commander of the presidio of San Juan Bautista, in the fall of 1714. Months passed while the viceregal government debated how to react to this boldness, while messages were exchanged between the presidio and the capital, and while St. Denis and his companion Medar Jalot were sent to the capital to be interrogated. The outcome was a recommendation that the Tejas mission be reoccupied to prevent further incursion of foreigners and the introduction of contraband. Father Hidalgo and Father Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares (who had gone as far as the Colorado River with the Aguirre expedition in 1709 in an aborted attempt to persuade the Tejas not to trade with the French) were charged with starting another mission. St. Denis, in spite of having the bad fortune to have been born French, charmed his Spanish hosts (he even married Manuela Ramón, granddaughter of the commandant) and was appointed conductor of supplies for this new entrada with a salary equal to that of the expedition's leader Alférez Domingo Ramón. Always looking out for French, and his own, interests, he wrote to the governor of Louisiana before leaving the Río Grande. He asked that a brigantine be sent to the Bay of Espíritu Santo "to make certain to have a depot easily accessible by sea or land wherein to keep our merchandise near to Coahuila and Nuevo Reino de León."

The Ramón expedition, which left Saltillo on February 17, 1716, represented Spain's commitment to the permanent occupation of the Provincia de Tejas. In addition to the presidio and four missions founded during the entrada, two others were subsequently established by the Zacatecan friars. Viceregal authorities were now fully supportive, acceding to Ramón's request to place another presidio nearer the French to counter their influence among the Indians and to Father Olivares' suggestion of establishing a mission on the San Antonio River that would serve as a midpoint between Coahuila and the Tejas. Martín de Alarcón was appointed military leader, with the titles of governor of Coahuila and captain general of the Provincia de Tejas, to undertake the expansion with Olivares. In spite of the government's prompt action, however, the expedition did not get underway until April 9, 1718, to the intense chagrin of Father Olivares.

While the expedition delayed its departure, the situation of the new outposts in northeast Texas steadily worsened. Fathers Hidalgo and Castellanos had been stricken with malaria shortly after their arrival. The Indians were resisting Christian indoctrination. The winter of 1716–1717 was severe, and throughout 1717 the Spaniards were in desperate need of clothing and food. A pack train of relief supplies sent in November was unable to reach its destination because of swollen rivers, and the cargo had to be cached. Four soldiers died; another seven deserted, taking with them the forty best horses. An epidemic broke out during the winter and spring of 1717.

The Alarcón-Espinosa expedition finally reached the San Antonio River in May 1818 and set about fulfilling the first of its orders. Mission San Antonio de Valero was founded on the first day of the month, and by the time the expedition returned in January the first gentile Pamayas and Payayas had congregated, along with a large number of neophytes, largely Xarames, who had followed Father Olivares from their old (now discontinued) mission of San Francisco Solano in Coahuila. On May 5, three-quarters of a league from the mission, Alarcón established the villa of San Fernando de Béxar with ten families (not thirty as he later claimed).

The governor then marched to the Bay of Espíritu Santo to fulfill another assignment of reconnoitering it to be sure the French were not attempting reoccupation of the area. Finding no evidence of foreign presence, the group headed for east Texas and were met en route by a delegation of Tonkawan tribes (Xanac or Sana, Emet, Too, Mayeye, Huyugan, and Cumercai), inhabitants of this central portion of the province, who asked for their own mission.

The expedition arrived at San Francisco de los Tejas in mid-October, where they received delegations of the local Tejas, Cadodachos from the Red River, and Bidais, whose territory lay three days south of Mission Concepción and on to the coast. The Spaniards were alarmed when Espinosa counted ninety-two guns owned by the Indians—far outnumbering their soldiers' weapons and giving clear evidence of entrenched French trade. In November a sergeant and a soldier sent by Alarcón to the French post at Natchitoches to see what the Spaniards were up against reported a garrison of twenty "men," mostly young boys, and two Frenchmen among the Cadodachos.

Alarcón accomplished his mission on the San Antonio River but left the east Texas settlements as insecure as ever. He had failed to recruit the fifty additional soldiers needed to increase the escort at each mission and reinforce the garrison at the Tejas presidio as instructed. Furthermore, few soldiers had brought their families to foster a stable Spanish population as specified by crown authorities.

From the French perspective, the Spaniards were the interlopers in Texas; the French laid claim to it by right of La Salle's occupation in 1685 and St. Denis' having taken formal possession of Hasinai territory in the name of the French king in 1714. The French were simply biding their time until the right moment to secure their claim to the territory. While Alarcón was strutting across Texas in 1718 the French were laying their plans. They founded New Orleans and began making overtures to the Chitimacha and Attacapa tribes to the west. Bernard de la Harpe established a trading post on the Red River. St. Denis, posted at Natchitoches, was ordered by Louisiana's Governor Bienville secretly to elicit the aid of the Indians in refusing to help maintain the Spanish missions. The French were contemplating the occupation of the Bay of Espíritu Santo; three armed vessels were standing by in Mobile and two other vessels were expected with settlers for a new colony.

The right time for French action arrived on January 9, 1719, when war broke out in Europe between the two nations as a result of Spain's occupation of Sardinia and her invasion of Sicily. Bienville received word of the outbreak of hostilities in April and ordered an immediate attack on Pensacola, which fell to the French on May 14. A month later M. Blondel, the commandant of Natchitoches,

and six soldiers "captured" Mission San Miguel de los Adáes from a lay brother and a single soldier. The former escaped to Mission Dolores to spread the alarm. The Spaniards retreated as far as the border of Tejas country on the Trinity River, where they waited more than three months in the expectation that reinforcements from northern Mexico would arrive before the French troops expected from Mobile. When help failed to arrive by early October, and with winter approaching, they could afford to wait no longer and withdrew to San Antonio.

New Spain had been caught off guard. The viceroy was not even aware of the declaration of war until after Pensacola had been taken and did not receive official notice of it with instructions from the king until July 13. He did not receive the first detailed account of the taking of Mission San Miguel until early August. The viceroy, finally informed of the state of affairs, lost no time, ordering that as large a force as possible be raised in Coahuila and Nuevo León. The Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, a distinguished veteran of peninsular campaigns now residing in Coahuila, was given the task of recruiting and supplying this army.

Aguayo's expedition of 1720–1722, recounted in the second document of this chapter, left the province greatly strengthened with new settlements. In closest proximity to the French post at Natchitoches was the presidio of Adáes, which had a one hundred-man garrison to guard the frontier and aid the three missions under its jurisdiction. It was backed by a twenty-five-man force at the presidio de los Tejas and its three missions. The Bay of Espíritu Santo was now protected by a ninety-man garrison with a single mission under its jurisdiction. And San Antonio de Béxar had fifty-four men to help the missionaries with their two missions (or three if one counts San Francisco Xavier de Nájera as a separate entity). Experienced frontiersmen had been put in charge of each presidio. Aguayo's second in command, Lieutenant General Don Fernando Pérez de Almazán was named Aguayo's successor as governor of the province. He established his capital at Adáes, but when the captain of the presidio there took ill and had to return to Saltillo, he found himself unable to leave the fort to tend to his other outposts. Crop failures in east Texas forced the Spaniards to buy grain from the French at Natchitoches until an unrealistic viceregal order in 1724 prohibited further trading.

The struggling settlements on the San Antonio River were victimized by Apache raids on their horse herds. The first real campaign against the Apaches was led by Captain Nicolás Flores y Váldez with a combined force of men from the San Antonio and La Bahía presidios plus thirty Indians from San Antonio de Valero. After pursuing their elusive quarry for more than a month, the party recovered the stolen horses, and twenty women and children were taken captive, but most of the warriors escaped to raid again. The outcome was typical of retaliatory campaigns and inaugurated a bitter feud between the military and some members of the clergy over the course of action to be pursued in handling the Apaches, a feud that would echo for some years to come.

While the physical layout of San Antonio's presidio remained primitive and impermanent, apparently for lack of manpower, the local missions were doing well enough to help supply La Bahía. But relations between the presidio and Querétaran missionaries were strained at best, and Father Miguel Sevillano refused to send a priest to the presidial chapel to minister to the Spanish settlement.

More serious was a revolt of the Indians at Mission Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga on January 31, 1724. It was an ominous warning that all was not well at the presidio of La Bahía. Its commandant had been murdered, two soldiers had been killed, horses stolen, and the mission abandoned. Governor Pérez de Almazán arrived in March to conduct an investigation into the causes of the rebellion. His report to the viceroy is presented as the third document in this chapter. What is pertinent here is that the acting captain, Diego Ramón, was removed and replaced by Juan Antonio de Bustillos y Ceballos, who arrived on the scene in the following spring of 1725, and managed to restore discipline to the disorderly garrison. He moved the mission and presidio about five or six leagues from its coastal location to the Guadalupe River in the territory of the more peaceable Aranamas, who were congregated there.

While the new establishments were struggling to maintain their foothold in Texas, the entire presidial system was under scrutiny in Mexico City. Numerous complaints had been reported to the government. Soldiers' salaries were generally being reduced from 450 pesos to about 372 through the charging of fraudulent expenses. Certain presidial captains, in collusion with merchants in Mexico City, were charging their men exorbitant prices for goods and supplies. Some soldiers were being employed on private ranches and mines belonging to officers. Some vacancies went unfilled—while the positions were being paid by the crown and the captain pocketed the salaries. Some presidios had outlived their usefulness: in certain areas the Indians had lived peacefully for years and no longer constituted a threat, while in other areas local populations had grown to the point that there was no need of a military presence.

In 1724 Viceroy Juan de Acuña, the Marqués de Casafuerte, sent Colonel Pedro de Rivera, interim commander of the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, to inspect the twenty presidios and three unattached companies deployed along the frontier, to recommend measures to correct the abuses, and to determine which companies were no longer needed. He was to inspect the personal equipment, arms, horses, and physical condition of the troops and to ensure that all were properly clothed and equipped when he left each post. He was to determine whether settlements were adequately protected and, specifically, whether the twelve-man guard kept at Saltillo to accompany supply trains and escort travelers to Texas actually was needed. Rivera, appointed brigadier general for the assignment, left Mexico on November 21, 1724, but did not reach Texas until the spring of 1727, and returned to Mexico one year later.[1]

With the exception of Tejas, the presidios of the province received good reports. The twenty-four men of Tejas, however, had scant knowledge of military discipline and were deficient in the manual of arms and duties. There was no guard duty and no sentinel posted. The soldiers were engaged solely in cultivating the presidial farm, caring for a small number of horses, and assisting the missionaries. Rivera didn't even bother to draw up regulations for the instruction of

1. For the complete report of the inspection, see Naylor and Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724—1729*.

the men, since he was determined to close this presidio. Rivera further recommended the reduction of the force at Adáes to sixty men, six of whom would assist the missionaries within the Tejas jurisdiction. The garrisons at La Bahía and Béxar were also to be reduced to forty and forty-four men, respectively. The escort for the supply trains was still needed, but escorts would henceforth be limited to four times a year and would be provided by soldiers at Coahuila.

Espinosa's Diary of the 1716 Entrada

The expedition into Texas made in 1716 by Captain Domingo Ramón and Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa was chronicled by the latter from the moment they set out from the Río Grande. Espinosa's sometimes humorous account contains good descriptions of the geography, flora, and fauna of Texas. It relates the establishment of four missions and reveals that Spanish authorities still believed they could hold Texas from further French penetration simply by forging a strong alliance with the Hasinai through peaceful conversion to Christianity.

In his diary, Espinosa also introduces Louis Juchereau de St. Denis, the ingratiating Frenchman who symbolized French persistence in attempts to establish trade with New Spain's northern provinces, which would ultimately lead to Spain's permanent occupation of Texas. Known to the Spaniards as Don Luis de San Dionisio, St. Denis was born in 1676 near Quebec, Canada. He went to France in 1699, and from there sailed with Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville for Louisiana. During the following years, he explored the Red River (in 1700), commanded Fort San Juan (Biloxi) on the Mississippi River south of New Orleans, and was active in the new colony. Charged by the governor of Louisiana in 1713 with opening a trade route with New Spain, St. Denis established a post at Natchitoches and proceeded to San Juan Bautista, where the Spaniards sent him to Mexico City for interrogation. There the viceroy appointed him guide for the 1716 Ramón expedition. Prior to the expedition's departure, he married Manuela Ramón, granddaughter of Commandant Diego Ramón of San Juan Bautista. From east Texas he advanced to Mobile, to organize another trading expedition, and returned to the Río Grande the following year. His goods were confiscated this time, however, and he spent six months jailed in Mexico for trading in contraband. After being released, he returned to Natchitoches, where he was made commandant of the post on July 1, 1720, and assumed the position early the following year. He died there on June 11, 1744, having lived out his life trading with Spaniards and Indians alike.

Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa is probably best known for writing the Crónica de los colegios de propaganda fide de la Nueva España, *which contains the best account of the culture of the Caddoan tribes of Texas. He was born in Querétaro on November 26, 1679, entered the College of Santa Cruz in 1696, and was ordained the following year. While serving at the mission of San Juan Bautista on the Río Grande in 1709, he accompanied the expedition of Captain Pedro de Aguirre into Texas, as far as the Colorado River. Fray Espinosa was named president of the Texas missions to be established by the Querétaran friars during the 1716 Ramón expedition. He accompanied Martín de Alarcón on his inspection of Texas in 1718, and stayed with the missions until the ensuing year, when, in the face of French incursion into east Texas, the Spaniards withdrew. After a trip to Mexico City to agitate for reinforcement of the Texas mission field he accompanied the Marqués de Aguayo in 1721, on his entrada to reoccupy east Texas.*

He was named guardian of the College of Santa Cruz later that same year, and in 1731, he founded the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, becoming its first president. Fray Espinosa died February 12, 1755, at his old College of Santa Cruz.

The Franciscan Order founded the College of Santa Cruz in Querétaro in 1683, and the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Zacatecas in 1707, for the purpose of training missionaries. These were the first two of the six colleges of the Propaganda Fide eventually established in New Spain. Accompanying Fray Espinosa on this expedition were four additional priests from the College of Santa Cruz, and four priests, two lay brothers, and one oblate from the College of Zacatecas.

The trail diary of the reentry into the province of Texas in the year 1716.

In the name of the Most Blessed Trinity:

This trail diary of the journey from the Río Grande del Norte into the province of Texas was made upon the order of his excellency the Duque de Linares,[1] viceroy of New Spain. It was written and compiled by Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, [who was] accompanied by representatives of the two colleges of the Propaganda Fide, the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro and the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. Domingo Ramón[2] was the captain of twenty-five soldiers and brought another twenty-two settlers in a mule train, along with eight married women.

From the College of Querétaro we list: Fray Isidro Félix Espinosa, president; the reverend father Fray Francisco Hidalgo;[3] and the preaching fathers Fray Ben-

1. Fernando de Alencastre Noroña y Silva, the Duque de Linares and Marqués de Valdefuentes (1641–1717), governed New Spain from 1711 until 1716.

2. Captain José Domingo Ramón, son of the interim governor of Coahuila and captain of the flying company at the presidio of San Juan Bautista, was appointed leader of this expedition in 1715. He remained in east Texas until the general withdrawal in 1719 that was occasioned by the French invasion. As one of the leaders who reoccupied east Texas in 1721, under the guidance of Aguayo, Ramón occupied the Bay of Espíritu Santo and subsequently directed the establishment of the mission of Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga and the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto. He was wounded during a rebellion of the Indians at La Bahía mission in 1723, described in the "Dereliction of Duty at La Bahía Presidio" document, and died on December 23.

3. Fray Francisco Hidalgo was born in Spain about 1659. He arrived in New Spain with a contingent of Franciscan priests about 1684, and after working in Mexico City and Puebla, was sent to the College of Santa Cruz for work on the northern frontier. He accompanied the 1690 León-Mazanet expedition and remained as the minister at San Francisco de los Tejas until the Spanish withdrawal in 1693. During his term as guardian of the College of Santa Cruz from 1700 to 1705, and subsequently while serving the missions on the Río Grande, he strove to revive the missionary effort in Texas. His efforts paid off when he returned with the 1716 Ramón expedition and resumed his role as minister at San Francisco until the 1719 withdrawal. He petitioned unsuccessfully to preach among the Apaches in 1725. Fray Hidalgo died in September 1726 at the mission of San Juan Bautista on the Río Grande.

ito Sánchez,[4] Fray Gabriel de Vergara,[5] and Fray Manuel Castellanos. Reverend Father Fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús[6] from the College of Zacatecas remained gravely ill at the mission of San Juan Bautista on the Río Grande, and the father provincial Fray Agustín Patrón and the brother Fray Francisco de San Diego remained with him.[7] Those who accompanied us were the father provincial Fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio, the father provincial Fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, the brother Fray Francisco Javier Cubillos, and the brother Domingo de Urioste, who wears the habit of a lay person.[8] There was also the captain of the

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4. Following the 1719 withdrawal from the east Texas missions, Fray Benito Sánchez accompanied the Aguayo expedition of 1721 to reoccupy the province. Fray Sánchez served at the Nazoni village and in San Antonio from 1721 to 1728.

5. Fray Gabriel de Vergara remained at Purísima Concepción in east Texas until the 1719 withdrawal, then returned with the Aguayo expedition in 1721. He was president of the Querétaran missions in San Antonio from 1725 until about 1737, when he was named guardian of his college at Querétaro.

6. En route to join the Ramón expedition at San Juan Bautista, Fray Margíl was stricken with a high fever, but recovered sufficiently to begin the trek himself by June 13. He and the companions who had stayed with him, Fray Agustín Patrón and the lay brother Francisco de San Diego, overtook the expedition in July on the far side of the Trinity River. Fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús was born in Valencia, Spain, on August 18, 1657. Entering the Franciscan Order in 1673, he arrived a decade later in New Spain, where he was attached to the College of Santa Cruz. His early years in the New World were spent for the most part in Central America, where he founded at least twenty-five missions and became known as the Apostle of Guatemala. From 1697 to 1700, he served as guardian of the College of Santa Cruz, and he became the first guardian of the new College of Guadalupe in Zacatecas from 1707 until 1714. During the Ramón expedition he founded three missions for his college, then remained in east Texas until the 1719 withdrawal. In 1720, Fray Margíl established San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, the only Zacatecan mission on the banks of the San Antonio River. He was again elected guardian of his College of Guadalupe in 1722, and upon completion of his term, resumed missionary work in Mexico. He died in 1726 at the Convento Grande de San Francisco in Mexico City.

7. Fray Agustín Patrón y Guzmán was appointed minister of San Miguel de Linares when Fray Margíl de Jesús founded the mission late in 1716. Fray Patrón was visiting Fray Margíl at Nacogdoches when his mission was captured by the French in 1719. He was named co-minister with Fray Miguel Núñez de Haro of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo when it was founded in San Antonio in 1720. Sent to the coast in 1722 to establish Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo, he moved his mission to the Guadalupe River in 1726, before returning to Mexico. Fray Patrón was enlisted as guardian of his College of Guadalupe on March 1, 1732, and held that office until July 23, 1735. He died in Zacatecas on June 12, 1737.

Fray Francisco de San Diego, "advanced in age and an exemplary friar," was a lay brother, or *donado*, who died at Mission Dolores in east Texas on September 1, 1717, where he was buried by Fray Margíl.

8. Fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio began his ecclesiastical career as a member of the Provincia de Santo Evangelio (Mexico City), and entered the College of Zacatecas shortly after it was founded in 1707. He was chosen consulter in the first chapter (1713). Appointed co-minister of the Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches mission when it was founded by Fray Margíl on this expedition, he remained there until 1718, when his fellow ministers sent him to Mexico City to appeal to the viceroy for additional support for the threatened missions. He was still in Mexico when he was elected to the three-year

convoy, Don Luis de San Dionisio—a Frenchman—and two of his countrymen who came with him.[9]

THE YEAR 1716

Saturday, April 25, feast of St. Mark the Evangelist. Mass was sung in the mission of San Bernardo,[10] with the prayers of the day and a procession to ensure a safe trip. Once the activities were finished, we all gathered around to give the *viaticum*[11] for our Reverend Fray Margíl. In the afternoon, friars Francisco Hidalgo, Benito Sánchez, Gabriel Vergara, and Manuel Castellanos crossed the Río Grande. We all recited the Gospel of the day, *Designavit Dominus* ["The Lord Has Designated"], giving thanks to His Majesty for having called us to such a blessed venture and receiving new inspiration from his words to us through the apostles: *Id que yo os envío. Ite ecce ego mitto vos* ["Go therefore, I send you," apparently a corruption of Matt. 28:18–20]. This day, they traveled two leagues.

Sunday, [April] 26. I had remained to ensure that all was in order at the missions under my direction. Mindful of the advice in the Gospel of the day about the good shepherd, which concludes with the words of our Lord, "There are sheep not of this flock, who should be led to the sheepfold," and interpreting this as a reference to the gentile Tejas Indians, I left Sunday afternoon with the preaching friars Matías Sáenz de San Antonio and Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza. We all gathered on the far bank of the Río del Norte with a musket salvo and general rejoicing. There was less water in the river than usual. A short sermon was given, with the intention of repeating this practice every third day. Some of those who had not fulfilled their religious obligations received the sacrament. We will take

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term of guardian of his college on February 1, 1719. Fray Sáenz was in Rome and Spain from 1724 to 1729, returning to New Spain with twelve priests and a brother for the mission field. He served as commissary prefect for the colleges in Zacatecas and Querétaro from 1731 to 1738; in 1754 he was at the College of San Fernando in Mexico City, where he died on April 10. His companion at the mission, Fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, did not enjoy such a long and distinguished career, dying there in November 1718. Brother Francisco Javier Cubillos was left as Fray Patrón's companion at Mission San Miguel, and it was he who, with a single soldier, escaped at the time of the French invasion to spread the alarm to the others. He died in January 1742, apparently in or as a result of some accident in the icy waters of the Río Grande.

9. St. Denis had arrived at San Juan Bautista with three French companions: Pierre Largen, Penicault, and Medar Jalot (who served St. Denis as valet, chef, and surgeon). Perhaps Penicault escaped and returned home while St. Denis was in Mexico City, because only the other two are mentioned in both Espinosa's and Ramón's diaries. It is of interest that four Tejas Indians also accompanied the party to the Río Grande, including Bernardino, whom we have met in previous documents.

10. The mission of San Bernardo was founded in 1702, south of the Río Grande near present-day Guerrero, Coahuila, only "two musket shots away" from the mission of San Juan Bautista.

11. Communion given to a gravely ill or dying person.

turns singing the sacramental hymn every night, and the same is to be done when breaking camp. We are two leagues to the northeast of our missions, according to observations made by an experienced religious.

Monday, [April] 27. We set out from the bank of the Río Grande for the Real del Cuervo, three leagues to the northeast. Finding little water there we turned back toward the river, traveling two leagues to the west [as far as the crossing] named by Diego Ramón.[12] This evening there was a sermon, and when it ended a violent storm broke, so tempestuous that it made us raise our voices in supplication to Our Mother of Sorrows and to the saints of our devotion. The storm pulled up the tent stakes, which we all grabbed hold of, and it cracked one of the tent poles. It overturned some of our packs and damaged the baggage, although it did no [harm] to anyone in the company. The storm abated and turned into light rain, which did not last long. Today we traveled five leagues.

Tuesday, [April] 28. In search of water we traveled northeast over flat, open country with some scattered mesquites. There were a few pools of water, and when one of the Frenchmen fell off his horse, it was without injury. We arrived at Cueva del [illegible], which had considerable water. Captain Don Luis de San Dionisio went back to the presidio to bring back an Indian. Today we traveled five leagues.

Wednesday, [April] 29. We left Cueva [del ?] after saying three Masses and continued in an east-northeasterly direction in search of El Carrizo.[13] We traveled over a few rolling hills barren of trees, along some arroyos of loose soil, and [through] many mud holes containing clumps of mesquite and prickly pear, although it was not yet in season. There were pools of water until we encountered the trail from El Cuervo to the spring called Caramanchel, and with great [illegible], we [came upon] some pools of rainwater. There, the mosquitoes attacked us. [Plunging] in their stingers, they feasted upon us day and night to their heart's content. At dawn, some horses were missing; five wild Indians[14] had taken them to their ranchería. [The soldiers] pursued and captured three of [the Indians]. They were brought into the presence of the captain, who, recognizing their limited intelligence, considered their fright and bewilderment to be [adequate] punishment. A sermon was given. Today we traveled five leagues.

Thursday, [April] 30. We continued in a northeasterly direction toward El Carrizo, crossing flat land with pools of water. We entered a small thicket of mesquites and prickly pear cactus. We halted at this [illegible] of the pools of El Carrizo, having traveled three leagues.

Friday, May 1. After most of the priests had said Mass, we traveled northward over flat land, and we began to see some flowers and grass in the fields. Because it was the feast of the Holy Apostles Saint Philip and Saint James, and in order to

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12. This crossing of the river was known as "El Paso Pacuache" (crossing of the Pacuache Indians). The Pacuaches roamed from the Río Grande northward into the Edwards Plateau. Although some were found in various missions of Coahuila and Texas, they were probably the dominant group at San Bernardo in the 1720s.

13. Carrizo Springs in northern Dimmitt County, Texas.

14. In his diary, Ramón identified the "wild Indians" as Pacuaches.

give the horses a chance to regain their strength, we camped at a spring, having traveled two leagues.

Saturday, [May] 2. We traveled toward the east quadrant, bearing east-northeast through small thickets of mesquite and open meadows. We found a lot of wild oregano. We passed a large ranchería, old and abandoned, and a dry creek with a grove of evergreen oaks. Continuing in the same direction, we followed a stream with pools of water and many evergreen oak trees as far as the Río de las Nueces, which had only pools of water, and many groves of ash, walnut, black mulberry, and other varieties of trees. Today we traveled seven leagues under an intense sun.

Sunday, [May] 3. Day of the Invention of the Holy Cross. We stopped to celebrate. Seven Masses were said, several people took communion, and, in the afternoon, with general rejoicing, we carried in procession a sacred cross we had made. Placing it in the ground [while singing] hymns of the day, we worshiped it reverently. We named this site Real de la Santa Cruz.

Monday, [May] 4. We left the Río de las Nueces, taking a northeasterly course as far as Tortuga Pool. The road, which is for the most part over flat, soft earth, contained five pits of unknown origin. One seemed miraculous, for a horse fell into it and emerged unhurt, although well covered with dust. We stopped at the aforesaid pool, having traveled two leagues.

Tuesday, [May] 5. Having found good pasture and water, we remained at this site. Nothing else of moment occurred except the marriage of a soldier whose banns had been published on the road. It was celebrated with a salvo of muskets and the attendance of all the religious. Some fish were caught, and an eel played its part in the meantime.

Wednesday, [May] 6. We set out for the Río Frío,[15] heading east and east-northeast across rolling hills and plains, with some clumps of mesquite in the low spots. The countryside was blooming in praise of the Creator. There were pools of water and, among the evergreen oak groves on the way to the Río Frío, a perennial marsh to which we traveled.

Thursday, [May] 7. Following a significant slope to the east-northeast as far as some large pools near the hill's crest, we came upon the crossing of the Río Frío. It was dry, its banks covered with trees and vines; we also saw a great deal of brazilwood [*Condelia obovata*] on this occasion. Beyond the river (which is a river in name only), there were prairie chickens, and we caught two. We made camp by some marshes on our left and named [the place] San Lorenzo. There was a sermon. Four leagues were traveled today.

Friday, [May] 8. Feast of the Apparition of St. Michael. We set out toward the east-northeast, traveling one league over flat land, and found three Patagua rancherías.[16] We continued in the same direction, through washes with clumps of mesquite and pools of water. Our intention was to reach Hondo Creek, but when

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15. The dry bed of the Frio River runs southeast from Real County, and its main fork runs through Uvalde County. It was called the Río Sarco by Alonso de León in 1689.

16. The Patagua are thought to be a Coahuiltecan-speaking tribe. Although a few were found in the Río Grande missions, most were reduced at San Antonio de Valero between 1720 and 1763.

those of us in front arrived, its dryness forced us to go back to where the pack train, having already been notified, was camped near pools of rainwater. We named the site Real de San Miguel. While we traveled eight leagues, the rest of the train traveled four.

Saturday, [May] 9. We remained here in order to examine the place. We all said Mass. The only memorable things were the sultry heat, the calm of the water—which [otherwise] would have detained us, as there were many arroyos—and the arrival of a Mesquite Indian,[17] who informed us that many people were gathered at the Río Colorado.

Sunday, [May] 10. Only three Masses were celebrated. Heading almost directly east-northeast, we reached the deep arroyo, where there was an easy crossing. We had to traverse a small arroyo, through evergreen oak trees and dense underbrush, before arriving at the deeper one. Then, [after passing] through scattered mesquites, we came upon a grove of evergreen oaks, cottonwoods, and other trees, with two large marshes of good water. We named [the place] Real de Santa Rita. The sun was observed at 28°40′. We erected a wooden cross, having traveled four leagues.

Monday, [May] 11. After saying two Masses, we traveled east-northeast over level ground with occasional clusters of evergreen oaks, pools of water, a few hills, and gravely flats, until we reached some large marshes. Because the sun was burning hot and we had to carry a sick religious, we stopped after traveling only two leagues.

Tuesday, [May] 12. We left this site and followed an east-northeasterly route through some washes that were partly flat and partly hilly, with occasional groves of evergreen oak, until we reached the pond called La Pita. It is quite large and has a fair number of fish and turtles, which we observed sticking their heads out of the water, although they would not come within reach of our hands. There are a few clusters of oaks, among which we found a somewhat parched vine whose stalk was already dry. It measured one *vara* in circumference, as witnessed by all the religious and many other persons. A sermon was given. We covered two leagues today.

Wednesday, [May] 13. After three Masses were said we left in search of the Río de Medina, traveling one league north-northeast through open hills with mesquite and evergreen oak. Continuing another two leagues toward the northeast and east-northeast, we encountered clumps of boxwood shrubs in sandy soil and many groves of evergreen oaks, oaks, and walnuts. We veered to the north for one league and, after crossing flat land with clumps of boxwood, we came upon a dense wood to the east-northeast. Turning toward the northeast, we reached the Río de Medina after midday, in sultry heat and feeling quite hungry. There are groves of cottonwoods, black mulberries, and vines, from which we sighted the water. The river was high, and when the horses entered it to swim, they fell into

17. The Mesquite Indians were one of the Coahuiltecan-speaking Indian groups of south-central and southern Texas. Some merged with other Coahuiltecan and Tonkawan groups during the eighteenth century at the Ranchería Grande in central Texas. Others were found in 1747 at Mission San Juan Bautista on the Conchos at La Junta, along with the Cacalotes, Conejos, and Jumanos.

very deep water. So much confusion ensued that eighty-two of them drowned, constituting a great loss to us all. This and other unfortunate mishaps led us to suspect that God had given our common enemy permission to discourage our journey. In order to defeat his cunning, all the religious celebrated a Mass in which we gave thanks for the work that we have accomplished and beseeched God to look upon us with merciful eyes. Today we traveled ten leagues.

Thursday, [May] 14. We departed from this river in an east-northeasterly direction, over hills and through washes, all dressed in very green grama grass. There were small flint beds as far as the Arroyo de León,[18] three leagues away, in which there were pools of water. Continuing from there along a northeasterly route, we entered the floodplain of the Río de San Antonio, at the edge of which are small open hills with mesquites and a few evergreen oaks, and the waters of San Pedro[19] spring forth in sufficient quantity to supply a mission. The woods are very thick, and at their edge is a wide path that we followed to arrive at the Río de San Antonio.[20] This admirable river is praiseworthy for its pleasantness, location, abundant waters, and multitude of fish. It is bordered by very tall walnuts, cottonwoods, elms, [grape]vines, mulberry trees, willows, strawberry trees, and palmettos. There is much flax and wild hemp, an abundance of maidenhair ferns, and many medicinal herbs. Deep in the thickest part of the woods we found seven interconnected springs. Their abundant waters, together with those of other springs hidden nearby in the underbrush, form crystal clear, blue, sweet pools. Catfish, *mojarra, piltontle, catán,* and alligators breed in these waters, and undoubtedly there are other varieties of more savory fish. This place eased the tragedy of the preceding [incident]. Its freshness invites the establishment of missions and villages. The plains and the [springs] that we have discovered here are ample enough for all. Today we traveled seven leagues.

Friday, [May] 15. We remained at the river, where, because it is the feast day of San Isidro Labrador, the patron saint of Madrid (and my namesake), I sang a Mass, which my beloved fellow priests celebrated with their voices. We had plenty of large fish for the feast that followed in accordance with military practice, and we rested somewhat from the hardships of the journey.

Saturday, [May] 16. We set out from this river, heading toward the northeast for half a league, then traveling for a league east-northeast through scattered mesquite groves and grassy pastures filled with flowers. A half-league to the northeast we stopped at a salty arroyo,[21] and in the bed of this arroyo we found wild vine

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18. León Creek is an intermittent stream that arises in northwest Bexar County and flows southeast, where it joins the Medina River.

19. San Pedro Springs, located in the park of the same name in present-day San Antonio, was named by the Ramón expedition. The stream is now channeled through downtown San Antonio and feeds into the San Antonio River.

20. The San Antonio River is fed by springs and Olmos Creek, north of present-day downtown San Antonio, and flows southeast into the Guadalupe River. It was named the Río San Antonio de Padua during the Terán-Mazanet entrada of 1691.

21. This was probably Salado Creek, an intermittent stream fed by Mud, Elm, and Long Creeks, which arise on the escarpment of the city of San Antonio. The creek meanders first

stock that appeared to have recently been planted by hand. Beyond the arroyo, which does not always flow, there is a spring on the right-hand side about two musket shots away. According to those with experience, it could irrigate the surrounding land, even though it is not very large. We traveled two leagues today.

Sunday, [May] 17. After saying three Masses, we traveled through a mesquite wood, thick patches of evergreen oak, and open ground in some places. [We traveled] for one league toward the northeast quadrant, heading east-northeast as far as some high hills, and then another two leagues to the east, ending up to the east-northeast on the banks of an arroyo with marshes. From here Captain Don Luis de San Dionisio, along with Juan de Medar, who is also French, and an Indian guide, went ahead to search for Tejas Indians to accompany us. The sun was observed at 29°38′. We traveled five leagues.

Monday, [May] 18. We left for the Río Guadalupe, going through mesquite thickets, clumps of evergreen oak, and other trees for one league north and a half-league north-northeast, until we had climbed some very high hills. We followed a plain in the northeastern quadrant, bearing east-northeast, and about two leagues before the river we saw mesquite groves and small hills with a few ravines extending as far as a small, flowing arroyo that emerged nearby. From there [we traveled] through sparse mesquite woodland, keeping the groves along the river on our right side, and where the hills form a ridge we found Guadalupe crossing. Very wide and stony, it has groves of immeasurable beauty. We stopped on the far bank in a small clearing surrounded by trees, next to the river. Its waters are crystal clear and so abundant it seemed incredible to us that its origin is so near. The river is fed by three main springs that join together with a few smaller ones to form the nascent current. There walnut trees grow alongside cottonwoods, and all are crowned by wild vines that creep up their trunks. The flowering blackberries and mulberries showed promise of future bounty. Their leaves are larger than the palm of a hand, [although] the new growth shows signs of frost damage. The willows beautify the river with their shade, and the great variety of vegetation forms a delightful grove to which is added the melodious voices of different birds. One can cross over dry land, without fording [the river], by climbing the hills a quarter of a league distant. There was no shortage of ticks biting us. We traveled seven leagues today.

Tuesday, [May] 19. We headed toward the northeast quadrant, bearing east-northeast through lush forest, not at all inferior to the last one. We entered a wash, and after half a league we came upon a river with a fair amount of water and many fish and alligators, which we named [Río] San Juan. [The river] is not (as many believe) a branch of the Río Guadalupe, although it joins it, because their sources are far apart. We traveled only half a league.

Wednesday, [May] 20. We set out through scattered mesquite groves in a direction between northeast and east-northeast, occasionally veering toward the northeast and keeping the ridges in sight. After three leagues we encountered a large marsh on our left, which we named San Bernardino. From here the wood

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southeast then south, eventually joining the San Antonio River. It was a favored campsite for Indians from the Pleistocene through the archaic periods, when it undoubtedly provided a permanent source of water.

grew thicker, its foliage preventing the sun from reaching the ground, and there were dry arroyos and numerous cottonwoods as far as the Río de San Marcos.[22] Because the forest to the east-northeast and northeast was so dense, we continued two leagues farther to the Arroyo San Rafael, which only had abundant pools. Today we traveled nine leagues.

Thursday, [May] 21. Day of Our Lord's Ascension. In observance of this day we did not travel. Seven Masses were said, many people received communion, and in the afternoon there was a sermon, [a practice] that has been continued every third day. A semicircular cloud formation was seen in the sky above us, white with deepest black at the extremities in the north-northeast and south-southwest, and the entire sky was still. After a long time it became dark and gradually vanished. Let the critic speculate on mysteries, I only relate the event. What is certain is that it had a shape like a comet, with a head, a star along its edge or base, and a dark tail shaped like a cypress. The sight of it occasioned joy in some, [while] to others it brought foreboding and melancholy thoughts.

Friday, [May] 22. By a northeasterly direction we came upon a spring that I named San Isidro some years ago.[23] From there, we headed toward the hills and passed a few arroyos with pools of water until we reached the arroyo with the ticks, which this time were somewhat merciful. Along the way there were groves of evergreen oak in the distance and five washes. Today we traveled eight leagues.

Saturday, [May] 23. About three harquebus shots to the north-northeast we found an arroyo that meets with [the arroyo] of the ticks. It extends an eighth of a league toward the east from here, as far as the Río del Espíritu Santo or the Río Colorado (which are one and the same).[24] Toward the north-northeast lies open country with rolling hills, although one league this side of the river are many oak trees with vines intermittently entwined in them. We arrived at [the hill] closest to the river and, after inspecting the ford, retraced our steps to some tall walnut trees, where we camped. Rain threatened from the north, but our Lord spared us. Today we traveled three leagues.

Sunday, [May] 24. After first offering seven Masses for our safe passage, one to each of our patron saints, we left to cross the river. We had some scares, but there was no real danger. It took until midday to take the cargo across. On both banks, this river has enormous oaks, vines, hemp, and an herb called *epazote*. It contains many fish, which we enjoyed. We went on to camp on high wooded ground.

Monday, [May] 25. Nearly half the day was spent in getting the goats across,

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22. The San Marcos is one of the principal tributaries of the Guadalupe River. It begins near present-day San Marcos, Texas, and flows southeast into San Antonio Bay.

23. Fray Espinosa probably named the San Isidro on his unsuccessful expedition into Texas in 1709, when he accompanied Fray Antonio de San Buenaventura Olivares and Captain Pedro de Aguirre. The expedition was unable to contact the Tejas Indians, and returned to the Río Grande.

24. Fed by intermittent streams in northwestern Texas, the Colorado flows in a southeasterly direction for some six hundred miles before emptying into Matagorda Bay. The name Colorado was first used by León in 1690, but from his description of clear water he was probably at the Brazos. The two appear to have been frequently confused by early Spanish explorers.

which we did without endangering any. The river had dropped, despite our expectations [to the contrary], given the previous rains. The sun was observed at thirty degrees and a few minutes.

Tuesday, [May] 26. We did not break camp because the alférez left with three soldiers to scout properly and look for Indians. They found a buffalo, part of which the camp received.

Wednesday, [May] 27. Having said three Masses, we set out over an oak-covered hill for one league to the northeast, and then over open but grassy hills for two leagues toward the northeast quadrant. In order to reach the only campsite we knew of, we lost two leagues traveling toward the south-southeast, to the pools named Cíbolo. Our party traveled six leagues.

Wednesday [sic], [May] 28. With a Payaya Indian[25] to guide us, we set out to retrace the two leagues [already] traversed, heading northwest and north, one [league] in each direction, over generally flat land. We traveled four leagues to a running arroyo, which we named Beatísimas [Beatas] Animas[26] because we had entrusted the correct route to these souls. It has many trees. The sun was registered at 30°40′. Here [the soldiers] caught three buffalo and satisfied their hunger—perhaps to some excess, for those not accustomed to this meat suffered stomachaches. We traveled six leagues today.

Thursday [sic], [May] 29. We said seven Masses, given the opportunity by the delay while the route ahead was scouted. In the meantime, the [remaining] meat was dried and fresh meat was procured.

Saturday, [May] 30. We headed out in a north-northeasterly direction for three leagues. Smoke was sighted, and upon investigation, we found six Yeripiamo and Mixcale [Mescal] Indians.[27] We brought two of them along in the afternoon, one a Christian from the mission of San Juan Bautista del Río del Norte. The other four went to notify their leaders of our arrival. We stopped at some pools surrounded by foliage, which, because they resembled the cells of a beehive, we named Pedro de Alcántara. This afternoon we sang our vespers, as well as the matins and lauds that are customary in our monasteries. Our party traveled three leagues today.

Sunday, [May] 31. In spite of our desire to observe Pentecost, this site was not suitable, so we continued on in a northeasterly direction to another arroyo flowing with rainwater. A hard rain fell during the afternoon and continued intermit-

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25. The Payaya (variously spelled Paia, Paillaille, Payagua, Payalla) were one of the principal Coahuiltecan tribes in the vicinity of present-day San Antonio. They were among the first groups to be incorporated into the mission of San Antonio de Valero.

26. The Arroyo de Beatas (Santas) Animas, now known as Brushy Creek, arises in southwestern Williamson County and joins the San Gabriel River above Rockdale, in Milam County.

27. The Yeripiamo (Hierbipiamo, Yerbipiamo, Ervipiami, etc.) and Mescales were Coahuiltecan tribes native to northern Coahuila. The former seem to have ranged in northeastern Coahuila and were reduced initially at the mission of San Francisco Xavier (Coahuila) in 1698. The home territory of the latter stretched from the Río Sabinas in Coahuila northwest to the Río Grande in the area of Guerrero and towards San Antonio, Texas. They were congregated in 1700 at San Juan Bautista (Coahuila). Remnants of these tribes were included among the Indians in the Ranchería Grande.

tently through the rest of the day's journey. All the religious sang the *Veni Creator*[28] together. We traveled three leagues.

Monday, June 1. The day began with rain. With some difficulty we said four Masses in which we asked our Lord for calm weather, and the sky cleared around nine o'clock. Because of our poor location and our fear of flash floods, we set out after midday. We traveled on a northeasterly course for two leagues, until we reached a flowing arroyo near a large river, which we named San Francisco Xavier.[29] [The river] has vegetation and fish similar to those of the preceding rivers. We traveled two leagues this afternoon.

Tuesday, [June] 2. In observance of Pentecost, already into the third day, we celebrated a solemn Mass and sang the *Veni Creator*. There was a salvo of muskets, and several people took communion.

Wednesday, [June] 3. We set out in a direction between east and east-southeast, through open woodlands of mesquites, evergreen oaks, vines, and quite pleasant washes, until we crossed the Arroyo de las Animas for the second time. The very steep banks there caused some of the cargo to fall off and roll into the water. After we emerged from its dense wood, we stopped at a nearby clearing. [Some of the party] ventured out to hunt buffalo, and two of our servants became lost in the dense brush.[30] The soldiers and three friendly Indians went out to bring them back, but did not find them. We named [the site] Real de Santo Domingo, and we traveled four leagues.

Thursday, [June] 4. After nightfall on Wednesday, news reached us that Don Luis de San Dionisio was catching up to us with several Indians, and we sent him information on how to reach us. In the meantime, we all joined in saying a novena to San Antonio de Padua and San Francisco Xavier, and we searched again for those who were lost. Don Luis arrived in the afternoon. We gave thanks to God for having avoided the forest that Don Luis traveled through and took note that the road we had taken was the more open.

Friday, [June] 5. We said seven Masses for those who were lost. Rather than wait for them to appear miraculously, sixteen friendly Indians went out with the soldiers, shouting, firing shots, and even sending smoke signals. Still, we did not have the consolation of finding them. The ticks went about their business.

Saturday, [June] 6. We set out on a northeasterly route for about two leagues through oak woodlands, vines, and a few dry arroyos. These were followed by a thicket so dense that even hatchets and knives could not cut through it, and more than a little cargo was damaged. Following a south-southeasterly route, we arrived

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28. "Come, O Creator," the first line of the sequence of the Mass for Pentecost.

29. The San Francisco Xavier River, now known as the San Gabriel, arises from three forks in Williamson County that converge at Georgetown. The river flows northeast to join the Little River in central Milam County, and the larger stream flows into the Brazos on the eastern margin of the county.

30. According to Ramón's diary, he dispatched three Indians to look for buffalo. Unbeknownst to anyone, two servants of the ministers—a ladino and a mule driver named Miguel Pérez—also left. The Indians returned safely, but the ministers' servants were lost for several days.

at a clearing with a small spring by two thirty in the afternoon. We named the site Real de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. With so much difficulty, we traveled only five leagues.

Sunday, [June] 7. Our party halted at this spot while [some] went to clear a trail for the following day. Seven Masses were said, and even though several buffalo were sighted, none were taken.

Monday, [June] 8. Having opened a passage, we set out across a nearby clearing, following a route between east and east-southeast. We entered an open forest of oaks and some walnuts, and found two springs, which we named San Diego. Here we found unripened grapes with a greater abundance than the muscatel [variety]. We continued on through a wood, finding many cottonwoods in some clearings, and stopped at a very large lake with many alligators, which we named San Juan. We traveled four leagues.

Tuesday, [June] 9. After Mass we set out [on a course] between south and southeast, traveling through fairly open woodland the entire way. We found a few springs and, after about a league, we came upon a meadow and stopped at some springs in the woods opposite. These were named Santa María de Buenavista, for the site had [a good view]. We made camp there because one of the soldiers had become lost in the woods while pursuing a runaway saddled horse. We traveled three leagues today.

Wednesday, [June] 10. We remained here because of this delay. While [others] went to search for the soldier, some Indians visited us. They were from the Yeripiamo, Timamar, and Mesquite nations, and one was from the Hasinai nation, commonly called the Tejas.[31] All were camped at a ranchería seven leagues away. On the afternoon of this day we sang our vespers and matins, and heard a sermon extolling the spiritual celebrity of the body of Christ in honor of the following day.

Thursday, [June] 11. [For] Corpus Christi Day six Masses were recited, and I sang the seventh and final Mass with as much ceremony as such wilderness permits. Many took communion. It was reported that the lost soldier had returned, and that he had found the saddled horse. More Indians came to see us, and we left a wooden cross at this spot.

Friday, [June] 12. We set out through a wood of oaks and vines that was not very dense. After passing a spring and a few clearings, we came out on a plain that stretches toward the east, where there were two small flowing arroyos. On the banks of one, we found some Indians from the aforementioned nations. They led us to their ranchería,[32] where they had prepared a hut for us, made of branches

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31. The Timamar (Ticmamar, Teimamar, etc.) and Mesquite were other Coahuiltecan tribes from the Río Grande Valley and northern Coahuila. The Timamar were allied with the Terocodame, Juman, and Xarame tribes when the Bosque expedition visited them in 1675. They were members of the Terocodame Confederacy in 1700, and some entered Mission San Francisco Solano (Coahuila) with their allies in 1706. The Mesquite appear to have ranged east of Guerrero in southern Texas, and some later entered the San Antonio missions. The Hasinai, or Tejas, were Caddoan speakers for whom the first mission of San Francisco was established in 1690.

32. The Ranchería Grande was the encampment of amalgamated, non-missionized, and apostate Coahuiltecans from below the Río Grande; indigenous Tonkawan groups; and

and very spacious. All the people there—more than five hundred of all ages—kissed our sleeves. Today we traveled seven leagues.

Saturday, [June] 13. Feast of Saint Anthony of Padua. We remained here because the Indians told us that it was necessary to clear the trail somewhat. We sang a Mass for the success of our journey, and a general salvo was fired. The Indians were very affectionate, among them the Pamayas, some Payayas and Cantonas, some members of the Mixcal [Mescal] and Xarame nations, and a few Sijames.[33] Their dogs, however, began to amuse themselves with the young goats. The Indians sated their hunger with [food] they traded for, plus some they were given free.

Sunday, [June] 14. We headed out on a northerly course over flat land for half a league, but because there was a swollen arroyo, we retraced our steps. This afternoon the goats were taken across with the Indians' help. We traveled one league.

Monday, [June] 15. We crossed the arroyo, which had been turned into a river by its abundant waters. According to the Indians, [the arroyo] joins with the Río de San Xavier and the Arroyo de las Animas. The baggage was taken across and a packed [mule] was lost, which the Indians later brought to us. About a league from here, [the arroyo] joins the Río de la Trinidad[34] (as indicated by the description in the diary of General Alonso de León, although he crossed much lower, having come by a different route). The water was high, and it was very [illegible]

Caddoan emissaries first encountered by the Spaniards of the Espinosa-Olivares-Aguirre expedition of 1709. The village was located near the junction of the Brazos and the combined Little and San Gabriel Rivers. Ramón reported the presence of two thousand Indians, and stated that this and the next day were spent in trading for buffalo hides, dressed skins, and other products. He personally oversaw the bartering, to ensure that the Indians were not cheated.

33. The Pamayas and Payayas were native to the area around present-day San Antonio southward to the Frio River. Although a few were brought into the mission at San Francisco Solano (Coahuila), San Antonio de Valero was established for them in 1718. The "Cantonas" were actually Yojuanes, a Tonkawan tribe. Their true identity was revealed by the Aguirre-Olivares-Espinosa expedition of 1709, when they met Cantona, leader of the Yojuanes. The tribe lived between the Cíbolo and the Brazos and was first mentioned by Mazanet in 1690. The Mescales, Xarames, and Sijames were all Coahuiltecans from the Río Grande Valley. Xarame territory appeared to stretch from the Río Sabinas in Coahuila northeastward to the Frio in Texas, while the Sijame seemed to emanate from the foothills of the Sierra Madre Occidental, west of Guerrero. Some Xarames were initially congregated at San Juan Bautista when this mission was moved to the Río Grande in 1700, but large numbers entered San Francisco Solano in 1706. Many ladino Xarames followed the Franciscans to the San Antonio River in 1718, to help establish the new mission of San Antonio de Valero. The Sijames who had migrated to the Ranchería Grande were eventually brought into the mission at San Antonio de Valero, beginning in 1740.

34. The stream crossed on this day was probably the Little River, which does indeed connect with the San Xavier and the Animas. The expedition, however, had mistaken the Brazos for the Trinity, which would be some 104 kilometers to the east as the crow flies, with the Navasota River midway between the two. The Brazos de Dios, the longest river in Texas (approximately 1,400 kilometers), runs across the state from northwest to southeast. It is actually fed by three forks: the Double Mountain, the Clear Fork, and the Salt Fork, which converge in north-central Texas to form the river that empties into the Gulf of Mexico above Matagorda Bay.

on the banks. We crossed half-naked on horseback, carrying the cargo in leather bags, which the Indians helped with. We stopped on the far bank, and in the afternoon our two lost travelers arrived safely, thanks be to God. They recounted their entire route while lost; they had been succored with meat that the Lord provided. Although reproached, they were well received. We traveled one and a half leagues today.

Tuesday, [June] 16. We set out toward the northeast quadrant, heading east-northeast with shifts to the east and north, and traveling through open oak woods. We came upon an abandoned ranchería that was in a meadow inhabited only by fleas. They quickly dispatched us to the trees for shelter, [to the] relief of the ticks who made themselves at home under our skin. Six buffalo were killed, and two small ones were brought to the camp. We traveled four leagues.

Wednesday, [June] 17. We all occupied ourselves by saying Mass while [others] searched for a [pack mule] that had stampeded. A new ration of meat arrived in camp, and the mule was found with one that had been lost previously.

Thursday, [June] 18. We set out on a north-northwesterly course through meadows and open oak forest, then veered to the north-northeast over hills and through washes with dry arroyos and trees on their banks, until we reached a small wood of many walnuts. Three Indians who were searching for buffalo emerged onto the road from this wood. By midday more Indians gathered, including two women, bringing their number to about a dozen. They made distinctive demonstrations of pleasure. We camped at a running arroyo that we named Corpus Christi, as we are in its eighth day. We traveled five leagues.

Friday, [June] 19. We set out from this camp toward the northeast quadrant, bearing east-northeast on a clear trail through open oak forest, and arrived at a flowing arroyo with many trees, which we named San Buenaventura. Continuing on for a league through the woods, we camped by a meadow near a small lake that we named Santa Ana. We went four leagues today.

Saturday, [June] 20. Bearing between the east-northeast and east quadrants, we headed out through open oak forest for about two leagues, and [traveled] another two leagues over an open plain. Arriving on the opposite side we had a chance meeting with a Tejas Indian, one of those we had encountered before. He led us to his rancho, where he showered us with watermelons and ears of green corn. Afterwards, more than twenty Tejas people came with great rejoicing and celebration. We traveled five leagues today.

Sunday, [June] 21. We set out in search of the road we had left, and on the road we found a flock of small turkeys, from which we made our midday meal. After heading northeast for a league through open forest, and east-northeast across a plain, we arrived at a spring that we named Santa Clara. The French captain went ahead to meet the governor of the Tejas and prepare him for our arrival. Others went to search for a reliable water source for the following day; as soon as there was news of it, we stopped, having traveled five leagues.

Monday, [June] 22. We traveled in an east-northeasterly direction over meadows and hills. After covering two leagues we found a large lake that we named San Cristóbal. Immediately beyond it was an arroyo that we named San Fernando, and we called the next valley Linares. Not very far beyond it we found another lake that we named San Luis Obispo, and an arroyo next to it that we named Santa Rosa de Viterbo. Here, we found many towering pine trees and, taking var-

ious turns, we traveled across a plain, where we met and were kindly received by four Tejas Indian families who were hunting buffalo. We traveled through an open forest over rough ground until after midday, when we stopped at a pond and rested for a while. We came to the edge of a fast-running river with many trees on its very steep banks. Today we traveled ten leagues in hot, sultry weather.

Tuesday, [June] 23. While a passage across the river was arranged and a boggy arroyo that followed was bridged we said five Masses. Then we all crossed the river, which we named San Juan Bautista, as it was the eve of his feast day. After traveling about half a league east-northeast through an open oak forest we crossed the boggy arroyo by bridge and camped on its banks. Although by its description it can be confused with the Trinidad, the San Juan is not the same river, [judging] from our current route. Only one day's travel separates the two, which is the reason why they are confused by many people who have not observed where the rivers enter and leave the Tejas area.[35] Our party traveled half a league today.

Wednesday, [June] 24. The day was spent celebrating the feast of the Holy Precursor with one high Mass and six low ones. There was no shortage of communicants. In the afternoon, the soldiers amused themselves by running races and betting on their horses.

Thursday, [June] 25. The soldiers went with some Indians to take the goats across [the river]. Our captain's son[36] arrived with a Tejas Indian, and they gave us news of Don Luis and of how his efforts to gather the Hasinai Indians were being received. Because the Indians still did not know of our arrival, we did not travel today, in order to give him more time.

Friday, [June] 26. After three Masses were said, we set out to the northeast through an open forest of pines, walnuts, evergreen oaks, oaks, and vines with better grapes than the previous ones. We crossed two arroyos containing water; and at one, which we named Santa Efigenia, we stopped early to allow the Indians time to approach us. We traveled four leagues.

Saturday, [June] 27. We all said Mass. Word arrived that Don Luis was coming with the Indians, and we prepared ourselves to receive them. Around eight in the morning, thirty-four Indians arrived, several chiefs among them. They came in one by one behind Don Luis, and we greeted them with the soldiers posted in two wings and our captain with the religious in the middle. In this manner we embraced everyone with great joy in our hearts. In order to make their entrance, the Indians left behind their horses, bows and arrows, and the muskets that some brought, in the hands of other Indians who tended them as servants.[37] On our

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35. The route the expedition followed from the Ranchería Grande to this spot is highly speculative, for the intervening sites mentioned are unknown today. It is possible that the San Juan Bautista they crossed on this day was Bedias Creek, which separates Madison and Walker Counties and feeds into the Trinity to the east. If this was the case, then the river they called the San Buenaventura, which they crossed on the nineteenth, may have been the Navasota.

36. This was Diego Ramón, named after his paternal grandfather and uncle.

37. A significant fact that Espinosa failed to record but that caught the attention of Ramón was the Indians' possession of nine French-manufactured long guns.

part, there was a general salute, and in the meantime they walked to the place prepared for the reception. It was a hut built of tree branches covered with blankets, with packsaddles serving as seats. Everyone was seated by rank, and a servant of one of the Tejas chiefs took out a pipe filled with tobacco grown on their land. The pipe was highly decorated with white feathers, which are a symbol of peace among them. [The chief] lit it and had us all take a puff of smoke. In accordance with this ceremony chocolate was served to them, and one of the chiefs concluded the occasion with a very solemn speech in which he expressed the pleasure with which they all wished to welcome us into their lands. This was related to us by Don Luis de San Dionisio, who understands and speaks their language quite well. This day was very pleasant for us, as we saw very good hopes of achieving our goal and realizing our desired purpose. The Indians spent the night in celebration and feasted on a bull that the captain generously gave them.

Sunday, [June] 28. Accompanied by many of the Indians, we set out toward the northeast with some deviations in the collateral directions. We passed through an open forest of pines, walnuts, vines, evergreen oaks, and oaks, in the midst of which were four small arroyos. After traveling nine leagues, we arrived at a very large clearing with two big lakes in its center and an arroyo at its edge, where we camped. In the afternoon some Indians who had seen us arrived, numbering ninety-six persons.[38] Their entry was made in the following manner. They gathered at a site near the camp and formed three columns. The one in the middle was led by Don Luis, followed by all the chiefs and leaders. The remaining people who accompanied them comprised the other two lateral [columns]. In addition to these, the [Indians] who had ventured out to greet us the day before advanced some distance away, bringing their muskets in order to offer us a salute. For our part we reciprocated, giving the captain a processional cross on which were engraved the images of Christ crucified and our Lady of Guadalupe. All the religious made a wing formation on each side, with the soldiers in two columns, and in this manner we faced one another. Our captain placed the banner in my hands and knelt to adore and kiss the holy images; then we embraced each other. All the others did the same, and when this was done we walked in procession singing the *Te Deum Laudamus* ["We Praise You, God"], to which a salute was fired. Upon our arrival at the camp everyone knelt, the singing was concluded, and we seated ourselves with the Indians on the mats used the preceding day. The Indians spoke briefly among themselves, and then each chief took a handful of ground tobacco. They mixed it all together to demonstrate the unity of their wills, then gave it to our captain. Next, they brought in their gifts of ears of green corn, tamales, and beans cooked with corn and nuts. In his majesty's name, we distributed seeds, hats, tobacco, and light cloth. That night they demonstrated their joy with dances.

Monday, [June] 29. A Mass was sung in honor of Saint Peter (for whom we named this campsite), which was attended by the entire multitude of assembled Indians. About midday, eight more [illegible] chiefs arrived, and the ceremonies of the preceding day were performed again with them, except that instead of the

38. Ramón noted 150 people in his diary.

Te Deum the *Toda Pulchra Es* ["You Are Most Beautiful," a hymn to the Virgin] was sung. These [Indians] brought a brass pipe with many feathers. Clothes were given to them, as had been done with the others, and they also celebrated their arrival with dances, as is their custom.

Tuesday, [June] 30. Three Masses were said for [the Indians'] expedient conversion, and another *Ecce ego mitto vos* ["Therefore I send you"] from the Gospel of the conversion of Saint Paul echoed the first day. We proceeded northeast through open forest until we reached a plain that our captain believed was a suitable place to establish his presidio for the time being,[39] for it was situated at the edge of a large lake, not far from a medium-sized river. The religious went with the captain and several Indians to search for a site for the first mission, and after finding the one that seemed most appropriate, we returned to camp. On the way, we satisfied our hunger with corn cooked with nuts and beans, and other fruits of the earth that the Indians had given us. Today our party traveled as far as the selected site, or three leagues.

Wednesday, July 1. The Indians who were still with the group remained to build the captain's living quarters. The distribution of the equipment and other items belonging to the four missions also began today.

Thursday, [July] 2. While the house was roofed with grass, we all said Mass and wrote down some of the Hasinai language. Using Don Luis de San Dionisio as interpreter, the Indians agreed and settled among themselves how they would be divided into four missions. Availing ourselves of an Indian woman of this nation, a ladina raised in Coahuila,[40] we explained to the Indians as best we could the motives behind our arrival. They informed us that from now on they would not be able to assemble until they had gathered their harvest.

Friday, [July] 3. All the religious went with the captain to the spring that we had previously explored. The Indians then began construction of the living quarters for the first mission. In the meantime, we spent the day in a hut made of branches. One league was traveled.

Saturday, [July] 4. We all said Mass. The living quarters were completed, although they are poor and like a country hut. We moved into them and continued the distribution of goods that belonged to each mission.

Sunday, [July] 5. The captain appointed alcaldes, *regidores*, and an alguacil, then proceeded to entrust me, as president [of my order] and in the name of his majesty (may God keep him), with possession of the mission at the spring. After performing the usual ceremonies I appointed as minister of the first mission,

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39. At this site the Indians erected a "very comfortable house" that Ramón used as his temporary headquarters. During the fall, the presidio was moved about a quarter-league from the new Mission San Francisco de los Tejas.

40. The ladina was Angelina, a Tejas who had been baptized and raised at the mission of San Juan Bautista. According to the eighteenth-century Spanish chronicler Fray Agustín Morfi, the Angelina River was named after her. When Alarcón created the pueblos for the Tejas adjacent to their assigned missions in 1718, he induced Angelina to live in the pueblo of Concepción de Agreda, attached to Mission Concepción. Angelina again served the Spaniards as an interpreter during Aguayo's reoccupation of east Texas in 1721.

known as Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas, Reverend Father Francisco Hidalgo, who for many years has urged the conversion [of these people].[41] I appointed the apostolic preacher Fray Manuel Castellano as his companion, entrusting him with the spiritual nourishment of the presidio's residents. Most of the clothing and other things brought for the Indians were distributed to them. On this day our captain left with the apostolic preachers Fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio and Fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza to search for the location of the Nacogdoches, in order to establish the first mission of the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas [among them].

Monday, [July] 6. Traveling toward the northeast quadrant, bearing east-northeast through open brush, we crossed an arroyo whose water flows toward the first mission.[42] We followed a plain that extended for more than two leagues and, crossing three small arroyos, we arrived at the first hut of the Ainai Indians. There, we waited out the sun's heat and drank a cool beverage made of corn. After midday, we went east through open brush for two leagues, then crossed a stream containing considerable water. We then passed many cottonwoods, walnuts, oaks, and in the washes, many pines. As we neared more Ainai settlements, we met our captain and the priests from Guadalupe de Zacatecas, who had not yet traveled ahead. That afternoon we searched for a site for the mission of Concepción, which we found, although it was covered by a great deal of scrub.[43] Today we traveled eight leagues.

Tuesday, [July] 7. I went with the captain, and we located two perennial springs, although [they were] not very large and were located in the midst of the people of this pueblo. I was given possession of [the springs] in his majesty's name, as is customary. The captain and the priests from Zacatecas went on to establish their mission,[44] while my two companions and I proceeded to move our

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41. San Francisco de los Tejas was initially established in the principal village of the Nabedache on May 25, 1690, by the León-Mazanet expedition, but was abandoned in the fall of 1693. On the 1716 entrada the mission was relocated about four leagues farther east, on the other side of the Neches River. Now within the village of the Neches on Bowls Creek, Cherokee County, it was renamed Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas. It was singularly fitting that Fray Hidalgo, who had served as the mission's minister from 1690 to 1693, be appointed its minister once again.

42. This was probably the Angelina or a tributary of it. The river has its origin in several creeks in Rusk County. It flows southwestward, eventually emptying into the Neches.

43. Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainai (Ainai) was located nine leagues northeast of San Francisco and approximately ten kilometers from Douglas in Nacogdoches County. Fray Espinosa left Fray Gabriel Vergara of the College of Santa Cruz in charge, returning there himself after all four missions had been founded.

44. This was Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, which was established on July 9 at a Nacogdoches ranchería located nine leagues southeast of Purísima Concepción and twenty-three leagues from the original (1690) site of San Francisco. Its location is marked by the present city of Nacogdoches. The mission was the only one initially founded by the Zacatecan friars, and all four remained there with the lay brothers until two other missions were founded a short time later. These were Fray Antonio Margíl de

baggage to the spring. We spent the greater part of the day thus, and in readying the site.

Wednesday, [July] 8. The thatched living quarters were begun, although somewhat late. Fray Benito Sánchez left for the Nasoni ranchería, where the third mission of the College of Querétaro was to be established.

Thursday, [July] 9. I went with the French captain Don Luis de San Dionisio to the Nasoni ranchería, arriving there after midday. This mission is seven leagues north of the mission of Concepción. Along the way there are many Indian ranchos and arroyos with water, with good locations for settlements. The priest Fray Benito and I scouted for a site that afternoon, and our captain arrived from the Nacogdoches settlements, having on this day given possession of [the Indians' territory] to the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

Friday, [July] 10. The captain granted me possession of the mission of San Joseph, located along a north-running arroyo with sufficient water, where Nasoni and Nacono Indians live.[45] I appointed as minister the apostolic preacher Fray Benito Sánchez. Thus our three missions were founded and, according to what we have seen, there will be three thousand persons. I returned to this mission, Concepción, where I am stationed.

Note: The particular details that we have noted among these people are [as follows]. They establish permanent settlements, constructing their houses very carefully, with high beds for everyone and wooden boxes in which they keep baskets of nuts, corn, and beans for the entire year. They are very liberal among themselves and assist one another with necessities. They recognize a superior who gives the order when work is to be done, and there is one who directs them and punishes them with force if they do not go to work or if they are lazy. They have earthenware vessels for every use and curious wooden seats for those who come to their houses. We have noticed that it will require diligence and hard work to uproot whatever superstitious beliefs they have, for they hardly make a move that is not directed by some superstition. In time the details of their good, as well as their bad, characteristics will be discovered. May our Lord God, through his precious blood and the prayers of his most pure mother, open the eyes of their understanding, that they might know him, love him and adore him at all cost, as the most humble of his missionaries desires.

July 30, 1716.

Isidro Félix de Espinosa

Provincias Internas 181, Expediente 4.

Jesús, Fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio, Fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, and Fray Agustín Patrón.

45. San Joseph de los Nasonis was founded at the Nasoni ranchería, but served the Nadaco (Nacono) band as well. Established seven leagues northeast of Purísima Concepción on a branch of Shawnee Creek in present northwest Nacogdoches County, it was left to the care of Fray Benito Sánchez.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Diario derrotero de la nueva entrada a la provincia de los Tejas. Año de 1716.

In nomine Trinitatis Beatissimae.

Diario derrotero de la jornada a la provincia de los Tejas desde el Río Grande del Norte, hecha por orden del excelentísimo señor Duque de Linares, virrey de esta Nueva España, acompañados los dos colegios de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro y Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, escrito y formado por fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa; siendo capitán de veinte y cinco soldados Domingo Ramón, y llevando para recuas y vecinos otros veinte y dos, con ocho mujeres casadas.

Del colegio de Querétaro entramos fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, presidente el reverendo padre fray Francisco Hidalgo, los padres predicadores fray Benito Sánchez, fray Gabriel de Vergara, y fray Manuel Castellanos. Del colegio de Zacatecas queda gravemente enfermo el reverendo padre fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús en el Río Grande en la misión de San Juan Bautista y en su compañía el padre provincial fray Agustín Patrón y el hermano fray Francisco de San Diego; los que entraron, el padre provincial fray Matías de Sáenz de San Antonio, el padre provincial fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, el hermano fray Francisco Javier Cubillos y el hermano Domingo de Urioste con hábito de donado, capitán de convoy don Luis de San Dionisio, francés, y otros dos de esta misma nación que entraron en su compañía.

AÑO DE 1716

Sábado 25 de abril, día del evangelista San Marcos. Se cantó en la misión de San Bernardo misa con rogativa del día y procesión para el buen viaje y, acabada la función, acudimos todos a dar el viático a nuestro reverendo padre Margíl, y a la tarde salieron al otro lado del Río Grande los padres fray Francisco Hidalgo, fray Benito Sánchez, fray Gabriel Vergara, y fray Manuel Castellanos. Anotamos todos en el evangelio del día, el Designavit Dominus, dando gracias a su majestad de ser de los señalados a tan gloriosa empresa, y recibiendo nuevos alientos con decirnos en persona de los Apóstoles: Id que yo os envío, Ite ecce ego mitto vos. Caminaron este día dos leguas.

Domingo 26. Habiéndome detenido para dejar en orden las misiones que estaban a mi cargo, renovándose los consuelos en el evangelio del día, que era del buen pastor, concluyendo con decir el Señor, que "tiene otras ovejas que no son de su rebaño, y que conviene traerlas al redil." Entendiendo esto casi a la letra de los gentiles tejas, salí domingo en la tarde con los padres predicadores fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio y fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, y nos juntamos todos en la otra banda del río del Norte con salva de las escopetas y universal júbilo. Traía el río menos agua que otras veces. Hízose plática con ánimo de continuarla cada tercer día. Comulgaron algunos que no habían cumplido con la iglesia; y alternando a coros a las noches el alabado en metro, se hacía lo mismo al salir de los parajes. Son dos leguas al nordeste desde nuestras misiones, como va observando un religioso práctico.

Lunes 27. Salimos de la orilla del Río Grande para el real del Cuervo, tres le-

guas al nordeste y, hallando poca agua, hicimos vuelta al río, caminando dos leguas al oeste [hasta] pasado llamado de Diego Ramón. Esta noche hubo plática, y acabada se desató un violenta tempestad tan furiosa, que nos hizo levantar las voces clamando a la madre de aflicciones y santos de nuestra devoción. Arrancó las estacas de las tiendas, de que nos asimos todos, y quebrantó de una el mástil, derribó algunos fardos de que quedó lastimado aunque no [ilegible]gró uno de la compañía. Sosegóse la tempestad y remató en airosa lluvia, aunque no continuó mucho tiempo. Caminamos este día cinco leguas.

Martes 28. Caminamos en busca de agua al nordeste por tierra llana y extendida y con algún mezquital claro. Había algunos charcos de agua y no faltó su [ilegible] la caída de uno de los franceses del caballo, fue sin lesión. Llegamos a la cueva del [ilegible] que tenía bastante agua. Volvió el capitán don Luis de San Dionisio al presidio por un [indio] y caminamos este día cinco leguas.

Miércoles 29. Salimos de la cueva después de dichas tres misas, y siguiendo el rumbo lesnordeste en demanda del Carrizo, pasamos unas lomas tendidas y sin arboleda, y en algunos arroyuelos de tierra suelta, y muchos atascaderos con muchos mezquitales y tuna, aunque no de sazón. Había charcos de agua hasta que encontramos la vereda que viene del Cuervo al ojo del agua que llaman de Caramanchel, y con mucho [ilegible]ramos en unos charcos de agua llovediza. Allí nos hicieron salva los mosquitos [ilegible]do sus trompetillas, nos festejaron día y noche muy a su salvo. Al amanecer faltaban algunos caballos que se llevaban cinco indios bozales para su ranchería. Fueron a su alcance y aprehendieron tres de ellos, y venidos a la presencia del capitán, reconocida su corta capacidad, les sirvió su mismo susto y confusión de castigo. Hízose plática. Anduvimos este día cinco leguas.

Jueves 30. Salimos para el Carrizo rumbo del nordeste por algunas placetas llanas y charcos de agua. Entramos a un montecillo de mezquites y nopales; y paramos de esta [ilegible] de los charcos del carrizo habiendo caminado tres leguas.

Viernes 1 de mayo. Habiendo dicho misa los más de los religiosos, caminamos al norte por tierra llana y comenzamos a ver algunas flores y pasto en los campos, y por ser día de los Santos Apostoles San Felipe y Santiago, y dar lugar a que se reforzase la caballada, paramos en el ojo de agua, habiendo caminado dos leguas.

Sábado 2. Caminamos a lesnordeste 4a al este por montecillos de mezquites y placetas llanas. Encontramos mucho orégano silvestre. Pasamos una ranchería grande, despoblada, y antigua, y un arroyo seco con encinales y, siguiendo el mismo rumbo, hallamos un arroyo con charcos de agua y muchos encinos hasta el río de las Nueces, que sólo tenía charcos y mucha arboleda de fresnos, nogales, morales y de otra diferente variedad. Caminamos este día con mucho sol siete leguas.

Domingo 3, día de la Invención de la Santísima Cruz. Nos detuvimos a celebrarla. Se dijeron siete misas, comulgaron algunas personas, y a la tarde, con salva general, trajimos en procesión una cruz bendita que formamos y, colocada en el suelo con himnos del día, adoramos con toda reverencia, y se le puso a este paraje el real de la Santa Cruz.

Lunes 4. Salimos de las Nueces rumbo de lesnordeste hasta el charco de la Tortuga. El camino, que es por la mayor parte llano y de tierra hueca, hubo cinco caídos de otras originadas. La una al parecer milagrosa, pues cojió debajo a uno el

caballo y aunque bien empolvado, no salió herido. Paramos en dicho charco y caminamos dos leguas.

Martes 5. Por haber encontrado buen pasto y aguaje nos detuvimos en dicho puesto, y no hubo otra cosa memorable sino haberse casado un soldado que se vino amonestando por el camino. Celebróse con salva de escopetas y asistencia de todos los religiosos. Sacóse algún pescado y entremedias hizo su papel una anguila.

Miércoles 6. Salimos para el Río Frío por leste y lesnordeste por lomas tendidas y llanas y en los bajíos algunos mezquitales. Estaba el campo con sus flores para alabar al Criador. Había charcos de agua, y en los encinos antes del Río Frío, un estero perenne hasta donde anduvimos.

Jueves 7. Por lesnordeste, siguiendo una loma tendida hasta unos charcos grandes por la ceja del monte, dimos con el paso de Río Frío, seco y llenos sus márgenes de árboles y parras, con mucho brasil que vimos esta vez. Pasado el río (que lo es de nombre) había gallos de la tierra, y se cogieron dos, y en unos esteros a mano izquierda paró el real, y se le puso San Lorenzo. Hubo plática y se caminaron este día cuatro leguas.

Viernes 8, día de la Aparición de San Miguel. Salimos por entre leste y lesnordeste por tierra llana una legua, y hallamos tres rancherías de indios de nación pataguas. Pasamos adelante por el mismo rumbo por entre cañadas de mezquitales y charcos de agua. Era el ánimo de llegar al arroyo hondo, llegamos a él los de delante y nos precisó su sequedad a retroceder hasta donde ya avisadas pararon las recuas en charcos de agua llovediza. Nombrámosle el real de San Miguel y caminando nosotros ocho, anduvo el real cuatro leguas.

Sábado 9. Nos detuvimos aquí por dar lugar al registro de paraje. Dijimos todos misa y sólo hubo memorable el mucho bochorno, calma de las aguas que nos hubieran detenido por haber muchos arroyos, y la venida de un indio mezquite que dió razón estar mucha gente junta en el Río Colorado.

Domingo 10. Dichas solas tres misas, por lesnordeste casi siempre llegamos al arroyo hondo donde se halló paso muy acomodado y se pasa de un arroyo menor por entre árboles de encinos y maleza de monte hasta dicho arroyo hondo. Después, por mezquitales claros, dimos en arboleda de encinos, álamos y otros árboles, con dos esteros de agua buena, y se nombró real de Santa Rita. Observóse el sol que estaba en 28 grados y 40 minutos de altura. Colocamos una cruz de madera y se anduvieron cuatro leguas.

Lunes 11. Dichas dos misas, por lesnordeste caminamos tierra llana, y a trechos macollas de encinos y charcos de agua, algunas lomas y llanadas con piedrecilla pequeña, hasta unos esteros grandes donde, por ser muy ardiente el sol, y llevar un religioso enfermo, paramos caminadas solas dos leguas.

Martes 12. Salimos de dicho paraje, y siguiendo el rumbo de lesnordeste por entre algunas cañadas en parte llanas y en parte montuosas, dejando a una y otra parte muchos encinales, llegamos al charco que nombran de la Pita. Es muy capaz y tiene bastante pescado y tortugas, que vimos asomar al agua más no venir a las manos. Hay algunas macollas de encinos, y entre estos encontramos una parra algo quemado y ya seco el tronco, que tenía por medida una vara de circunferencia de que fuimos testigos todos los religiosos y otras muchas personas. Hízose plática y anduvimos este día dos leguas.

Miércoles 13. Dichas tres misas salimos en demanda del río de Medina por en-

tre montes claros de mezquital, y encinos una legua al nornordeste. Entramos por bojedales de tierra arenisca por mucha arboleda de encinos, robles, nogales, otras dos leguas entre nordeste y lesnordeste. Dimos guiñada de una legua al norte, y después de pasar tierra llana y bojedales, nos metimos por monte muy espeso rumbo de lesnordeste, y guiñado al nordeste hasta el río de Medina, donde llegamos después de medio día con mucho bochorno y no poca hambre. Hay en él muchos álamos, morales y parras, de que vimos aguas. No fue muy pequeño el que esta tarde entrando a bañar los caballos dieron en tal hondura, y se ofreció tal confusión, que quedaron ahogados ochenta y dos de ellos, de que quedamos todos perdidosos. Este y otros acasos funestos, nos motivaron a sospechar si había dado el Señor permiso al común enemigo para melancolizar nuestra jornada, y por dar lugar a sus astucias, se dijo una misa de acción de gracias por el trabajo acabado, en que comulgaron todos los religiosos, pidiendo al Señor nos mirase con ojos de misericordia. Este día caminamos diez leguas.

Jueves 14. Salimos de dicho río por lomas y cañadas, rumbo de lesnordeste, todas vestidas de grama muy verde, y había pedernales pequeños hasta el arroyo de León, que dista tres leguas y hay en él charcos de agua. De allí rumbo de nordeste entramos en la llanada del río de San Antonio, en cuyo remate hay montecillo claro de mezquites y algunos encinos, y se sigue el agua de San Pedro capaz para una misión. Tiene mucha espesura de las maderas, por cuya orilla y vereda abierta llegamos al río de San Antonio, digno de ser apetecido y alabado por su amenidad, situación, abundancia de agua y multitud de peces. Hállase circunvalado de nogales altísimos, álamos, olmos, parras, morales, [sauces], madroños y palmitos legítimos. Hay mucho lino y cáñamo silvestre, culantrillo de pozo en abundancia, y muchas yerbas medicinales. Solo en lo que dió lugar la espesura de su arboleda se registraron siete ojos de agua contiguos, que juntos con los que oculta la maleza forman a poca distancia sus copiosas aguas, que son zarcas, cristalinas y dulces. Críase en ellas bagre, mojarra, piltontle, catán y caimanes, y sin duda habrá otra variedad de peces, los de más gusto. Este paraje suavizó lo funesto del antecedente, y está convidando su frescura a poblarle de misiones y lugares; que a todo dan lugar sus llanadas y las [ilegible] de agua que se le reconocen. Caminamos este día siete leguas.

Viernes 15. Paramos en este río, donde por ser día del patrón de Madrid, San Isidro Labrador (santo de mi nombre), canté misa, que solemnizaron con sus voces mis queridos padres compañeros. No faltaron peces bien grandes para la fiesta que acompaña según usanza de milicia, y descansamos en parte de las penalidades del camino.

Sábado 16. Salimos de dicho río media legua al nordeste y caminando por mezquital claro y tierra muy empastada y florida, una legua a lesnordeste y media al nordeste paramos en el arroyo salado, y en el cajón de dicho arroyo hallamos cepas silvestres que parecía majuelo plantado a mano. Pasado el arroyo, que no corre siempre, a mano derecha, como dos tiros de escopeta, está un ojo de agua que puede según los prácticos regar aquella tierra, aunque no es muy crecido. Se anduvieron este día dos leguas.

Domingo 17. Después de dichas tres misas, fuimos por entre un monte de mezquital, y manchones de encinos y en partes placetas, una legua al nordeste 4a a lesnordeste hasta unas lomas altas; después otras dos leguas al este, finalizándoles a lesnordeste a orillas de un arroyo con esteros de agua. De aquí se adelantó

el capitán don Luis de San Dionisio con Juan de Medar, francés, y un indio guía por buscar los indios tejas para venir a acompañarnos. Observóse el sol, que se halló en 29 grados y 38 minutos. Caminamos cinco leguas.

Lunes 18. Salimos para el río de Guadalupe por monte espeso de mezquital, macollas de encinos y otros árboles rumbo del norte una legua: media a nornordeste hasta encumbrar en unas lomas muy altas. Seguimos por llanada rumbo de nordeste 4a a lesnordeste, y como dos leguas antes del río se ven mezquitales y lomitas con algunas quebradas hasta un arroyito corriente que sale de muy cerca, de allí por monte ralo de mezquital, llevando a mano derecha la arboleda del río en donde hacen punta las lomas encontramos el paso de Guadalupe, muy ancho y de piedra, con hermosura de arboleda no ponderable. Paramos de la otra banda en una placeta cercada de árboles y contigua a dicho río. Son sus aguas delgadas, cristalinas, y en tanta abundancia, que se nos hacía increíble manar de tan cerca sus raudales. Compónese dicho río de tres ojos de agua principales que juntos con otros más pequeños forman corriente luego que nacen. Allí los nogales se aprestan a crecer con los álamos, y a todos los coronan las silvestres parras que se ayudan para subir de sus troncos. Mostraban ya en su flor la segura esperanza de sus frutos las moredas y morales, cuyas hojas eran de más de palmo, mostraban lo erizado de los hielos en sus retoños. Hermoseaban este río los sauces con su frescura, y mucha variedad de vegetales plantas que forman ameno bosque a la diversión, a que se juntan las voces canoras de diferentes pájaros. Puede, sin vadearse, pasar por tierra enjuta subiendo a las lomas medio cuarto de legua. No faltaron garrapatas, que nos dieron sus puntadas, y se caminaron este día siete leguas.

Martes 19. Salimos rumbo del nordeste 4a a lesnordeste por mucha y crecida arboleda, nada inferior a la pasada. Entramos a una cañada, y luego a media legua, dimos con un río de bastante agua que le nombramos San Juan, con muchos peces y caimanes. No es (como juzgan muchos) brazo del río de Guadalupe, aunque se junta con él, porque tienen muy distantes los manantiales. Caminamos sola [solo] media legua.

Miércoles 20. Salimos por entre nordeste y lesnordeste, y algunas guiñadas al nordeste por mezquitales claros, y llevando la lomería a la vista, a tres leguas hallamos un copioso estero a mano izquierda, que le nombramos de San Bernardino. De aquí creció la espesura del monte con arroyitos secos y muchos álamos hasta el río de San Marcos, cuya amenidad no da lugar al sol que le registre sus suelos. Por ser tanto el bosque por rumbo de entre lesnordeste y nordeste, pasamos más adelante dos leguas al arroyo de San Rafael, que sólo tenía abundantes charcos. Caminamos este día nueve leguas.

Jueves 21, día de la Ascención del Señor. No caminamos por reverencia del día. Dijéronse siete misas, comulgaron muchas personas, y a la tarde hubo plática, que se ha continuado cada tercer día. Vióse en el cielo un celaje en forma de medio círculo sobre nosotros blanco y pardo que tocaba con las extremidades de nornordeste a sur, sudoeste, y estaba todo el cielo sereno. Después de mucho rato quedó obscuro y se fue desvaneciendo. Forme misterios el crítico, que yo sólo apunto el suceso. Lo cierto es que en su figura mostraba ser cometa, por tener cabeza y por remate o basa una estrella, y la cauda obscura a modo de ciprés. Su vista a unos causó alegría, a otros hizo discurrir a lo funesto y melancólico.

Viernes 22. Por rumbo de nordeste dimos con un ojito de agua que años pasados le puse yo San Isidro. De allí salimos a las lomas, y encontramos algunos arro-

yos con charcos de agua hasta el arroyo de las garrapatas que estuvieron esta vez algo piadosas. Hay en el camino a lo lejos encinales, y cinco cañadas. Caminamos este día ocho leguas.

Sábado 23. Por rumbo de nornordeste, como tres tiros de arcabuz, hallamos un arroyo que se junta con él de las garrapatas. De aquí medio cuarto de legua al este, y lo está hasta el río del Espíritu Santo o Colorado (que todo es uno); por nornordeste es el campo llano y de lomas tendidas, aunque una legua antes del río hay muchos robles, y parras con zetas a trechos. Llegamos a la más contigua al río y, registrado el vado, nos hizo retroceder hasta unos nogales altos donde paramos. Amenazó el norte con lluvia, de que nos libró el Señor. Caminamos este día tres leguas.

Domingo 24. Encomendando primero en siete misas nuestro buen pasaje a los santos de la devoción particular de cada uno, fuimos a pasar el río y, aunque hubo sustos, mas no riesgo. Tardamos en pasar las cargas hasta el medio día. Tiene este río a una y otra banda descomunales robles y parras, cáñamo, hierba que llaman epazote y mucho pescado de que gustamos. Fuimos a parar a un alto, salida la arboleda.

Lunes 25. Se gastó hasta cerca de medio día en pasar las cabras, y no peligró una. Bajó mucho el río contra lo que esperábamos de la lluvia antecedente, y se observó el sol, que se halló en 30 grados de altura y algunos minutos.

Martes 26. No salió el real por haber salido el alférez con tres soldados a registrar [lo] competente, y por buscar indios, encontraron un cíbolo de que vino parte a nuestro real.

Miércoles 27. Salimos dichas tres misas por una loma de robles una legua al nordeste, y después lomas con la tierra muy abierta, aunque bien empastada, dos leguas al nordeste 4a y para llegar al paraje por no saber otro, caminamos dos leguas perdidas al sur[sudeste] a unos charcos que llamaron del Cíbolo. Caminó el real seis leguas.

Miércoles [sic] 28. Con un indio payaya que nos guiaba salimos desandando las dos leguas andadas rumbo de nornorueste y norte una a cada viento, y por tierra por la mayor parte llana. Caminamos cuatro leguas a un arroyo corriente que le pusimos de las Beatísimas Animas, por haberles encomendado nuestro buen rumbo. Tiene muchas maderas y sopesose el sol, y se reconocieron 30 grados y 40 minutos. Aquí apresaron tres cíbolos y sacaron el vientre de mal año; pudo haber algún exceso, según se sentía el quej[arse?] del estómago los no acostumbrados a esta carne. Anduvimos este día seis leguas.

Jueves [sic] 29. Dijimos siete misas, a que dió lugar la demora mientras se registró [pasa]je para adelante, y en tanto se secó la carne, y trajo otra de nuevo fresca.

Sábado 30. Salimos rumbo de nornordeste tres leguas. Viose un humo, y yendo a reconocerlo, se hallaron seis indios yerípiamos y mixcales, de los cuales trajeron [dos] a la tarde, el uno de ellos cristiano de la misión de San Juan Batista del Río del Norte, yendo los otros cuatro a noticiar a sus capitanes de nuestra entrada. Paramos en unos charcos con mucha frondosidad, que por tener figura de celdillas le llamamos Pedro de Alcántara. Esta tarde cantamos nuestras vísperas, y de los maitines y laudes lo que se acostumbra en nuestros conventos. Anduvo el real este día tres leguas.

Domingo 31. Por no ser el paraje al propósito, aunque con mucho sentimiento

por la solemnidad de Pentecostés, rumbo del nordeste nos pasamos a otro arroyo de agua llovediza. Esta tarde fue copiosa la lluvia, y se continuó a pausas todo lo más de la [jornada]. Cantamos el Veni Creator todos juntos los religiosos, y se anduvieron tres leguas.

Lunes primero de junio. Amaneció lloviendo, y con harto trabajo se dijeron cuatro misas, y pedimos en ellas la serenidad al Señor, y abrió el día como a las nueve, y por temer los abolladeros y ser el paraje malo, salimos después de medio día rumbo de nordeste dos leguas, hasta un arroyo corriente cercano a un río de buena corriente, que nombramos de San Francisco Xavier. Tiene arboleda casi como los ríos antecedentes, y pescado. Anduvimos esta tarde dos leguas.

Martes 2. Por dar lugar a la celebridad de la Pascua, a lo menos el día tercero, se cantó misa solemne y el Veni Creator con salva de escopetas, y comulgaron algunas personas.

Miércoles 3. Salimos por entre leste y lessueste por monte claro de mezquital, encinos, parras, y cañadas muy amenas, hasta pasar segunda vez el arroyo de las Animas, que es allí muy encajonado causa de haber caído en el agua rodando algunas cargas, y saliendo de su mucha arboleda, paramos en una contigua placeta. Salieron a buscar cíbola, y dos sirvientes nuestros quedaron en la fragosidad del monte emboscador. Salieron en su busca los soldados y tres indios amigos y no los hallaron. Nombróse el real de Santo Domingo, y caminamos 4 leguas.

Jueves 4. Teniendo ya entrada la noche del miércoles noticia de venir en pos nuestra don Luis de San Dionisio con otros indios, se le remitió aviso para alcanzarnos. En tanto hicimos de comunidad novena a San Antonio de Padua y San Francisco Xavier, y se buscaron nuevamente los perdidos. Vino don Luis a la tarde y dimos gracias a Dios de no haber ido por el monte que dicho don Luis encontró, y advertimos ser el que llevábamos el más descubierto camino.

Viernes 5. Dijimos siete misas por los perdidos y, por no esperar a que pareciesen de milagro, salieron 16 indios amigos con los soldados, dieron voces; dispararon escopetas y no faltaron humazos, mas no tuvimos el consuelo de hallarlos. Prosiguieron las garrapatas su oficio.

Sábado 6. Salimos rumbo del nordeste como dos leguas por monte de robles y parras y algunos arroyos secos. Siguióse un monte tan espeso, que no bastando hachas y cuchillos a abrir brecha. [Hubo] no pocas averías en las cargas, y por rumbo de sursueste llegamos a las dos y media de la tarde a una placeta con un ojo de agua pequeño, y le nombramos el real de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad. Caminamos con tanto trabajo solas [solo] cinco leguas.

Domingo 7. Paró el real en este paraje mientras fueron a desmontar para el día siguiente, se dijeron siete misas y, aunque vieron algunas cíbolas, no aprehendieron ninguna de ellas.

Lunes 8. Descubierto camino, salimos por una placeta inmediata por rumbo de entre leste y lessueste, entramos a un monte claro de robles y algunos nogales, encontramos dos ojos de agua, y les pusimos de San Diego, donde hallamos agraz con exceso mayor que moscatel; y de allí por monte encontrando en algunas placetas muchos álamos, paramos en una laguna muy capaz, con muchos caimanes, que la nombramos de San Juan, y anduvimos 4 leguas.

Martes 9. Después de misa, salimos por entre sur y sureste todo por monte algo claro. Encontramos algunos ojos de agua, y a cosa de una legua salimos al llano y fuimos a parar al monte opuesto en unos ojos de agua que se nombraron

Santa María de Buenavista, por tenerla el paraje, donde hicimos mansión por haberse perdido en el monte un soldado, por seguir un caballo con silla huyendo; y caminamos este día tres leguas.

Miércoles 10. Nos detuvimos por el atraso dicho. Fueron a buscar al soldado y llegaron a nosotros algunos indios de nación yeripiamo, timamares, mesquites y uno de nación asinai, vulgo texa; que todos estaban en una ranchería distante siete leguas. La tarde de este día cantamos nuestras vísperas y maitines, y se hizo plática exhortando a la celebridad espiritual del Corpus para el día siguiente.

Jueves 11. Día de Corpus Christi se dijeron seis misas rezadas, y canté la última séptima con el aparato que permite un desierto. Comulgaron muchos, y se hizo saber que vino el soldado perdido y halló el caballo ensillado. Acudieron nuevos indios a vernos y dejamos una cruz de madera en aquel sitio.

Viernes 12. Salimos por monte de robles y parras no muy espeso y, pasando un ojo de agua y algunas placetas, salimos a la llanada que va rumbo de leste, corriendo donde hay dos arroyos pequeños y corrientes, y a orilla de uno encontramos indios de las supra-mencionadas naciones, que nos guiaron hasta su ranchería, donde nos tenían una choza formada de ramos y muy capaz, y allí nos besó la manga toda la gente, que pasaban de quinientas personas de todas edades, y anduvimos este día siete leguas.

Sábado 13, día de San Antonio de Padua. Nos detuvimos por decir los indios era necesario desmontar algo del camino. Cantamos misa por el buen suceso de nuestro viaje, se hizo s[alva] general y estuvieron muy cariñosos los indios, entre los cuales se hallaban los pamayas, algunos payayas y cantonaes, y de las naciones mixcal y xarame, con otros sijames. Sólo los perros que tenían los indios tiraban a entretenerse con los cabritillos. Sacaron los indios el vientre de mal año con lo que cambiaron, y gratis percibieron.

Domingo 14. Salimos rumbo del norte por tierra llana media legua y a otra [ilegible] que se ofreció un arroyo crecido retrocedimos los que íbamos por delante, y esta tarde pasaron las cabras, a que ayudaron los indios, y caminamos una legua.

Lunes 15. Pasamos el arroyo, hecho río por sus muchas aguas, cuales a lo que dicen los indios, junto el río de San Xavier y el arroyo de las Animas. Pasaron las cargas y se perdió un macho cargado, que después trajeron los indios. De allí como una legua, junta con el río de la Trinidad (que lo es por las señas que dejó en su derrotero el general Alonzo de León, aunque entró por mucho más abajo por venir de diferente rumbo) estaba crecido, y es muy [ilegible]cador en las orillas. Pasamos semidesnudos a caballo, y las cargas en bolsas de cuero, a que ayudaron los indios. Paramos a la otra orilla y a la tarde llegaron nuestros dos perdidos derrotados, pero, gracias a Dios, buenos. Narraron toda su perdida derrota, y los socorrió de carne, que les proveyó el Señor, y aunque increpados, fueron bien recibidos. Caminamos este día legua y media.

Martes 16. Salimos rumbo del nordeste 4a a lesnordeste con guiñadas a leste y norte caminando por monte claro de robles. Dimos en una ranchería despoblada que estaba en una placeta sólo habitada de pulgas, que breve nos despacharon a la sombra de los árboles, [al] socorro de las garrapatas que se hacían lugar en nuestra piel. Matáronse seis cíbolos, y dejaron dos pequeños al real, habiendo caminado cuatro leguas.

Miércoles 17. Nos entretuvimos en decir todos misa mientras buscaban una

bestia en[ilegible] que dió estampida, vino al real nueva provisión de carne, y hallóse la bestia con lo que había antes perdido.

Jueves 18. Salimos rumbo de nornorueste por placetas y montes de robles claros, [despues] a nornordeste por lomas y cañadas con arroyos secos y arboleda a las orillas, hasta en un montecillo de muchos nogales. En estos medios salieron al camino tres indios que andaban buscando cíbola, y al medio día concurrieron dos mujeres y más indios, serían una docena. Hicieron particulares demostraciones de gusto, y paramos por un arroyo corriente que nombramos de Corpus Cristi, por ser su día octavo, habiendo caminado cinco leguas.

Viernes 19. Salimos de este paraje rumbo de nordeste 4a a lesnordeste por vereda abierta y monte claro de robles, llegamos a un arroyo corriente con mucha arboleda, que le pusimos de San Buenaventura, y pasando una legua de monte, paramos cerca de una laguna que nombramos de Santa Ana, cerca de una placeta. Anduvimos este día cuatro leguas.

Sábado 20. Salimos rumbo de entre lesnordeste y 4a a leste por montes claros de robles como dos leguas, y otras dos por llanada y, llegando a la orilla opuesta, nos salió al encuentro un indio texa de los que nos habían encontrado antes y nos condujo a su rancho, donde nos regaló con sandías y elotes, y vinieron después más de veinte personas de los tejas con mucho regocijo y alegría. Caminamos este día cinco leguas.

Domingo 21. Salimos a encontrar el camino que habíamos dejado y en el camino hallamos una parva de pavos pequeños, de que nos proveímos para el medio día. Después rumbo de nordeste una legua por monte claro, y por llanada a lesnordeste, llegamos a un ojo de agua, que nombramos de Santa Clara. Adelantóse el capitán francés por ver al gobernador de los tejas, y prevenirle para nuestra entrada. Fueron otros a registrar aguaje cierto para el día siguiente y, habida noticia de él, paramos, habiendo caminado cinco leguas.

Lunes 22. Caminamos rumbo de lesnordeste por placetas y lomas; hallamos a dos leguas una laguna grande que nombramos de San Cristóbal, siguióse inmediato un arroyo que se tituló de San Fernando, y a un valle próximo, de Linares. Después, no muy lejos, hallamos otra laguna y le pusimos de San Luis Obispo, y a un arroyo inmediato de Santa Rosa de Viterbo. Aquí hallamos muchos pinos encumbrados, y dando diversas guiñadas, caminamos por una llanada donde encontramos y agasajamos de camino cuatro familias de indios tejas que iban en busca de cíbola. Entramos a un monte claro todo de tierra doblada, hasta que pasado medio día paramos en una lagunilla, donde nos aliviamos algún tanto, y pasamos a orillas de un río muy rápido que encontramos con mucha arboleda y muy encajonada. Caminamos con bastante bochorno este día diez leguas.

Martes 23. Mientras fueron a componer el paso del río, y hacer puente en un arroyo atascador que luego se ofrecía dijimos cinco misas, y luego pasamos todos el río que se nombró de San Juan Batista, por ser su víspera, y a cosa de media legua que anduvimos por monte claro de robles rumbo de lesnordeste, pasamos por puente el arroyo atascador, y paró el real a sus orillas. Este río de San Juan, aunque se equivoca en las señas con el de la Trinidad, no es uno mismo por este rumbo que ahora entramos, aunque a un día de camino se incorporan los dos, y es la causa de que muchos los confunden, sin observar los rumbos por donde entran o salen de los tejas. Anduvo el real este día media legua.

Miércoles 24. Se pasó el día en celebrar con misa cantada y seis rezadas la

fiesta del santo Precursor; no faltaron comuniones, y a la tarde se divirtieron los soldados en correr parejas y hacer suertes en sus caballos.

Jueves 25. Fueron los soldados con algunos indios a pasar las cabras. Llegó el hijo de nuestro capitán y un indio teja, que dieron noticia de don Luis y de como estaba entendiendo en convocar los indios asinai, que aún todavía estaban ignorantes de nuestra llegada, y por darle tiempo no caminamos este día.

Viernes 26. Después de dichas tres misas, salimos rumbo de nordeste por monte claro de pinos, nogales, robles, y encinos y parras con uvas mayores que las ya dichas; pasamos dos arroyos con agua, y en uno, que nombramos de Santa Efigenia, paramos temprano dando tiempo a que se acercaran los indios, habiendo caminado cuatro leguas.

Sábado 27. Dijimos todos misa; llegó noticia de venir don Luis con los indios, y nos aparejamos para recibirlos. Llegaron como a las ocho de la mañana treinta y cuatro indios y algunos de ellos capitanes. Venían uno en pos de otro siguiendo a don Luis y los recibimos puestos en dos alas los soldados, y en medio nuestro capitán con los religiosos; y en esta forma los [fuimos] abrazando a todos con gran júbilo de nuestros corazones. Para hacer los indios su entrada, dejaron atrás sus caballos, arcos y flechas, escopetas que traían algunos, en mano de otros indios que les ministraban como criados. Hubo salva general de nuestra parte y, en tanto caminaron al sitio preparado para el recibimiento, que era una choza de ramas de árboles sombreado con mantas, sirviendo de taburetes las albardas, allí sentados todos por [su orden], sacó un paje de los capitanes tejas una pipa de tabaco del que ellos siembran [en sus] tierras, toda muy adornada de plumas blancas, señal de paz entre ellos, dióle fuego [y a] todos nos hizo tomar su bocanada. Correspondióseles con las misma ceremonia, se les partió chocolate y remató la función un indio principal con un razonamiento serio en que daba a entender el gusto con que todos deseaban recibirnos en sus tierras, según nos declaró don Luis de San Dionisio, que entiende y habla mucho de la lengua. Fue este día muy gustoso para nosotros viendo tan buenas esperanzas para lograr [el] fin y conseguir nuestro deseado intento. Hicieron a la noche los indios salva, y [se] festejaron con un toro que les dió el capitán a su arbitrio.

Domingo 28. Salimos, interpolados con muchos de los indios, al nordeste, y algunas [guiñadas] a los vientos colaterales por monte claro de pinos, nogales, parras, robles y encinos en cuyos medios había cuatro arroyuelos, y habiendo caminado nueve leguas, llegamos a una placeta muy grande en cuyos medios hay dos capaces lagunas y un arroyo a las orillas con mucha agua, donde paramos. A la tarde, vinieron los indios que nos habían visto. Eran número de noventa y seis personas, cuya entrada fue en esta forma: juntos todos en un sitio cercano al real, se pusieron en tres filas. La de en medio capitaneaba don Luis, en seguían todos los capitanes y principales. Las otras dos laterales se componían del [resto de la] gente que acompañaba. Fuera de estos, los que el día antecedente nos habían salido a encontrar venían a lo lejos con sus escopetas para hacer salva. De nuestra parte correspondimos [dándole] al capitán un guión en que iban gravadas las imágenes de Cristo crucificado y de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, y todos los religiosos en ala a entrambos lados, con los soldados en dos filas, y [en esta forma] llegamos a cariarnos y nuestro capitán entregó el estandarte en mis manos, y puesto de rodillas adoró y besó las santas imágenes, y nos abrazamos juntos, y lo

mismo fueron haciendo [los otros] cual acabado fuimos procesionalmente cantando el Te Deum Laudamos, a que hacían [salva las] escopetas y, llegando al real, arrodillados todos, se concluyó el canto, y nos sentamos [con los] indios en las alfombras del día antecedente. Hablaron los indios entre sí un breve rato [y luego hizo] cada capitán un puño de tabaco molido, y junto lo revolvieron para mostrar la unidad de sus voluntades y lo entregaron al capitán. Después trajeron su regalo de elotes, tamales, frijoles cocidos con maíz y nueces; y se les repartió en nombre de su majestad, semillas, sombreros, tabaco y sayalete; y aquella noche mostraron con bailes su alegría.

Lunes 29. Se cantó misa al señor San Pedro (por quien dimos este nombre al real) a que vinieron toda la multitud de indios congregados. Vinieron cerca de medio día otros [ilegible] ocho capitanes, y se hicieron con ellos las mismas ceremonias del día antecedente en su recibimiento excepto que en lugar de Te Deum, se cantó Tota Pulchra Es traían estos la pipa de bronce con muchas plumas. Repartióseles ropa como a los otros, y también festejaron con bailes a su usanza su venida.

Martes 30. Dichas tres misas por el buen expediente de la conversión, hizo eco al primer día, otro Ecce ego mitto vos en el evangelio de la conversión de San Pablo, y salimos rumbo de nordeste por monte claro hasta una llanada, donde le pareció a nuestro capitán ser lugar apto para dejar por entonces asentado su presidio, que quedó a orillas de una muy capaz laguna, y no muy distante de un río mediano. Pasamos los religiosos con el capitán y algunos indios para registrar paraje para la primera misión y, hallado el que nos pareció más a propósito, dimos vuelta al real, habiendo en el camino regalado los dientes con maíz cocido con nueces y frijoles y otros frutos de la tierra que nos presentaron los indios. Anduvo este día el real hasta donde quedó asentado, tres leguas.

Miércoles 1 de julio. Se detuvieron los indios que aún estaban juntos, para formar la vivienda del capitán. Comenzóse este día también el entrego de los aperos y demás cosas pertenecientes a las cuatro misiones.

Jueves 2. Cubrióse la casa de zacate y, entretanto dijimos todos misa, y escribimos algo de la lengua de los asinai, y sirviendo de intérprete don Luis de San Dionisio, se pactaron y compusieron entre sí los indios, y compartieron cuatro misiones; y valiéndonos de una india de esta nación, ladina y criada en oahuila, les dimos a entender el fin de nuestra venida en el mejor modo que dió lugar la ocasión; y desde entonces advirtieron no se podían congregar hasta haber recogido sus cosechas.

Viernes 3. Nos venimos todos los religiosos con el capitán al ojo de agua que teníamos antes registrado, y luego comenzaron los indios a fabricar la vivienda para la primera misión, en tanto pasamos el día en una choza de ramas, y se caminó una legua.

Sábado 4. Dijimos todos misa y se concluyó del todo la vivienda, aunque pobre y como choza de campo; nos pasamos a ella y se fue repartiendo lo que tocaba a cada misión.

Domingo cinco. Nombró el capitán alcaldes, regidores, y un alguacil, y consecutivamente pasó a darme como presidente posesión de la misión en nombre de su majestad (que Dios guarde) en el ojo de agua, y hechas las ceremonias acostumbradas, nombré por ministro de la misión primera con título de nuestro padre San

Francisco de los tejas al reverendo padre fray Francisco Hidalgo, quien tantos años ha solicita esta conversión, y por su compañero al padre predicador fray Manuel Castellano, a quien encargué el pasto espiritual de los asistentes del presidio. Repartiese la mayor parte de la ropa, y otras cosas que venían para los indios y este día salió nuestro capitán con los padres predicadores fray Matías Sáenz de San Antonio y fray Pedro de Santa María y Mendoza, en demanda del puesto de los nacogdochi para poner su primera misión por parte del colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

Lunes 6. Por nordeste 4a a lesnordeste y monte claro pasamos un arroyo de agua que corre a la primera misión; siguióse un llanada de más de dos leguas, y pasados tres arroyuelos pequeños, llegamos al primer jacal de indios ainais, donde pasamos la fuerza del sol y tomamos algún refresco de elotes. Después de medio día, al rumbo de leste por monte claro, pasamos a dos leguas un arroyo con bastante agua; y después muchos álamos, nogales, y robles y en las cañadas muchos pinos, y acercándonos a otros ranchos de ainai, encontramos a nuestro capitán con los padres de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, que aún no habían pasado adelante. Aquella tarde so buscó paraje para la misión de la Concepción que se [halló] aunque con mucho monte, y anduvimos nosotros ocho leguas.

Martes 7. Fuí con el capitán y, reconocidos dos ojos de agua perennes, aunque no muy grandes por estar en el centro de la gente de este pueblo, se me dió posesión en nombre de su majestad como se acostumbra, y se pasó el capitán con los padres de Zacatecas a poner su misión, mientras mis dos compañeros y yo dimos forma de mudar al ojo de agua nuestros trajes en que se pasó lo más del día y en hacer composición de lugar.

Miércoles 8. Se comenzó a fabricar la vivienda pajiza, aunque algo tarde, y se fue fray Benito Sánchez para la ranchería de los nasoni, donde se había destinado poner la tercera misión de parte del colegio de Querétaro.

Jueves 9. Fuí con el capitán francés, don Luis de San Dionisio a la ranchería de los nasoni, adonde llegué después de medio día, y dista de esta misión de la Concepción al [norte] siete leguas. Hay en el camino muchos ranchos de indios y arroyos de agua con [buenos] parajes para poblar. Registramos el padre fray Benito y yo paraje aquella tarde y [llegó] de los nacogdochi nuestro capitán, quien dejó este día dada posesión a la misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

Viernes 10. Me dió el señor capitán posesión de la misión de señor San Joseph en un arroyo con bastante agua que corre al norte y tiene a los indios nasoni y nacono, y señalé por ministro al padre predicador fray Benito Sánchez, quedando así nuestras tres misiones fundadas, y harán número de tres mil personas, según lo que tenemos visto; y dí la vuelta a esta de la Concepción donde asisto.

Nota: Las cosas particulares que en estas gentes hemos notado es el tener asiento en tierras, fabricar con mucha curiosidad sus casas con camas altas para todos y cartones de madera donde tienen canastos de nueces, maíz y frijoles para todo el año; [son] muy partidos entre sí, y se ayudan en el socorro de sus necesidades. Reconocen cada superior que les ordena cuando han de trabajar y hay uno que los manda y castiga con [fuer]za si no salen al trabajo, o si son en él, perezosos. Tienen de barro todo lo necesario para su servicio y asientos curiosos de madera para los que llegan a sus casas. Lo que hemos notado costará solicitud y trabajo es desarraigarles un cuento de abusión que tienen, pues apenas dan paso que no sea

dirigido de particular abuso. Con el tiempo se descubrirán por menudo así las buenas como las malas propiedades de este a quien Dios nuestro Señor, por el costoso precio de su sangre y ruegos de su madre purísima, abra los ojos del entendimiento para conocerle, amarle y de todo costo adorarle, como desea el menor de los misioneros.

Julio 30 de 1716 años.

Isidro Félix de Espinosa.

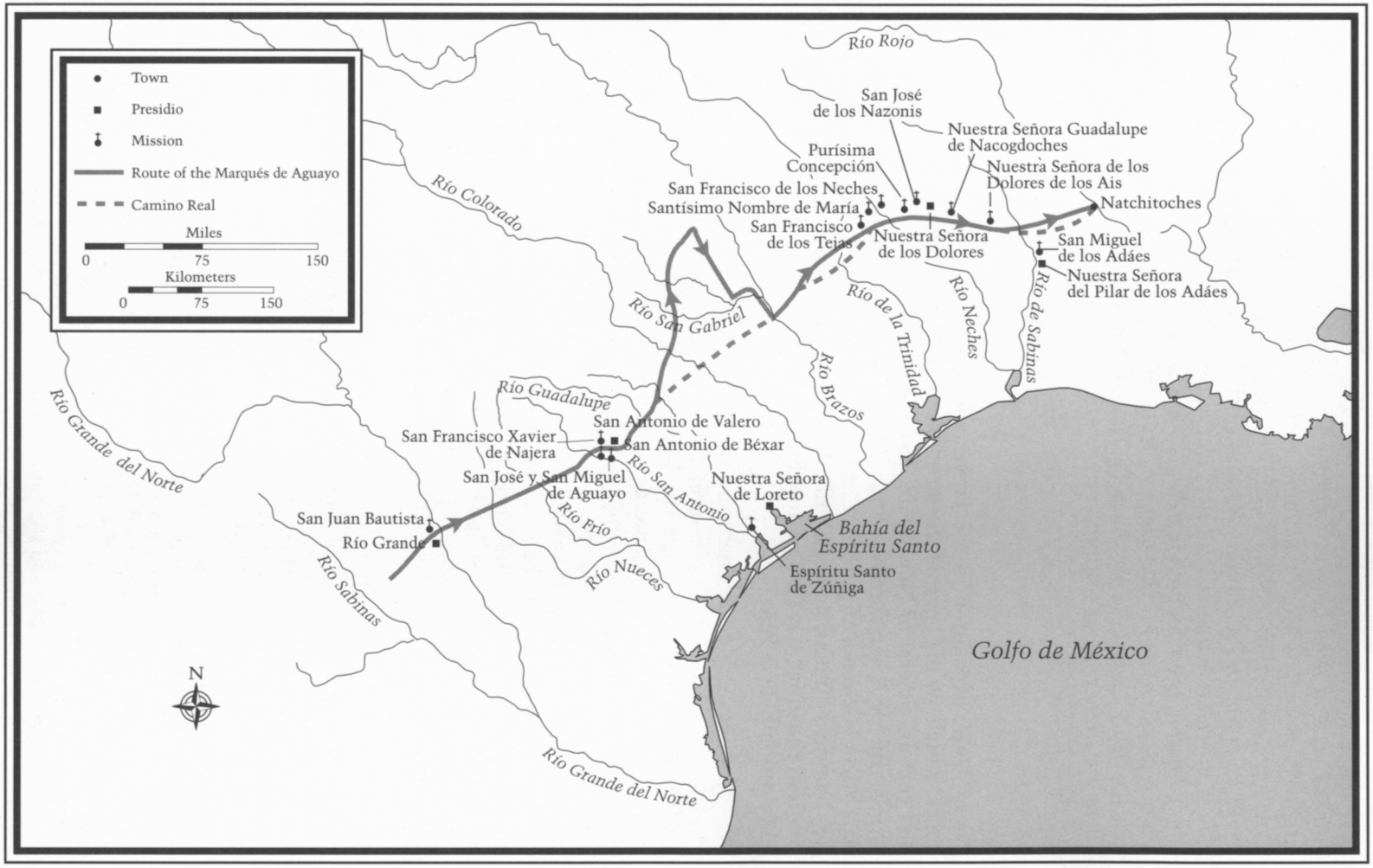
Peña's Account of the 1720-1722 Entrada

The following narrative by Bachiller Don Juan Antonio de la Peña details the Marqués de Aguayo's preparations for his assignment to recapture Texas and the expedition that set out for Texas from Monclova on November 16, 1720, returning eighteen and one-half months later on May 25, 1722. It was the largest and most significant Spanish expedition that ever entered the province, in terms of its lasting effects, for the Spaniards were in Texas to stay. By the time of Aguayo's return, ten missions were in operation, strengthened by four presidios. For the first time, a sufficient military presence—268 soldiers—was left to guard the province, signaling a change in crown policy from the former subordination of the military to the missionaries. The occupation of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, first advocated by Ramón and Mazanet in 1690, had been effected, and the drive of three hundred head of cattle and four hundred sheep and goats, the largest number yet introduced, presaged the important role that livestock would play in the future history of the territory.

The expedition was the most capably managed of any of the Spanish entradas into Texas, and the Marqués de Aguayo proved to be the right man to counter the French threat. He saw to it that the expedition was amply supplied by both land and sea, with sufficient reserves on hand in Coahuila to replace the inevitable losses.

A history of the Aguayo family is provided in the introduction to "Establishment of the Presidio of El Pasaje." Briefly here, the title of Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo y Santa Olalla was first bestowed in 1682 on the husband of the great-granddaughter of Francisco de Urdiñola, who had served as the governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1603 to 1613. Urdiñola amassed a latifundio of some 11,626,850 acres that included much of Coahuila and stretched southward into Zacatecas. The second marqués, Joseph Ramón de Azlor y Virto de Vera, is the subject of this document. He was a member of a family who had served the kings of Spain with distinction for many years. His grandfather, Don Martín de Azlor, was maestro de campo when he died at the siege of Barcelona in 1656, and his brother, the Conde de Guara, was field marshal and commander of the frontier of Aragón when he was killed in 1705. In Spain the marqués had served the king, recruiting and equipping his soldiers at his own expense. He arrived in New Spain with his heiress wife in 1712, taking up residence in the hacienda of San Francisco de los Patos, Coahuila, where he played an active role in the defense of the frontier before receiving this appointment. After serving as governor of Coahuila and Texas from 1719 through 1722, he devoted himself to administering his wife's vast estate until his death at Patos, in 1734.

The account used here is the one published by Aguayo himself in Mexico City in the year of his return (1722). It is adjudged to be an accurate transcript of the actual diary that was placed in the Franciscan archives of San Francisco El Grande. It was undoubtedly this original that was used by the Franciscan historian Father Juan Agustín Morfi in his History of Texas 1673–1779. *The original*



The route followed by the Aguayo expedition of 1720–1722

printed version used here was checked against the original in the Franciscana archives, as well as Morfi's account, without any disagreement being found. An excellent translation of Peña's Derrotero *was published in 1934 by the Rev. Dr. Peter Forrestal in* Preliminary Studies of the Texas Catholic Historical Society. *Given the relative unavailability of that series, however, the new translation included herein is considered justified. There is a copy of the* Derrotero *in the Biblioteca Nacional de México that was transcribed in* Documentos para la historia eclesiástica y civil de la provincia de Texas o Nuevas Philipinas 1720–1779 *but there are some copyist's or typesetter's errors in it. Those of any importance are noted in the annotations here.*

Diary of the expedition in the Province of the Tejas, New Kingdom of Philippines, which, by the order of the most excellent Señor Marqués de Valero, viceroy and captain general of New Spain, has been carried out by the very illustrious Don Joseph de Azlor, commanding knight of the Kingdom of Aragón, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, governor and captain general of the said provinces of Tejas, Nuevas Filipinas, and Coahuila, New Kingdom of Extremadura, on behalf of our lord the king (may God protect him). [The diary is] written by Bachiller Don Juan Antonio de la Peña.

If a favorable outcome were assured simply by carrying out orders (which are received with pleasure), I might well feel certain of successfully fulfilling the honor that the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo has bestowed upon me by directing me, as faithful witness, to write this record of events during the progress of this glorious enterprise. In being chosen by his lordship to serve our majesty the king (may God protect him) as chaplain to the troops, I have achieved my greatest fortune.

So that posterity may be informed, I shall begin this narration with the motives for this entrada, which narrow down to the fact that the French, on behalf of their merchants in Paris, established a colony twenty-one years ago at Mobile,[1] a port on the Gulf of Mexico, twelve leagues from our presidio of Santa María de Galve (commonly called Pensacola).[2] Since then they have expanded some three

1. The first French outpost in the lower Mississippi Valley was established by D'Iberville, the founder of Louisiana, at Biloxi in 1699. It was reestablished in 1702 as Fort Louis de la Mobile at the mouth of the Mobile River, which empties into the bay of the same name (also known to the French as the Bay of St. Esprit). Due to flooding, it was moved by the Sieur de Bienville to its present site in 1710.

2. Pensacola Bay (or Bahía de Santa María de Galve) had been known to Spanish explorers since the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Tristán de Luna y Arellano tried to establish a colony there in 1559, but the outpost was destroyed by a hurricane two years later, and interest in the area waned. In response to the French presence in the Mississippi Valley and their establishment of a colony on Texas soil in the seventeenth century, however, the Spanish king and viceroy showed renewed interest in the gulf. During maritime expeditions of the 1680s, the bay was referred to as both the Pensacola (or Panzacola, as it was known to the Indians) and the Santa María de Galve. A fort was erected and a new colony started there in November 1698. It was taken by the French in 1719 (a month be-

hundred leagues to the Nachitoches (or Red) River,[3] as far as Los Adáes in the province of Tejas,[4] and have also extended their colonization some four hundred leagues up the Empalizada, (or Missouri) River.[5] Risking the good faith of the alliance between the two crowns, they surprised the presidio of Pensacola on June 19 of last year, 1719, invading the province of Tejas at the same time. Their superior forces obliged the Spaniards—with the fathers from the six missions[6] that had been established—to withdraw[7] to the presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, which is on the border of the province of Coahuila, 240 leagues distant from Los Adáes on the [northeast] Tejas border.[8]

On hearing this news, his excellency gave orders to recruit—with a haste befitting the urgency—a company of the largest possible number of men from León, Saltillo, and Parras, to relieve the said province, and he entrusted the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo with the task of equipping and provisioning the company. The marqués did so, gathering together eighty-four men from the three districts of Saltillo. From September 5 until [September] 28, when they left, he furnished them with clothing, arms, horses, and provisions for one year, including flour, corn, and livestock, and he supplied 9,000 pesos on top of the 12,000 that his excellency had provided for this purpose. Immediately upon hearing of the invasion, the marqués had written to his excellency, offering his estate, his life, and his

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fore they invaded east Texas), but returned to Spain in 1723. The English occupied it in 1764 but, with all of Florida, it was returned to Spain in 1783.

3. Peña is actually referring to the French trading post of Natchitoches, established on the Red River during the winter of 1713–14, by Juchereau de St. Denis, as the westernmost outpost of French Louisiana.

4. Los Adais (or Adáes), located near Robeline, Louisiana, and just twenty-eight kilometers from Natchitoches, was initially settled by the Spaniards in 1716, when Domingo Ramón founded the mission of San Miguel de Linares de los Adáes. It was taken by the French in 1719, then reoccupied by the Aguayo expedition, at which time the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adáes was founded to protect the mission and serve as a bulwark against further French incursion.

5. Peña has confused the Río Empalizada, which was the Missouri, with the Río de la Palizada, or the Mississippi, which one would cross to reach Pensacola.

6. The six missions that were abandoned as a result of the 1719 French invasion were San Francisco de los Tejas, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainai (Ainai), San Joseph de los Nasonis, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais, and San Miguel de Linares de los Adáes. All were founded (or, in the case of San Francisco, reestablished) by Captain Domingo Ramón in 1716.

7. Actually, it was the anticipated French military reinforcements from Mobile that caused the Spaniards to retreat. In fact, Los Adáes had been occupied by just seven soldiers from Natchitoches.

8. The presidio of San Antonio de Béxar was established on May 5, 1718, near San Pedro Springs (modern city of San Antonio, Texas), by Martín de Alarcón. In 1722, the presidio was moved opposite Mission San Antonio de Valero on the other (west) side of the San Antonio River. The distance between San Antonio and Adáes is actually about 435 miles, or 145 leagues, counting a league as three miles. The discrepancy might have been due to a copyist's or typesetter's error.

sword in service to our majesty the king (may God protect him). In response, his excellency sent [the marqués] a commission in the name of his majesty, by which he appointed him governor of these provinces. When he received it the marqués immediately exclaimed that even if he were a common soldier it would give him great pleasure to serve his majesty in such a glorious enterprise, it being of the utmost importance to secure these dominions from the imminent danger that threatened, for there had not been such daring enemies since the discovery of America.

He set out immediately, arriving at Coahuila on October 21. Informed there of the state of affairs, he advised his excellency that the few troops he had on this frontier and the region's lack of fortification left these kingdoms [Tejas and Coahuila] exposed, whereupon his excellency directed that five hundred men be recruited from the districts around the cities of Querétaro, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Celaya, and Villa de Aguascalientes. He authorized the marqués to be responsible for the disbursal of a year's pay for each soldier at the rate of 450 pesos,[9] with 25,000 pesos more from [the Department of] War and Peace.

In the meantime, as the Catholic zeal of our majesty the king (may God protect him) for spreading our holy faith by means of establishing missions was so well known, [the marqués] established [the mission] of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, with three large Indian nations.[10] This mission, the foundation of which his excellency approved, and for which he ordered the usual assistance, lies about one league from the presidio of San Antonio, whose protection will ensure the [mission's] permanence.

On April 1 of the present year, 1720, the five hundred men finally began to set out from the said districts, equipped and provisioned for the road by agents of the marqués. They purchased 3,600 horses for their transport and for the entrada,[11] which from its first steps was very demanding, because it was the season of the greatest drought. Only 560 horses arrived at Coahuila on June 23, the rest having been left dead or crippled on the road. With this setback, and considering the great fatigue of the 560 horses, the march could not be continued, and it was necessary to halt the troops in Coahuila. The marqués sent off [requests] for new mounts to all the horse breeding ranches, from which 3,400 were procured, but the continuing rigors of the season—the driest summer ever experienced—delayed their arrival in Coahuila until the end of September. In the middle of October the droves of six hundred mules, which had left Mexico City on April 24,

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9. This was the usual salary for a presidial soldier at the time.

10. Fray Margíl had written the new governor from San Antonio on December 26, 1719, proposing this new mission to be administered by the Zacatecan friars, which would provide them, like their Querétaran brothers, with a halfway station between Coahuila and east Texas. In spite of the protests of Fray Olivares that the Pompopas, Pastias, and Suliajames Indians to be congregated there were traditional enemies of the Indians at Valero, Aguayo authorized his lieutenant in San Antonio, Juan Valdez, to find a favorable site and establish the mission. The mission was originally located further upstream and was moved twice before being situated on its present site south of modern downtown San Antonio.

11. The copy of the *Derrotero* in the Biblioteca Nacional de México recorded 6,600 horses.

arrived with the clothing, arms, powder, and six cannons, all of which had been arranged for by order of his lordship.[12]

With the news that everything he had been waiting for was now arriving, the marqués formed a battalion of mounted infantry under the name of San Miguel de Aragón, dividing the five hundred men into eight companies. Having received from the viceroy the authority to appoint officers, he selected Don Fernando Pérez de Almazán[13] as his lieutenant governor and captain general, and gave the title of captain to Don Tomás de Zubiría, Don Miguel Colón,[14] Don Gabriel Costales,[15] Don Manuel de Herrera, Don Francisco Becerra Luque, Don Joseph de Arroyo,[16] Don Pedro de Oribe, and Don Juan Cantú. He also named his subaltern officers.

On October 5, a messenger from Mexico arrived with dispatches in which his excellency gave new orders to the marqués. In light of the news his excellency had just received by dispatch boat that a treaty had been signed between the two crowns, the marqués was to march in to restore the province of Nuevas Filipinas to his majesty's dominion and to reinstate the missions. He was to wage only a defensive war should the French encroach upon his majesty's power. At the same time his excellency—citing the dispatch that he had from our majesty the king (may God protect him), in which his majesty explained the desired manner of governing the French—instructed his lordship to solicit and admit all those who might wish either to take part in royal service or come to live with the Spaniards. Although at first [the marqués] could not help but express his concern that the limitations of the order jeopardized his intentions for completely securing these lands, he stated that in this matter, too, he would offer his blind obedience.

Because not all the uniforms had been made up, making which kept [us] busy from the arrival of the pack train, it was not until November 15 that his lordship directed the battalion to march. First, the standards were blessed in a solemn ceremony performed in honor of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, [whose image], along with that of San Miguel, San Rafael, and the motto *Pugnate pro Fide et Rege* ["He fought for the faith and the king"] was carried on a banner for guidance. On an-

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12. Other factors that caused the main body of the expedition to delay its departure were an uprising of Indians early in 1720, which had to be put down, and numerous desertions that occurred as the troops in Monclova grew restive from the wait.

13. Pérez de Almazán had surveyed the area from Parras to Saltillo, where the haciendas of the Marqués de Aguayo were located, in 1714. He succeeded Aguayo as governor of the province of Tejas from 1722 to 1727.

14. Miguel Colón was a Portuguese who served as alcalde mayor and capitán de guerra for the area of Santa María de las Parras and Saltillo.

15. Prior to his participation in the Aguayo expedition, Manuel Gabriel Costales had served for thirteen years as soldier, sergeant, and alférez of infantry in Catalonia, Spain. He was appointed captain of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto at La Bahía in the fall of 1730, and held the post until 1741, when he was removed.

16. Joseph Benito de Arroyo was named captain of the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, founded during this expedition. He was taken seriously ill during the following summer, however, and returned to Saltillo. He was finally replaced in 1724.

other [banner] appeared Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe with San Miguel and San Francisco Xavier, and on the third, our patron Santiago. The artillery and all the companies were given their first and best training through the repeated salutes that accompanied the ceremony, which included a procession, Mass, and a sermon. The governor enlivened the day with brandy for the soldiers and a splendid banquet for all the captains and missionary fathers of that province.

It was necessary for the marqués to issue various instructions for the government of the province and to ensure the conveyance of provisions from Saltillo and Parras (about four hundred leagues from the border of Tejas) on five hundred mules—which were in addition to those that had already left for San Antonio with many supplies. On November 16, he dispatched a battalion under the command of Lieutenant Don Fernando Pérez de Almazán, with an additional four hundred mules. The march was organized with [first] a picket of veteran soldiers who were acquainted with the land, then the equipment of the companies, and the companies themselves, according to their seniority, each caring for its own horse herd. [These were] followed by the pack train carrying food and war supplies, and the herds of cattle and small livestock. The entire line was protected by a captain with his company. Because the land as far as the Río Grande is known, this journal does not detail the march, which became difficult due to the formation of a lake on the camino real that forced a detour of three days.

[November 25 to December 14, 1720] [The battalion] arrived on [November] 25 at the Río de Sabinas (twenty-five leagues distant from Coahuila), which had been swollen for some time because of heavy autumn rains that were as extreme as the summer drought had been. Seeing that it was impassable, the lieutenant general had a boat made, for two others built in advance by order of the marqués had been carried off by the floodwaters. In the meantime, the waters receded and, by means of a very narrow ribbon of stones that spanned it, the river was crossed, although with great difficulty because the current was very rapid. One of the first soldiers to cross was drowned, and Captain Don Miguel Colón and other soldiers faced great danger when they fell into the river. A delay of three weeks was spent in conveying the companies, baggage, mules, and livestock across.

[December 15, 1720 to March 23, 1721] The battalion finished crossing the Río de Sabinas on December 15, and traveled twenty-five leagues to the Río del Norte, commonly known as the Río Grande, arriving on [December] 20. They camped on the bank of the river, which was so large that it was about a rod and a half in depth and more than a musket shot across. Advised by the natives that it would be a long time before the waters receded, they began to build wooden rafts, by order of the lieutenant general. The crossing was begun after Christmas, when three rafts had been completed.

At the same time the marqués arrived at the said Río del Norte from Coahuila, accompanied by the very reverend Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, president of the Tejas missions on behalf of the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. A few days later Doctor Don Joseph Codallos y Rabal—who was also qualifier and commissary of the Office of the Holy Inquisition, synodal examiner of the Bishopric of Guadalajara, and former visitor and ecclesiastical notary of Mazapil and Saltillo—also arrived. He was entering Tejas as the vicar general, with all powers conferred upon him by the bishop of Guadalajara, under whose jurisdiction the said province belongs. On his journey, his lordship [the marqués] had

visited the missions of San Bernardino and Santiago del Valle de la Candela, which are off to one side of the camino real. He clothed all the Indians of all ages, as he had done previously at the other missions of [San José y] San Miguel de Aguayo and San Buenaventura, near Coahuila.[17]

They continued crossing the river, although with great difficulty, trying different kinds of rafts made of logs, and one with hides of skin that did not hold up due to a lack of resin. After various attempts, the only raft that would serve was built from ten logs with barrels underneath. No more than six loads could be taken across on each trip, and the crossing was delayed even more by a sudden storm that blew hail, snow, and rain; the days when it rained were more tolerable because the cold was somewhat tempered. Fifty swimmers continuously pulled the rafts and worked with such persistence that all but four became ill. They were encouraged and cheered on by the presence of the marqués on the bank, distributing brandy, chocolate, and abundant food as fuel for all their labors.

On February 2, his lordship received a messenger from San Antonio with letters from Captain Matías García[18] of that presidio, informing him that he had just learned from some Indians of the Sana[19] nation that Captain Luis de San Dionis [Dionisio],[20] with other Frenchmen, had summoned together many nations about thirty leagues from the said presidio. Their designs were unknown. With this news his lordship called a council of war, in which it was resolved to dispatch with all haste a detachment of one hundred men from all the companies, with sixteen veteran presidial soldiers who were familiar with the land, to assist San Antonio and, if necessary, to search for and contain the enemy. [This resolution] was carried out at once. The detachment left, divided into two companies in the charge of the first two captains, Don Tomás de Zubiría and Don Miguel Colón. They were commanded by Lieutenant General Don Fernando Pérez de Almazán,

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17. Missions San Bernardino de la Caldera (also Candela) and Santiago del Valle de la Candela (also called San Salvador de la Valle de Santiago, Santiago de Valladares, or San Felipe de Valladores) were apparently reestablished in 1688, by Fray Damián Mazanet and Fray Esteban Martínez. Santiago was suppressed in 1747. San Bernardino was founded for the Catujanos, Milijais, and Tilalajais. Indians from both missions moved to San Pedro Boca de Leones in 1695, leaving only ten Tlaxcalan families, who had resided there since 1691. San Miguel de Aguayo may have been founded in 1675 by the bishop of Guadalajara Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz. Located in the present-day town of Bustamante, Nuevo León, it must have been on the hacienda of the future (1682) Marqués de Aguayo, who at that time was Don Agustín de Echavarri y Subiza. San Buenaventura was situated in the area of Cuatro Ciénegas, some twenty leagues to the west of the presidio of San Francisco de Coahuila, for the Cabezas, Contotores, and Bauzarigames.

18. Captain Matías García had been a member of Captain Diego Ramón's force, which rode forth into Texas from the presidio of San Juan Bautista in 1707, to try to make alliances with Indian tribes and prevent their joining ladinos who were preying on new settlements in Nuevo León.

19. The Sanas (Zanas, Chanas) were a nomadic Tonkawan-speaking tribe regularly encountered by the Spaniards between the Guadalupe and Trinity Rivers. They were often accompanied by their confederates the Tou (Tuu). These groups were brought to San Antonio de Valero in the 1740s.

20. Louis Juchereau de St. Denis.

who learned in San Antonio that in the interim Captain García had sent out some very faithful Indians to explore the land. With them was Captain Juan Rodríguez, one of the leaders of the Ranchería Grande, who had gone to San Antonio with fifty families to request a mission. Returning on February 25, [Juan Rodríguez] reported that, having arrived near the Brazos de Dios River, he had not found the Indians of the Ranchería Grande, who lived much farther away and whom he presumed were also at the convocation. He had not dared to go farther. Immediately upon his return to San Antonio, his Indians told him that a Sana Indian had been there looking for him, to advise him that the Indians of the Ranchería Grande were at the French convocation with many other tribes, outfitted with many horses and armed with muskets, and that they could be found between the two branches of the Brazos de Dios at the part above the road to the Tejas.

On receiving this news, the lieutenant general decided to dispatch a party of thirty men from the battalion and from among the veterans under the command of Captain Don Matías García. The party went as far as the Brazos de Dios (eighty leagues from San Antonio) and returned, having been unable to cross a large lake formed by the river flooding between its two branches. From that point Captain García could make out some smoke on the other bank, which he inferred came from the convocation, as he had not encountered any Indian on his journey out or back.[21]

The marqués received this news two days before completing the river crossing, and on this and the next day he distributed clothing to sixty Indians who had helped take the rafts and livestock across. His lordship likewise supplied them with corn and meat, as he had done for the entire duration of the river crossing, which was completed on March 23.

[March 24] On Monday, March 24, his lordship set out from the other [east] side of the Río Grande with the eight companies, minus the detachment that was in San Antonio. Each company had 350 horses, 600 head of cattle, and 800 small livestock (500 loads of food, war supplies, and clothing having been sent ahead), while 600 loads of clothing, provisions, and baggage traveled with his lordship.

Captains Don Alonso de Cárdenas and Don Juan Cortinas also set out with the soldiers they had in their companies. They were joined in their march by the father president Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa and the father Fray Benito Sánchez, missionary to the Tejas, who had been at the mission of San Juan Bautista, [located] at the presidio of the Río Grande del Norte. Their route was directly north. . . .

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21. The chronicler notes later that at the same time Aguayo dispatched Captain Domingo Ramón with forty men to the Bay of Espíritu Santo, to prevent its falling into the hands of the French. In the name of the king, Ramón took possession of the bay and the surrounding country on April 4, 1721. Unbeknownst to the Spaniards at the time, St. Denis, with a party of Cadodachos and other tribes, had attempted to take La Bahía in 1719, but was frustrated by the hostility of the Karankawas. Bernard de la Harpe made yet another attempt to occupy the bay in August 1721. La Harpe, however, mistook what was probably Galveston Bay for Espíritu Santo. His error was of no import, since he, too, was forced to retreat by the hostile inhabitants.

[The expedition finally got underway on March 24. The narrative is deleted until April 4, when the expedition arrived in San Antonio.]

[April 4 to May 12] The same day, April 4, feast of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, we arrived at the town and presidio of San Antonio de Béxar,[22] to the great joy of us all and of those who were waiting to join us in this happy expedition. The governor (his retinue having crossed the river) proceeded with the entire battalion to the mission of San Antonio de Valero,[23] dedicated to the glorious Saint Anthony of Padua, so that all the soldiers might offer their hearts to God from the first steps they took in the province of Nuevas Filipinas. All the fathers received our lord the king (may God protect him) in the person of the governor, chanting the *Te Deum Laudamus* ["We Praise You, God"] in keeping with the *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini* ["Blessed is he who comes in the name of the lord"]. With prayers and blessings, they called on the holy church to further the advancement of his majesty's arms in spreading the Catholic religion, as he so desires. The missionaries who waited here to join in the journey included the very reverend Fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, commissary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, founder and former guardian of the apostolic colleges of Santa Cruz de Querétaro and of Cristo Nuestro Señor de Guatemala, prefect of missions, and current president of the Tejas missions belonging to the Apostolic College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas. [Also present were] the apostolic preachers Fray Gabriel de Vergara, Fray Joseph Guerra, and Fray Joseph Rodríguez,[24] as well as the lay brothers Fray Joseph Albadadejo and Fray Joseph Pita.[25]

Although the governor arrived firmly resolved to continue the march on Holy Saturday, he postponed the journey upon being informed that the horses were exhausted by the rigors of the past winter, and that they could not complete such a long journey without being given time to regain their strength. Neither did he wish to miss celebrating Holy Week in so suitable a place. Yielding to the persuasive and powerful arguments of the fathers, [his lordship's] holy zeal recognized that it was not only appropriate but necessary for establishing the holy

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22. The villa and presidio of San Antonio had been founded by the Alarcón expedition on May 5, 1718.

23. Mission San Antonio de Valero had its beginnings as San Francisco Solano when it was founded adjacent to San Juan Bautista near the Río Grande in Coahuila, in 1700. It initially attracted the Xarames, Siabanes, and Payuguanes, some of whom migrated with the mission when it was moved north to the San Antonio River. The mission was renamed San Antonio de Valero on May 1, 1718, by the Querétaran friar Antonio de Buenaventura de Olivares. The Pamaya and Payaya, nomadic groups from the vicinity, were the first gentiles to be brought into the mission.

24. Fray Joseph Rodríguez became the minister of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches when it was reoccupied during this expedition. He later (April 5, 1737) founded Mission San Francisco Vizarrón for the Pausanes in Coahuila.

25. Brother Joseph Pita was killed by Apaches in central Texas before the expedition reached Tejas country. At the time, he was with a detachment escorting provisions for the reoccupation of the settlements.

Catholic faith among so many heathens that all the soldiers, as good Christians, cooperate through their example in complying with the precepts of the church. With the additional circumstance that most of the men had not been confessed during the preceding year—some having been levied in that time and others already on the march—the stay in this town was prolonged that [the fathers] might cultivate their souls by sowing the word of God through holy mission and the preaching of many sermons. To the great consolation of all, the fathers reaped abundant fruit, as much in the pulpit as in their loving and continuous presence in the confessional.

In the interim, so as not to idle the troops that were in the king's service, and for the welfare of these two provinces, the governor addressed various matters, all very important. As these two provinces were lacking salt, he sent a company of forty soldiers to discover some salt beds that from Indian reports were believed to be very near.[26] They did not succeed in finding the principal salt bed they sought, however. After traveling fifty leagues they ascertained from the Indians' reports that it was still some forty leagues distant, and that its discovery would be pointless not only because of the distance, but because many tribes of very warlike Indians live in those regions, Indians who have repeatedly prevented fifty, and even sixty, armed men from the Nuevo Reino de León from taking the salt, with many deaths on both sides. Although twenty-two days were ill-spent in reconnoitering a great deal of land, this trip was not entirely wasted. On their return [the soldiers] found two almost adjacent salt beds four days' journey from San Antonio, and another beside the camino real from the Río Grande. These were now inundated due to this year's unusual rains, but the Indians who live there assured the soldiers that in dry seasons the beds have very good salt, as was evident from the sample the Indians brought, which, according to what they said, had been gathered this last January.

Greatly concerned over not having heard any news from the company of forty soldiers he had dispatched from the Río Grande with the detachment under Captain Don Joseph Ramón,[27] which had departed from San Antonio on March 10 to settle La Bahía de Espíritu Santo, the governor sent out four trustworthy Indians on Good Friday. On April 18, a lieutenant and four soldiers sent by Captain Don Joseph Ramón arrived in San Antonio with the happy news that they had taken possession of the bay. The holy cross and the royal standards were raised in the

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26. The salt beds were probably El Sal del Rey in Hidalgo County and La Sal Vieja, located about twenty-seven kilometers farther east in Willacy County, both almost due south of San Antonio. It is known that Spaniards in Texas and Mexico were exploiting the beds in 1768, hauling the substance over the "salt road" to Reynosa, Tamaulipas. These beds would probably be some 340 kilometers from San Antonio, rather than the expected 200 to 250. This was territory of the coastal Karankawan peoples, who were hostile to tribes from the interior.

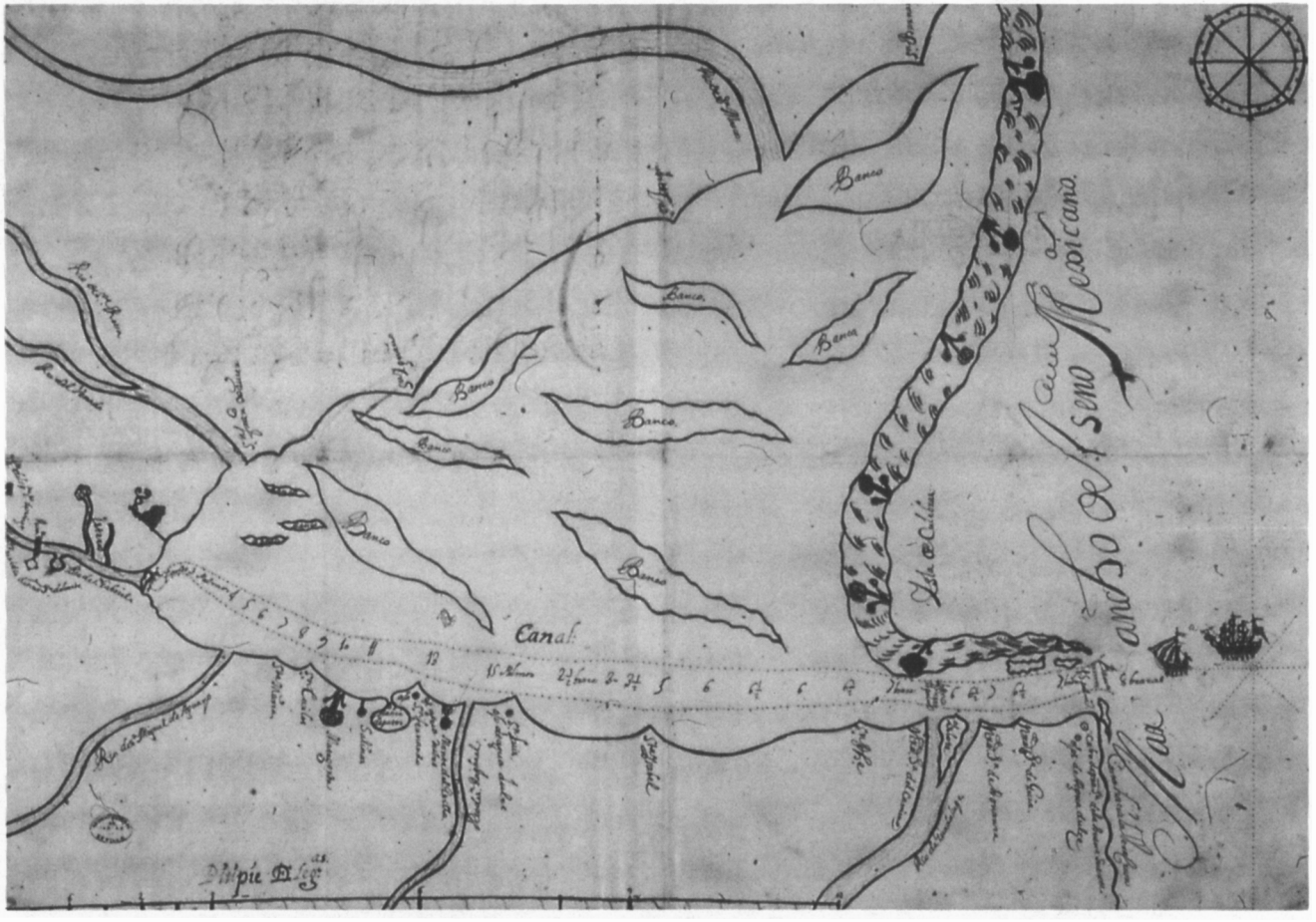
27. Joseph Domingo Ramón was one of two sons of Captain Diego Ramón, longtime captain of the presidio of the Río Grande and interim governor (1691–1693) of Coahuila. Domingo Ramón remained at the presidio of La Bahía as commandant until his death in 1723. The year after occupying La Bahía (1722) Ramón founded the mission of Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga and the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, both located at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo.

name of our majesty the king on the feast of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. The journey from San Antonio had taken thirty-two days because the Indian guide they took with them was uncertain of the route, and they also were delayed by having to cross two mighty rivers. The lieutenant's return to San Antonio in six days, however, suggests that it should be no more than sixty leagues to the bay—which they say is very beautiful and capable of sheltering many ships in its bosom, although it has not yet been sounded, for lack of any wood nearby with which to make a boat. The news was celebrated with the merriment befitting so essential and important a finding, inasmuch as defense of that entrance is the key to accomplishing the discovery of the entire province, and any assistance needed can come in a few days from Veracruz.

With this announcement of the bay's occupation, the marqués dispatched a messenger to the viceroy on April 26, to take the news to his excellency and to inform him that [the marqués] was ready to continue the journey. At the same time he advised his excellency that although the soldiers' pay was quite good, it was not sufficient for their support if the transportation of provisions continued by land. There was the risk of running out, due to the unpredictability of the rivers and the distance of four hundred leagues between Los Adáes and Saltillo or Parras, from whence the provisions were then being conducted. In consideration of this he begged permission of his excellency to bring the provisions from Veracruz to La Bahía,[28] offering, if merely given license by his excellency, to pay for the purchase or charter of a sloop to convey whatever was currently needed to supply the province, in which manner an important maritime route would be discovered. His lordship assured his excellency that, assuming his excellency would grant this permission, he had written at the same time to his agent in Mexico to buy or charter the sloop, and to send with utmost haste provisions of flour, corn, and other things that he requested.

After dispatching the messenger, his lordship visited on one day the mission of San Antonio de Valero, next to the presidio, and on another day the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, which his lordship had established a year earlier, congregating three tribes of Indians about a league and a half downriver from the presidio. At both missions, he distributed to all the natives garments and other articles they value highly; he clothed 240 Indians, including women and children, at the mission of San Antonio de Valero, and 227 at the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo. Then he also clothed the fifty Indian [men] and the women and children who had accompanied Captain Juan Rodríguez from Ranchería Grande to request a mission for themselves and for others of his following in the said ranchería. The marqués was informed of the insurmountable difficulties such a large pack train would encounter on the route that up to now had been used to reach Tejas, problems caused by the lakes and the swollen rivers of the Monte Grande (so called because it is many leagues in width and twenty leagues in

28. La Bahía had been used in 1691 to supply the Terán-Mazanet entrada by sea. Had the less expensive sea route been utilized to keep the east Texas missions adequately supplied, the history of Texas might have been quite different. The crown, however, did not wish to establish a port that would have encouraged illicit trade. All trade to New Spain (on the east coast) was through Veracruz.



The Bay of Espíritu Santo, 1722. (Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 111)

length), as well as by its tangled ruggedness; there was no open road. His lordship considered this news and finally charged the Indian Juan Rodríguez with guiding them through good country that was open and level, and where they would cross many arroyos and rivers that were divided in numerous branches. On the lower road, these waters joined to form swollen rivers that were impossible to cross, owing to this winter's copious rains. They would also avoid the Monte Grande by riding along its edge. All of these arguments were presented in a council of war called for that purpose by his lordship, in which it was unanimously resolved to explore this new route, taking the said Juan Rodríguez and other Indians as guides.

In the meantime, many forays were made by various squadrons the marqués sent out to keep the Indians who then infested the territory in check. Two days before his lordship arrived in San Antonio some droves of mules were stolen three leagues from the presidio, and in the skirmish [that ensued] the Indians killed a muleteer and wounded a soldier. His lordship ordered these excursions also in the belief that the Indians might be Apaches, giving instructions to try to bring in alive all those encountered, to entertain them, and to urge the important confederation between their great nation, which extends as far as New Mexico [and ours]. On May 10, recognizing that the horses had regained their strength, his lordship ordered the march to recommence on [May] 13. Because they were about to enter a land under risk of enemy attack, he gave orders that, for the entire journey, whichever company was on guard would march in a picket, with the baggage, horse herds, mule droves, and livestock in the same formation as previously; another company would cover the line of march.

Aguayo resumed his march to the Tejas country on Tuesday, May 13, 1721. Guided by Juan Rodríguez of the Ranchería Grande, they followed a more northerly course than ones used by previous expeditions, to try and avoid the flooded rivers of the lower road. Their route probably paralleled modern Interstate Highway 35, which links San Antonio, New Braunfels, San Marcos, Austin, Temple, and Waco, until they changed their bearing eastward to Tejas country. The route above the San Marcos took them through the eastern edge of the Apachería, a danger that caused them to travel together. Peña noticed the richness of the land: fields of wildflowers, extensive mesquite and pecan groves, oaks, junipers, mulberries, cottonwoods, and grapevines. He also observed the abundance of deer, prairie chickens, turkeys, wild Castilian cattle, and the buffalo that kept the party fed along the way (more than one hundred were shot). Their progress was slowed by the usual violent thunderstorms and heavy rains of a Texas spring, with the consequent flooding of streams. About 750 bushels of corn were ruined by the dampness. Several rivers could be crossed only by constructing bridges or rafts. With the exception of the entry for May 23, which recorded one of the most detailed descriptions of the bison penned by any Spaniard, the narrative is truncated to the entry for July 8, when the expedition finally found the Indians from the Ranchería Grande about fifteen miles short of the Trinity River.

Friday, [May] 23. Continuing the march to the northeast, we immediately crossed the Río de Garrapatas by means of a line of large stones that spans the river, forming a beautiful waterfall year-round. The river had risen so much after the storm of the prior afternoon that it had been impassable. The entire route was open, with low hills, as far as the wooded ground along the Río de San Marcos,[29] the banks of which were luxuriant with a great variety of trees and vines. The flow of the river was twice as large as the ones previously crossed, the source being very wide, and it was necessary to lighten the pack loads. For this reason, and because taking the livestock across cost almost the entire day, we had to halt some three-quarters of a league past the river in a small arroyo, where there was good camping ground with shade trees and many mulberries and blackberries (double the size of those in Spain). Bison tracks were found, and a party was dispatched that procured a great beast. The bison, or Mexican bull, as it was called by the first Spaniards, is monstrous, the crow of the animals. It is a mixture: its back is curved like the camel, its flank is lean, and its tail is short and hairless like the pig—except for the tip, which has the same long wool that covers the entire skin, dark and short (although not as fine as that of the bear). It is bearded like the goat, and its neck and forehead have a mane one-half vara long like that of a lion, which almost covers its very large and black eyes. Its foot is cloven and its forehead is armored, like the bull whose ferocity it duplicates, although it is much more powerful and swift. Its meat is quite savory, like that of the best cow. The march having been three leagues, it was observed that we were at 30° [latitude].

[Entries between May 24 and July 7 have been omitted.]

Tuesday, July 8. We continued in an east-northeasterly direction over uneven terrain of sparse woodland with hills and small clearings, and built a bridge over the San Fernando Arroyo. The battalion journeyed as far as a small arroyo that his lordship named Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, at the point of egress from an extensive plain six leagues distant from Santa Clara. We halted at this place to search for the huts of Tejas Indians reported to be nearby.

The governor had dispatched a party of soldiers that morning, and with them, as one experienced, went President Fray Isidro with two other clergymen. Following a path that led south from the main road for three leagues, they found some Tejas fields. As they did not see any huts, they called out in the language of the said Indians, who responded from the direction of the woods. Crossing an arroyo they met some Indians, mostly from the Ranchería Grande (whose leader, Juan Rodríguez, traveled with the party [of soldiers]). [The Indians] all received them with great pleasure. They moved on to the huts of these Indians, which were not far away, and recognized there some Indians of the Vidays and Agdocas tribes, to-

29. Peña's "San Marcos" was actually the Colorado. Since the expedition's course had been more northerly than previous routes, they did not cross the Guadalupe as imagined, but its two tributaries: the Comal (which they called the Guadalupe) and the San Marcos (which they called the San Ybon). The Garrapatas is apparently a small stream that flows into the latter river.

gether with the entire Ranchería Grande.[30] At the same time, having found fresh tracks of Indians and hearing loud yells, the picket halted and the captain dispatched the alférez to give this news to the governor, who was coming at the front of the battalion. His lordship broke away in great haste with a company, giving orders for the rest of the companies to follow. Upon reaching the place where the picket had stopped, he ordered a halt. His lordship followed the Indian tracks that had been spotted along a well-traveled path, and at about a league's distance he found the party he had dispatched that morning, which was with the Indians. At the sound of the horn and the unfurling of the royal standard, the Indians came forth with a white silk banner with blue stripes that had been acquired from the French, marching on foot and firing salutes with muskets, which many of them carried. They were approaching the governor with indications of submission and reverence, and his lordship ordered them to place their banner beneath the royal standard, as a sign that they were rendering their obedience to our lord the king (may God protect him) and that his majesty would admit them into his royal favor, which they were happy to do. From horseback he placed his hands on the heads of all the Indians, by this sign confirming that they—men, women, and children, altogether perhaps some two hundred persons—must render obedience. This done, his lordship dismounted at the hut of a leader and told them through an interpreter that he came in peace, and whatever was appropriate to tell them of the reason for his coming. Returning to the site of the said encampment, a distance of one league, he waited for the Indians who had been hunting to return in the afternoon. They came on horseback, together with the others, firing salutes with their muskets as they arrived at our camp. The governor received them graciously, and saw them off content with some handfuls of tobacco to share with their women and children.

Wednesday, July 9. The leaders came with many Indians from the ranchería to see the governor, who, after cajoling them again, gave them one head of cattle so that their people might eat. He admonished them to keep the peace, inasmuch as Spanish protection also sheltered them, and ordered them to retire farther beyond the Brazos de Dios, to where they used to live, promising that upon his return from Tejas he would build them a mission near San Antonio. They responded that they would do as he said. Informed by these Indians that the Río de la Trinidad, some five leagues distant, was flooded, his lordship told them to go to the place on its bank where they were going to cross, and there he would give them clothing and other gifts. The trumpet sounded the signal to mount, and his lordship, so that the Indians would be loyal to the Spaniards out of love and fear, ordered the battalion to form a square. Having been requested to ride his horse in the Spanish

30. The various tribes usually associated with the Ranchería Grande were the Hierbipiamo, Ticmamar, Mesquite, Pamaya, Payaya, Cantona, Mescal, Xarame, and Sijame. The Bidais (here Vidays) were a tribe of Attacapans who spoke a dialect of Tunican. Their territory was three days south of the Hasinai along the Trinity River in present Walker, Madison, and Trinity Counties. They were an agricultural people who were known to trade their furs at Natchitoches. The related "Agdocas" were probably the Akokisas (Orcoquisacs), who dwelt on the lower Trinity and San Jacinto Rivers and the shores of Galveston Bay.

manner, to impress the Indians with the advantages of a horsemanship that they had never seen, the governor maneuvered masterfully with all the different turns and styles that are customary, and stunned the Indians. He then placed himself at the head of the battalion to continue the march, and the companies left, filing out by rank. We proceeded in an east-northeasterly direction through open woodlands with tall trees, encountering some clearings every so often. Crossing two muddy arroyos, into which many loads of cargo fell, we reached the Linares Valley. There the route shifted to the northeast, passing by two lakes and the flowing Santa Rosa Arroyo, and through some clearings and woods of oaks, walnuts, and pines. We arrived at the Río de la Trinidad, where we made camp among the trees about one musket shot from the river, the march having been five leagues.

[July 10 to 24] Thursday, July 10. Recognizing that the swollen state of the river would continue, the governor ordered two rafts built. One was made by the Indians of the Ranchería Grande from dry logs and reeds, in their customary manner, and was completed in two days, although it did not prove adequate for the rapid current. On their first attempt to cross with it the Indians became tired, and they realized the impossibility of crossing with it. The very large raft of logs and barrels built by the soldiers was tested, [but it was found that] the river crossing would be very laborious and greatly delayed, and the loads of clothing and provisions would become wet. The missionaries told the governor that in quitting the province after the French invasion they had built a boat that they left in an arroyo about a league from the other side of the river. The governor sent soldiers to check whether it still existed. Although the search took two days, they found it beached in the arroyo. When his lordship heard the news, he dispatched troops and carpenters to make rollers and yokes, and also oxen that he had had the foresight to bring. The difficulty in bringing the boat overland was such that putting it in the river took four days. Immediately three companies were crossed, followed by the entire train of cargo, livestock, and horse herds, and then the rest of the battalion. The delay for all this was sixteen days, during which time the leaders of the Ranchería Grande came with some Indians. His lordship gave them clothing and other things, besides supplying them with provisions for the days they were there. After specially outfitting the leaders, he sent clothing, knives, and other things they value highly for the entire ranchería. The soldier Nicolás de los Santos, because he was multilingual, went with the leaders for the general distribution, carrying the goods in two mule loads. He perceived the Indians to be very grateful. Likewise, four Tejas and Ygodosas Indians came to this site.[31] The governor presented them with gifts and special clothing so that, since they promptly set out for Tejas, they would spread the news of the friendly manner in which the Spaniards entered [their country]. Once everything was across, we camped one league from the river, beyond San Juan Arroyo—for which crossing his lordship, having antic-

31. The "Ygodosas" were apparently the Deodosas, who appear to have been a subdivision of the Bidais. They lived along the Trinity between their kinsmen and the Tejas. The Tejas believed that the Bidais had especially strong medicine with which they could cause sickness that was shot from a bow and entered the body "as a sharp thing like a dart." The antidote for such a bewitchment was to invoke Bidai shamans themselves, who would manifest themselves as owls.

ipated that the horses would have to swim the arroyo, had built in advance a bridge fifteen varas long and three and a half wide.

Friday, July 25. We were necessarily detained in order to stow away the boat, which was floated upstream and pulled up on land along an arroyo, in order to leave it safe from the floods. On this day the chief of the Aynays [Ainai] tribe (whom all the nations of Tejas recognize as their superior) arrived with eight Indian leaders and four Indian women. Among them was Angelina, an Indian woman who was raised on the Río Grande and in Coahuila and who served as interpreter because she could speak the Castilian language as well as that of the Tejas. The Indian chief's explanation was for the most part tears of joy at the coming of the Spaniards, to the extent that he was overcome with sobs for a while. Then he burst out that, having had news that we had arrived fifteen days earlier at the Río de la Trinidad, and impatient at the lengthy delay, he had set out to receive us. He mourned the absence of the Spaniards when the fathers and Captain Ramón left Tejas, and the long time before their return, which he had been awaiting, to the extent that he would have gone willingly to seek us in San Antonio if we had delayed longer. The governor responded with esteem corresponding to the chief's goodwill, declaring the love that his majesty (may God protect him) showed the Tejas in sending the Spaniards to keep them in peace and defend them from all their enemies, and in sending missionaries to instruct them in our holy Catholic faith. After presenting [the chief] with a complete costume consisting of a long coat, jacket, woolen trousers, and so forth, and giving him a silver-headed cane, [his lordship] named him captain and governor of the Tejas Indians; he likewise clothed all the other men and women whom the chief brought in his company.

Saturday, July 26. The journey proceeded by a northeasterly route through sparse woods of pines, walnuts, mixed oaks, and vines. Two arroyos were crossed, and we came to a halt at Santa Efigenia Arroyo, the march that day having been four leagues. The captain of the Tejas and the rest of the Indians followed, astonished at seeing so many Spaniards and such a train of cargo and livestock.

Sunday, July 27. The governor continued to the east-northeast over uneven terrain with groves of walnuts, pines, and chestnuts, and crossed two running arroyos. [He traveled] as far as [the arroyo] of Santa Coleta, where the day's journey of seven leagues was concluded in a beautiful clearing. That afternoon Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa went on ahead with the captain of the Tejas, who wanted to go to prepare a reception with his Indians at the site of the first mission.

Monday, July 28. The journey followed the same east-northeasterly route over the same kind of sparsely wooded land as far as the site of San Pedro, where the presidio and mission (beyond which the Spaniards had not traveled) were built during the first entrada in 1690. We advanced no more than three leagues, there being a comfortable site here and no other appropriate one until the Río de los Neches. On this day the Indian men and women from the nearby rancherías came to the camp with their children, bearing gifts of ears of green corn, watermelons, *pinole*, and beans. The governor received them kindly and clothed them entirely, and they returned very pleased and gratified. At the same time, the captain of the Neches arrived with sixty Indian men and women, who entered the camp firing salutes with their guns and whom the governor welcomed with great pleasure. After having made the signs of peace (whereby all [smoke] from the same pipe,

their tobacco mixed with ours), the leader expressed the rejoicing occasioned by the arrival of the Spaniards, and he promised that he and all of his [people] would continue to be grateful for the benevolence they had experienced from the Spaniards, which they hoped would continue. The governor assured them of this by means of the interpreter Angelina, explaining to them the reason for his arrival. He held off clothing them until he reached the mission of San Francisco (in which vicinity they live), giving them only meat and corn in abundance, that they might eat that night and the following day. At nightfall a Frenchman arrived, sent by Captain Luis de San Dionisio from the capital of Tejas, where Mission Concepción used to stand, to inform the governor that if given safe conduct, [Dionisio], as commander of the French army in this frontier, would come to present the orders that he had from Mobile. The governor replied that he could come in all safety and dispatched a messenger immediately, although he couldn't set out until the following morning.

Tuesday, July 29. The governor set out to the northeast, over open terrain with the same landscape of sparse trees, hills, and gullies and across a plain to a lake fed by a spring of sweet water, next to which the first presidio was built during the entrada of 1716. The day's march concluded on the banks of the Río de los Neches after traveling [only] four leagues. Finding the river very flooded, the marqués ordered a bridge built. This bridge, the construction of which took six days, was thirty-two varas in length and four in width, and so well made and durable that it was given the blessing of the church.

Wednesday, July 30. One hundred Indians arrived, women and children among them; they live in the Nacono, five leagues distant, and belonged to the first mission of San Francisco de los Neches.[32] Their leader, who is also the chief priest of their idols, is blind; presumably, after having led [his people] for many years he blinded himself, as is customary among the Indians, in order to become their chief priest. With the greatest power, natural eloquence, and sign language, he made a long speech to his lordship, expressing utmost joy at the return of the Spaniards. To further show his love, he stated that what they most esteemed was God, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the Spaniards, and that water, land, air, and fire did not compare.[33] The governor responded through the interpreter Nicolás de los Santos (a soldier who was in the first entrada of Domingo Ramón and who was very fluent in the [spoken] language and the signs), that he was most appre-

32. Named San Francisco de los Tejas, it was established in 1690. This first Spanish mission in Texas was moved by Ramón in late September or early October 1716, and renamed Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas.

33. The high priest, known as the *chenesi*, was the keeper of the perpetual fire maintained in the principal temple, which was located midway between the Neches and Hasinai villages. The fires in subsidiary temples were fed from that of the main one. The Caddoan peoples believed in a supreme being called the Caddiayo or Grand Caddi, who dwelled in the heavens. All the things mentioned—tangible and intangible—were considered aspects or faces of this great force. The priest ranked the sky beings first, probably because of their proximity to the Caddiayo, but those of the earth were of no lesser value, because all were simply different manifestations of God. It is of interest that the priest was attempting to flatter the Spaniards but could not quite bring himself to rank them directly behind the Great Spirit.

ciative of the chief's affectionate words. He explained that his majesty's aims in sending so many Spaniards were to establish peace in this vast province and to leave it fortified with many Spaniards who would remain. Moreover, if it were ever necessary, many more [Spaniards] would come to defend [the Indians] from all their enemies, and they no longer need fear some future invasion. Also, by means of the missionaries who came, the Catholic religion was to be established for their welfare. The leader was so happy with this that, rising up, he delivered a long and fervent speech to all his people, repeating to them the answer his lordship had given, and he persuaded them that they should live in great friendship with the Spaniards and that they should accompany them in any wars that might occur. They would give the Spaniards a feast, hunting turkeys, deer, and bears and bringing them all the foods that they themselves eat.

Thursday, July 31. They brought the governor tamales, watermelons, ears of green corn, pinole, and beans. That day his lordship clothed all the men, women, and children in cloth, baize, coarse woolen cloth, *quexquemiles*,[34] and ribbons, and he further presented them with glass beads, razors, large knives, earrings, rings, mirrors, combs, awls, scissors, chains, and blankets in which were wrapped the clothing for each one, along with the rest of the items mentioned, which they highly valued. To the leader he gave a silver-headed cane and distinctive apparel in the Spanish style, and he gave to the leader's wife double what was given to the rest. All were very pleased and gratified. The same day, having swum his horse across the river, Captain Luis de San Dionisio arrived at the camp and was received by the governor with appropriate courtesy and gravity. [San Dionisio] remarked that he was very fatigued from the sun and the journey, and his lordship granted his request that he be allowed to rest, taking lodging that night with the missionaries.

Friday, August 1. After hearing Mass the governor sent for Captain Luis. He received him with the lieutenant general and the captains, and asked him to state his reason for coming. [Captain Luis] replied that his purpose was to declare that, if his lordship would do the same, he, as commander of the French forces for the entire frontier, would observe most amicably the truce that had been announced in Spain between the two crowns,[35] consistent with the peace that must already have been established, according to the letters he had received from France. His lordship responded that, in accordance with the orders he brought, he would maintain the truce, provided the captain would immediately evacuate the entire province of Tejas. He should withdraw to Nachitoos [Natchitoches] with the rest of the French, and should not impede or try to impede, directly or indirectly, the restoration that, at all costs, his lordship was to make to the royal crown of all it

34. A *quexquémil* is a triangular, waist-length garment worn by women of certain Indian tribes in Mexico.

35. Peace had been restored between Spain and France by the Treaty of the Hague in February 1720, and in March 1721 was sealed by the betrothal of Louis XV and the Infanta María-Anna-Vittoria, the daughter of the Spanish king Philip V by his first wife. From his short letter to the king, written upon his return to Coahuila (June 13, 1722), in which he announced his accomplishments, it is apparent that the marqués was unaware of the treaty until St. Denis informed him of the event.

had possessed, up to and including Los Adáes. The captain agreed to everything, although one could discern his regret (which he tried to disguise) that we would recover Los Adáes. This area is coveted by the French, being very important to them for communication with the presidio they have among the Cadodachos, which facilitates passage to New Mexico.[36] Exaggerating the unhealthy [climate] of Los Adáes and its uselessness for farming (even though we could not fail to know about the climate because we had founded the mission of San Miguel[37] there, which they invaded; we could not be ignorant of the quality and excellence of that land), he took his leave, promising to withdraw with his people to Natchitoches without delay.

Saturday, August 2. The governor dispatched a detachment, whose horses swam the river, with Fray Joseph Guerra to the mission of San Francisco, and another with the apostolic preachers Fray Gabriel Vergara and Fray Benito Sánchez[38] to the mission of Concepción,[39] to rebuild the churches and living quarters of the clergy at both missions. Until this day, when they separated, the fathers had celebrated seven Masses every day during the journey, with eight on feast days, and every Sunday they delivered a missionary sermon for the great enlightenment of all, with the presidents of the two colleges alternating. Crosses were erected in every camp after San Antonio to exalt [the faith] in the midst of so much idolatry, and to leave symbols of peace for the Apaches, who consider them as such and know by them that the Spaniards have been there.

Sunday, August 3. With the bridge finished, all the companies, baggage, droves, and livestock crossed very readily, bound for the east-northeast. We camped next to Mission San Francisco, where the presidio had been located the second time it was moved, in 1716. The day's journey was only two short leagues.

Monday, August 4. The governor dispatched new reinforcements of men to

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36. St. Denis had established the first French trading post in western Louisiana at Natchitoches in 1713. When the Ramón expedition established six missions and a presidio in east Texas in 1716, and talked of founding an outpost among the Cadodacho, French authorities were much alarmed at this occupation of what they considered to be western Louisiana. In order to beat the Spaniards to the draw, Bernard de la Harpe ascended the Red River from Natchitoches in 1719, and established a trading post some distance above the other. By this time, the French trade in guns with Plains tribes was causing serious repercussions throughout the Southwest in general, and in the Spanish and Indian settlements of New Mexico in particular. The first French traders to reach New Mexico arrived by way of the Platte and Upper Arkansas Rivers in 1730. Intertribal warfare prevented French traders from Louisiana from reaching Santa Fe until the 1750s.

37. San Miguel de Linares had been established for the Adáes by Domingo Ramón and Fray Margíl de Jesús in August 1716. It was located near present-day Robeline, Louisiana, some twelve or fourteen kilometers from the French post at Natchitoches. This was the mission that was taken by the French in 1719.

38. Fray Benito Sánchez, of the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, had been appointed minister of the new mission of San Joseph de los Nasonis when it was founded in 1716.

39. Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainai had been established by the Ramón expedition in 1716, with Fray Gabriel Vergara as its minister.

finish the work on Mission San Francisco, so that on the following day we might celebrate the reestablishment of the holy Catholic faith that had been abolished in the land of the Tejas.

Tuesday, August 5. Knowing that the church and the living quarters for the missionaries were completed, the governor went with the entire battalion to reestablish the mission of San Francisco de los Neches, commonly known as de los Tejas.[40] The ceremony was performed in a solemn celebration consisting of high Mass sung by the reverend Fray Antonio Margíl and a general salute from all the companies during the Mass, with pealing bells, trumpets, and drums. At the conclusion of the ceremony, which was attended by all the marveling Indians, they knelt in front of the altar at the suggestion of the reverend Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, president of the missions of the holy College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro. While [everyone was] congregated in the living quarters of the fathers, in their presence and that of all the captains and officials of the battalion, his lordship, on behalf of our lord the king (may God protect him), named as captain of the Neches one whom all the Indians unanimously acclaimed, giving him a cane and an entire suit in the Spanish style. He completely clothed 158 men, women, and children,[41] who were extremely pleased, never having received so much or such a widespread distribution. By means of the father president, he told them that his coming was motivated principally by his majesty's zeal and desire for the salvation of their souls, and that his majesty would accept them under his royal and kindly protection, defending them from all their enemies. His lordship made them see that the gifts those enemies [the French] had given them were motivated by interest in their tanned hides, bison, and horses, and primarily because they might give them women and children as slaves, while his majesty the king (may God protect him) not only did not ask them for anything, but gave to them in abundance, as they had just seen, desiring only that they enter the fold of the church. (The governor had not wanted to receive even one tanned hide, that there might not be the slightest obligation of recompense.) He made them understand well that for this it was necessary that they congregate and join together in the said mission, forming a pueblo according to Spanish custom, which he called San Francisco de Valero. Things could not be as they were before, when they had not congregated; this time they would have to do so without fail. Informed of all this by the said father president, who is well versed in their language, they responded unanimously and in agreement that they would do so after harvesting the corn that they had in the fields. In order that they might carry out his instructions while the governor advanced to Los Adáes, the father president asked his lordship to grant the Indians possession of lands and water suitable for their permanent residence, to which request he acquiesced, granting these things in the name of

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40. During this expedition the mission was moved for the third time, east of the Neches River and ten kilometers west of present Alto in Cherokee County. It was rededicated under the name San Francisco de los Neches. Fray Espinosa, president of the missions, appointed Joseph Guerra as its resident minister. The mission was destined to be moved two more times, finally to the San Antonio River.

41. The copy of the *Derrotero* in the Biblioteca Nacional de México recorded 188 Indians.

his majesty. He executed all acts of possession and left as missionary the preaching father Fray Joseph Guerra of the College of Santa Cruz, whom the president of the said college had presented for the position. Having told Fray Joseph that he relied upon his zeal to convert those souls in the shortest time possible, his lordship continued the march in a direction between northeast and east-northeast. We traveled through thin groves of towering oaks and mulberry trees, crossing two rivers and two plains, as far as a running arroyo at the beginning of another plain, which was larger than the preceding ones. As we had been detained at the mission until about midday, it was very late and his lordship called a halt at the said arroyo, which, along with the campsite, he named Nuestra Señora de las Nieves. We traveled four leagues today.

Wednesday, August 6. Continuing the same route through the same landscape of woods and plains, we crossed an arroyo, and after traversing level country for about two leagues, we found a small river whose permanent water was so high for most of the year that the Indians kept a canoe there for crossing it, although now it was not necessary. As this river, which is less than half a league from the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, did not have a name, his lordship called it Santa Bárbara. We advanced a league farther to avoid damaging the planted fields of the nearby settlements, camping where the presidio of Domingo Ramón[42] was located at the time the missions were abandoned; the day's march was five leagues. The same afternoon his lordship sent new reinforcements of men to repair the church—as it was the only mission church that was not entirely destroyed—and to build two living quarters for the fathers. As soon as his lordship arrived, the Indian Juan Rodríguez reported the information he had acquired. After he returned from meeting his lordship at the Río Neches, Captain Luis de San Dionisio had lingered for three days about seven leagues from the mission. He was with the Cadodachos and other nations of this province, whom he had called together during the winter for the purpose of reestablishing sovereignty over La Bahía del Espíritu Santo and proceeding from there to San Antonio. This cloud had vanished, however, with the arrival of the Spaniards.

Thursday, August 7. The Indians were very pleased with the order the governor gave that no damage was to be done to the cornfields, under penalty of severe punishment, and they were even more pleased later on when they saw that the order was obeyed. On this day the church was completed, and the artillery was prepared for the celebration.

Friday, August 8. The governor proceeded to the mission with the entire battalion and the two companies of Don Alonso de Cárdenas and Don Juan Cortinas. As soon as he arrived, he presented the chief of the Tejas with the best clothing he had, made of blue fabric embroidered with much gold, and with a waistcoat of gold and silver fabric and everything else needed to be completely dressed. The ten companies formed three files in front of the church, and the cannons were placed between these and the battalion to fire the three general salutes during the Mass, which was sung by the most reverend president of the missions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, Fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús. The sermon was preached by

42. Ramón's presidio is that of San Francisco de los Tejas.

the very reverend Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, president of the missions of the College of Santa Cruz, with great eloquence and tenderness arising from joy at seeing the mission and the holy Catholic faith reestablished. The function was attended by a great many Indians of various nations, among them some eighty Cadodachos, who were under French dominion[43] and had come to the aforesaid convocation with the Tejas, whose leader lives at this mission. The firing of the artillery, with the companies' volleys in concert, created substantial wonder among them all, and at the sight of so many Spaniards they were somewhat astonished and pleased. After the Mass concluded, all the leaders of the tribes that had attended, and many men and women as well, entered one of the dwellings of the fathers to see his lordship. Each of the Tejas women brought a small gift of the food that they themselves eat: beans, ears of green corn, pinole, and tamales. His lordship demonstrated his high esteem for their goodwill and pledged again the love the Spaniards had always had for them, assuring them that this time many in his company came to stay. Mindful of the earlier entradas, the Indians were doubtful of this and feared that they would be abandoned as before. He satisfied them, however, that the Spaniards would defend them from all their enemies. Knowing that Cheocas, leader of the Tejas, had a great following, the governor told him to assemble all his people—men, women, and children—that he might present them with clothing and other things and explain to them his majesty's intention in having sent so many Spaniards. Because they were scattered at distant rancherías, Cheocas responded that he would assemble them, leaving at home only those necessary. Next, his lordship celebrated the day with a splendid feast that he provided for all the fathers and captains. After eating, the father president requested title of possession for his college and on behalf of the Indians. His lordship granted the same with all solemnity to the father, as well as to the chief Cheocas; the aforesaid father president and the apostolic preacher Fray Gabriel Vergara were to remain as missionaries. In the afternoon, his lordship returned to camp with all the companies.

Saturday, August 9. His lordship dispatched a lieutenant and a detachment to go with the apostolic preacher Fray Benito Sánchez, the missionary destined for the San Joseph de los Nasonis mission, which is eight leagues north of Concepción. They were to build the church and the living quarters of the fathers, both of which were in ruins. We traveled eight leagues.

Sunday, August 10. The governor sent another detachment with the very reverend Fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, president of the missions of the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and other clergy to build the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, which was eight leagues distant from this camp. No signs remained of either the church or the living quarters of the fathers.

Monday, August 11. The captain governor of the Tejas, having assembled all of the Ainais, who belong to the Concepción mission, as well as the eighty Cadodachos, came with all of them, many with muskets, to his lordship's camp. His

43. The Cadodachos were confederated tribes living on the Red River. They had been trading partners with the French since 1713.

lordship presented them with the same argument he had given the other Indians, that they should congregate into pueblos. When they promised to do so once the crops were harvested, he gave them clothing, completely dressing four hundred Indians according to their fashion and presenting each one with gifts they highly value: razors, scissors, combs, mirrors, awls, chains, ribbons, necklaces, *chochomite*, belts, glass beads, earrings, and rings. He clothed two leaders who came with the Cadodachos, and gave them a bundle of clothing and the aforementioned goods to distribute among their Indians. The governor made this display to predispose them toward the Spaniards, and because they were allied with the Tejas. All were very gratified and content.

Tuesday, August 12. In order to rest the horses, the governor left the battalion at this camp and went with one company to the mission of San Joseph de los Nasonis, which is eight leagues away. The Indians there received him with many indications of gladness.

Wednesday, August 13. The restoration of the mission was celebrated with a high Mass and repeated salutes from the company. After Mass, the business of granting possession to the father president and to the leader of the Nasoni Indians was accomplished with the same solemnity as at the other two missions. While all the Indians were assembled—men, women, and children—his lordship named as captain the one they had so recognized, giving him the insignia of a silver-headed cane. Through an interpreter, he explained to them the purpose of his arrival and, as he had done at the other missions, persuaded them to assemble together in a pueblo. They promised to do so, and his lordship then clothed the captain in Spanish style in an entire suit of Castilian cloth. He clothed all the rest, omitting no one, in the same manner and with the same kinds of garments as he had at the other missions. As he had done at the previous missions he left with Fray Benito Sánchez, missionary for this mission, the distribution for those Indians who acknowledged the mission but were absent because they remained to guard their cornfields and houses. At this mission three hundred Indians were clothed, who were so pleased that all day they brought squashes, watermelons, ears of green corn, and pinole.

Thursday, August 14. The governor returned to the camp to rejoin the battalion.

Friday, August 15. After the feast of the Assumption had been celebrated very early in the morning his lordship left the company of Captain Juan Cortinas, composed of twenty-five soldiers, reestablished in its old presidio, located one league from the mission. This company was to protect and assist the missions. He set off to the east-northeast with the entire battalion, through thin woodlands of walnuts, pines, and oaks, coming upon a quite open spot with a large gully and an abundant spring. As the arroyo had no name, it was given that of La Asunción de Nuestra Señora. Here we made camp after a journey of four leagues.

Saturday, August 16. His lordship continued in the same east–northeasterly direction, through the same kind of terrain and woods to the site of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches, which belongs to the College of Zacatecas. We traveled four leagues.

Sunday, August 17. The church and living quarters of the fathers were finished by fresh reinforcements of men whom his lordship supplied from the battalion.

Monday, August 18. The blessing of the new church was celebrated with a high Mass, during which the very reverend Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, president of the Santa Cruz missions, preached. The nine companies of the battalion and Cárdenas formed three files in front of the church and fired the general salutes, as had been done at the other missions. When the Mass concluded, the very reverend Fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, president of the missions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, requested of his lordship the grant of possession on behalf of his college and the Indians. His lordship bestowed this with the customary ceremony, leaving as missionary the apostolic preacher Fray Joseph Rodríguez. All the Indians of all ages being assembled, the governor clothed their acclaimed leader in a complete suit of English cloth and all that goes with it, giving him a silver-headed cane and the title of captain. In addition, he clothed all the rest according to their fashion and distributed gifts generally, as he had done with the Indians of the other missions. He explained to them the purpose of his coming, persuading them that they should congregate, which, in a lengthy discourse with many expressions of joy and gratitude, they promised to do. The governor celebrated the occasion by hosting a banquet for all the fathers and captains. In all, 390 Indians were clothed.

Tuesday, August 19. The governor continued the march toward the east-northeast, although there were some deviations due to the twisting of the road, which went through gullies and open woods of oaks, pines, and walnuts. We crossed some arroyos, to do which it was necessary to build two bridges, and near the last one we halted on a plain where there was a small lake that his lordship named San Bernardo. The day's journey was six leagues. Fray Margíl went ahead with a detachment to build the next mission, that of Los Dolores.[44]

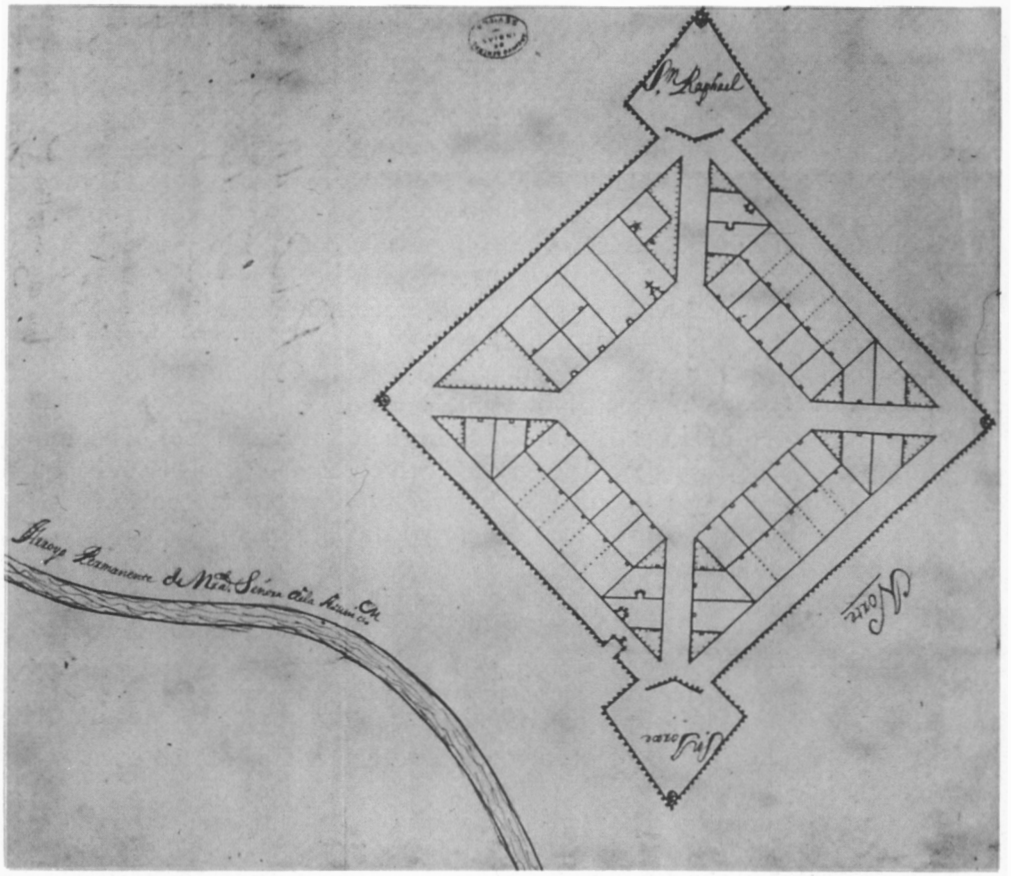
Wednesday, August 20. His lordship set off on the same route through the same kind of terrain and woods as the day before. Crossing a river that, when risen, is very powerful and that is already known as Todos Santos, the battalion camped on its bank. The march was eight leagues.

Thursday, August 21. The governor continued the journey in the same east-northeasterly direction over uneven terrain with arroyos and trees, as far as a quarter-league beyond where the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Adáes had stood, of which there was not even a trace. Fray Margíl had scouted out a better site next to an arroyo and spring that was not far away. It was also on high ground that was clear, and it had a large level tract for the fields. We traveled six leagues that day.

Friday, August 22. The day was spent in building the church, employing all the men necessary.

Saturday, August 23. The ceremony was celebrated with the same solemnity as at the previous missions, with high Mass and a salute from all the companies. Upon its conclusion, possession was granted to the president Fray Antonio Margíl and to the leader of the Indians, who was clothed as the rest of the leaders had

44. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores had been founded for the Ais by Domingo Ramón and Fray Margíl de Jesús in August 1716. It was located midway between San Francisco de los Tejas and San Miguel de Linares, one kilometer south of present San Augustine, Texas. Fray Margíl had made it his residence until forced to withdraw in 1719.



The presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores at the mission of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, 1722. (Archivo General de Indias, M&P, México 112)

been. The rest of the men and women were clothed in the same manner as at the other missions, and the governor made the appropriate speech, to which they responded as had the Indians at the other missions. The occasion was brightened with an abundant feast that his lordship provided for the fathers and all the captains. The father Fray Joseph de Albadadejo[45] remained at this mission, where 180 Indians were clothed.

Sunday, August 24. Leaving a detachment to finish the church and build the living quarters of the fathers, the governor set off to the east, then turned to the east-northeast, traveling through wooded country with walnuts and pines and crossing gullies, clearings, and some permanent arroyos. His lordship halted next

45. Earlier in his account Peña identified Joseph Albadadejo as a brother, rather than a priest.

to a lake called San Bartolomé[46] (the day's journey having been five leagues). From here he dispatched a messenger to San Antonio with various instructions, especially to hasten the supply trains. A general salute was fired at the hour for prayer, in celebration of the prince's birthday. On this day also the messenger that his lordship had dispatched to San Antonio returned with an answer from his excellency, in which he thanked his lordship for offering to discover, at his own expense, the route from Veracruz to La Bahía del Espíritu Santo (which the French called San Bernardo), in order to relieve this province by means of the said bay. He had already given orders for the sloop to leave Veracruz. By the same messenger, the agent advised his lordship that he had chartered the vessel and agreed upon a fee of 3,500 pesos for the voyage. The sloop would leave Veracruz without fail during the month of July, carrying everything that had been requested.

Monday, August 25. His lordship continued the march to the east-northeast over uneven terrain of high hills and gullies, all very dense with woods. Bridges had to be made at some arroyos because they were so boggy. We came to a halt at a lake that his lordship called San Luis, about one league from the ford of the Río de Sabinas.[47] On this day we covered seven leagues.

Tuesday, August 26. The governor set out following the previous day's route and crossed the Río de San Francisco de Sabinas, although the waters came higher than the men's breastplates. More than half the day was spent in its transit, due to the need to repair a long stretch of muddy road on the other side, and the rest of the afternoon was spent in crossing the small pools and mires at this part of the river, which are impassable in wintertime. We halted on a small hill next to an arroyo that his lordship named San Nicolás de Tolentino. The day's march was three leagues.

Wednesday, August 27. His lordship continued traveling by the same route over hills; gullies; woods of pines, walnuts, evergreen oaks, some chestnuts, and medlar trees; and various arroyos until we reached a large, permanent arroyo that his lordship named Santa Rosa de Lima. After crossing this, the battalion camped on its bank in a very open plain, having marched six leagues today.

Thursday, August 28. Continuing the journey, his lordship set out in an east-northeasterly direction over the same kind of terrain and woods as the day before and across clearings and arroyos, to cross which it was necessary to build some bridges. His lordship camped between a lake and an arroyo, which he named San Agustín. The march was eight leagues.

Friday, August 29. Before setting off the governor added a detachment to the picket, to clear a path through the impenetrable thicket at the approaches on both banks of the arroyo and to build a large bridge. On hearing the news that all was done, he set out in the same direction as on the previous day, across open plains

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46. San Bartolomé is now known as Spanish Lake.

47. The Sabine River has its origin in three forks that rise in Hunt County, flow southeast, and converge at the southeastern corner of the same county to form the larger stream. The Sabine then turns south and serves as the boundary between Texas and Louisiana from this point to the Gulf of Mexico. It was probably given its name (meaning "cypress") by Domingo Ramón during his sojourn from 1716 to 1719.

and, at intervals, open woodlands of medlar trees, walnuts, pines, and oaks. Upon arriving at the site of the mission of San Miguel de los Adáes, his lordship observed that it was quite unsuitable for the battalion's camp. It was very low and in danger of flooding in the event of rain, and there was no water running in the arroyo. He sent scouts out in various directions, and half a league farther on they found a spring that drained onto a large plain. We went there to make camp, the march having been three leagues.

Saturday, August 30. Not having encountered a single Indian in Los Adáes, his lordship dispatched parties in various directions. The following day, they brought news that the nearest rancherías were found about ten to twelve leagues away. They had informed the Indians, as ordered, of the Spaniards' arrival. The Indians rejoiced immensely, and the leader told them that he would assemble his people and come to see his lordship.

Monday, September 1. A Frenchman arrived at the camp with a letter (which his lordship later sent to the viceroy) from the commandant of Natchitoches, Monsieur Rerenor. The substance of the letter can be reduced to congratulating his lordship on his arrival and to stating that Captain Luis de San Dionisio, as soon as he had returned from Tejas in the middle of August, had set out for Mobile by way of the Río Natchitoches (which the French call the Rivera Roja) to inform his governor of the Spaniards' coming. Because this commandant had no orders to allow us to settle at Los Adáes, [he wrote] that his lordship must refrain from doing so until the return of Captain Luis. This ambiguous proposal was considered in a council of war, which the governor immediately called. It was resolved that on the following day Lieutenant General Don Fernando Pérez de Almazán and Captain Don Gabriel Costales would set out for Natchitoches in order to observe access to the island on which the presidio is built and what kind of fort the French had (in the event that war was declared, since the French had already seen the forces brought by his lordship). His lordship responded in a letter to the commandant that, as matters of war are not discussed well with the pen, he was sending his lieutenant general for the purpose of clearly expressing the determination with which his lordship came. In conference with the commandant the lieutenant general expounded upon the letter, telling him that the purpose for which the governor came was to occupy the country of Los Adáes, just as he had established dominion over that of the Tejas, and that he would restore Mission San Miguel and build a presidio on that frontier in the place that seemed most suitable to him. The commandant responded that he had no express orders either to allow this or prevent it. In accordance with the current truce between the two crowns in Europe, he would abide by the truce in America if his lordship would agree to do the same. Thus was concluded the conquest, or recovery, of the entire province, the terms of agreement between the two parties yielding to our lord the king (may God protect him) the restoration of everything his Catholic majesty's arms had possessed in that province. The governor will fortify that frontier as he sees fit, at whatever site he might wish to.

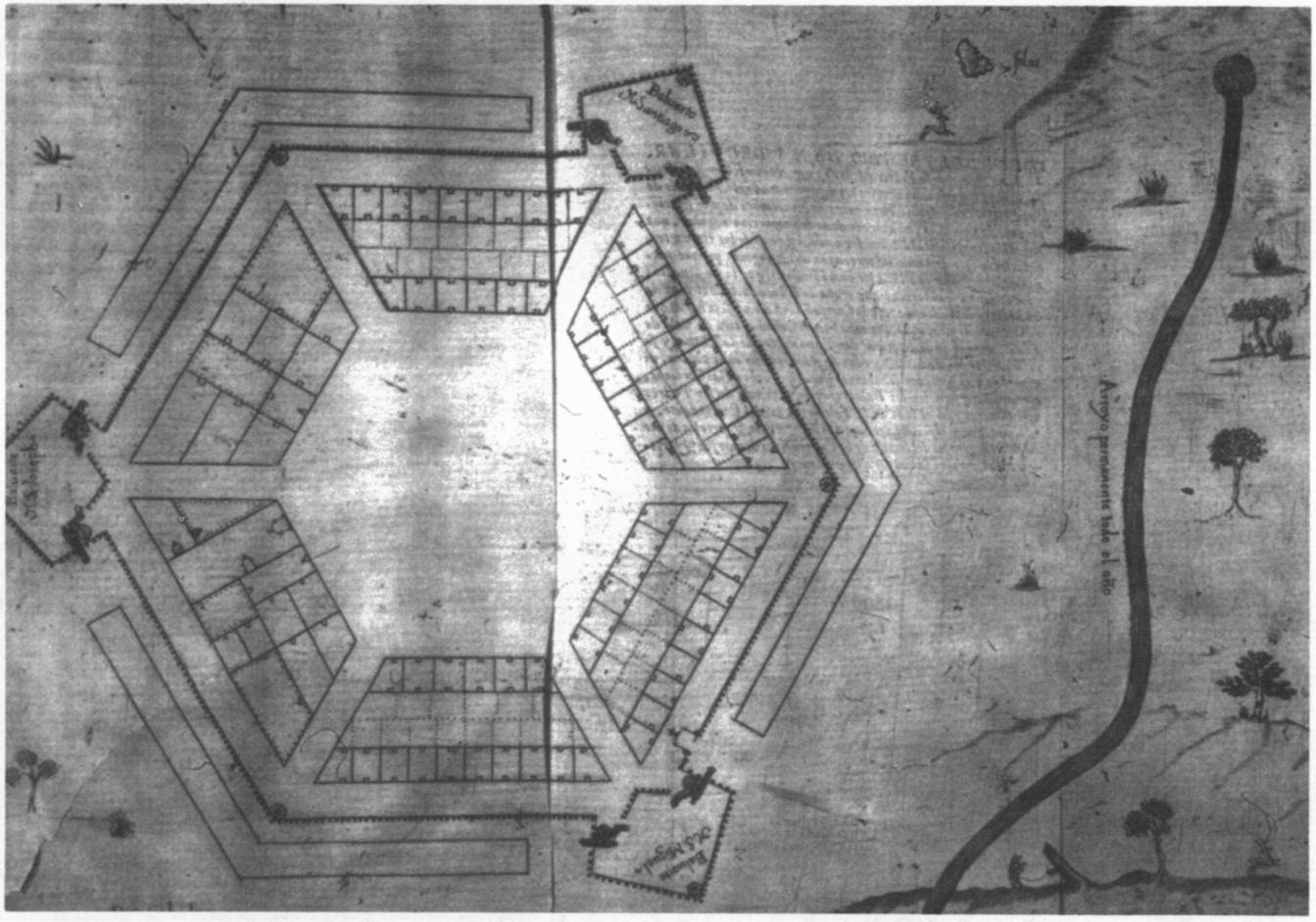
Whereupon the marqués immediately set about selecting a site upon which to build the presidio. Although he sent scouts throughout the entire territory and personally reconnoitered the land, he found no place more suitable or with more advantages than the spot on the camino real where he was camped, seven leagues from Natchitoches. All the rest of the land is closed in and shaded by trees, while

the said site has suitable creeks near the presidio where the mission can be placed, with sufficient lands for the Spaniards and the Indians each to cultivate their own fields, and a spring next to a hillside. On top of this hill, whose height overlooks the entire countryside, his lordship delineated the lines for the presidio. Work was begun immediately on the fortification, which is hexagonal in shape, omitting three watchtowers [which would have] alternated with the other three. Thus each tower defends two curtains, each curtain being fifty-five varas in length and [protected by] no more than six cannons. [The structure] accommodates not only the terrain, but also the garrison of one hundred soldiers from the squadron (thirty of whom must always be occupied in guarding and caring for the horses and livestock). They will have water within half a musket shot, although efforts to dig a well within the plaza will not be abandoned. The greatest work was in opening the foundations for the fortification with a crowbar and clearing the site and its surroundings of the very thick and dense forest that was there, so that enemies might not approach unseen and so that the stockade might be, as it must, in the best state of defense.

On the first of September the chief of the Adáes came with many Indians, showing the greatest signs of joy at the arrival of the Spaniards. After the governor had welcomed him and given him presents, as he had with the other leaders of the Tejas Indians, the chief explained the particular reason for his delight at the arrival of the Spaniards. All the Indians of that country wished to live under Spanish protection because the French and the Indians from Natchitoches, when they invaded the mission of San Miguel de los Adáes, had committed many hostilities toward them—merely because they had shown regret over the withdrawal of the Spaniards—and had carried off as captives some men, women, and children, seizing them as they withdrew. Due to this recent occurrence, the Adáes had felt it necessary to abandon that country [around the mission] and take shelter in a more remote and rugged land, from which they had now come—more than four hundred men, women, and children—to see the governor. His lordship made them very happy with the many garments and gifts he distributed among them, clothing everyone as he had at the other missions. Once he assured them of the protection of our lord the king, and that he would leave on that frontier a presidio of one hundred men and reestablish the mission of San Miguel in their vicinity, they promised his lordship to congregate at the mission. In response to the information he sought regarding the surrounding territory the Indians affirmed to his lordship that there were some salt beds nearby. Because they are so useful it was necessary to locate them, and his lordship dispatched a lieutenant with a party of twenty soldiers and twenty-five mules in search of them. They brought back loads of a salt earth so fine that when worked it yields 50 percent salt. They found the deposits fifteen leagues from where the presidio was built.

September 29 to October 12. The reestablishment of the mission, which is to be located about a quarter-league from the presidio, was celebrated in the presidial chapel on the feast of the Archangel Michael.[48] On October 12, the feast of the Apparition of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza, the dedication of the mission

48. St. Michael's feast is celebrated on September 29. The actual rebuilding of the mission occurred later.



The presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Adáes, 1722. (Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 114)

church and the presidio was celebrated; his lordship named her as patroness and bastion of defense on that frontier.[49] The two ceremonies were performed with the greatest solemnity and such signs of rejoicing as could be made with repeated rounds of artillery and with all the companies standing in formation in the military plaza during the Mass, which was sung by Doctor Joseph Codallos y Rabal. The chapel and the fortress had been blessed earlier with the image of Nuestra Señora de Pilar carried in procession; the very reverend Fray Antonio Margíl extolled her veneration in a very devout and eloquent sermon. The ceremonies were concluded with a splendid banquet given by his lordship for the fathers and the captains, and brandy for the soldiers, who showed their merriment through various entertainments of dances, comedies,[50] and pranks.

Middle of October to October 31. In the middle of October the governor received the good news that the sloop, which was chartered for 3,500 pesos by order of his lordship to discover a route from Veracruz to Bahía del Espíritu Santo, had reached port in the bay on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady,[51] bringing supplies of 350 cargas of flour, 150 cargas of corn,[52] and other provisions for the soldiers. The news merited celebration, both for the discovery of so important a route and for the relief the supplies would bring. Two hundred cargas of flour and other things were immediately sent by the mules that his lordship had prearranged in San Antonio, anticipating the arrival of this vessel. They arrived just in time—the governor had been concerned that provisions for his men would run short if this convoy failed, for there was no corn in Tejas or Los Adáes other than that for the consumption of the Indians. Forty cargas arrived on October 20, and the rest at the beginning of November, with four hundred sheep and three hundred cattle that came from the border of the kingdom of [Nuevo] León, 340 leagues from Los Adáes.

About a league from where the presidio is situated begins the large Lake Adáes, with a circumference of ten leagues. The Cadodachos River flows through it and on to Natchitoches for sixty leagues, the distance from one presidio to the other. The nearest point of the lake is four leagues from Natchitoches, and there is an abundance of various kinds of fish year-round and many ducks of various sizes all winter. In the Adáes country there are bears, deer, walnuts, and medlar trees, of which the Indians lay in a large supply in cakes for the winter, along with bear fat, which is very good.

November 1 to November 28. The fortification and quarters having been com-

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49. The presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de los Adáes was situated one-half league beyond where the mission had formerly stood and one-quarter league from the new mission site (near present-day Robeline, Louisiana). On November 4, Aguayo appointed Joseph Benito de Arroyo as its captain. It was abandoned in 1773, when Louisiana was ceded to Spain.

50. This is the earliest record of a dramatic performance given in Texas.

51. The feast of the Birth of the Virgin Mary is celebrated on September 8.

52. A carga represented about 150 pounds, the average load of a pack animal. Therefore, some 52,500 pounds of flour and 22,500 pounds of corn were delivered.

pleted, his lordship dispatched a messenger to the viceroy on All Saints' Day.[53] He informed him that he had left one hundred soldiers to garrison the presidio, thirty-one with their families. He had provided them with six cannons, war supplies, provisions, and whatever else was necessary for the proper maintenance of the men. Although no more than ninety cargas of flour remained, while on the road he expected to send one hundred more from the second convoy from La Bahía, which his lordship had been notified was already en route from Tejas.

All this done, the governor gave orders that everything be made ready to begin the retreat on November 12. On the day before, however, a severe sleet storm began, freezing heavily in the thick forest. Thick icicles formed on the trees, and their weight began to break the branches off some trees and uproot others; it continued for so long that in twenty-four hours more than two hundred fell within the camp, and more than two thousand in the vicinity. Many horses and mules caught beneath the falling trees were killed, but, thank God, the only man injured was an officer upon whose shoulder a tree fell while he was asleep, leaving him in some jeopardy. Although the storm subsided after three days, the horses and mules could not be rounded up until [November] 17, on which day the march was begun. It was very difficult from the outset, for the cold had so weakened the horses they began to fall dead, whereupon many soldiers had to travel on foot, beginning as early as Dolores mission, thirty leagues from the presidio of Nuestra Señora del Pilar. At the next mission, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, a messenger from Mexico arrived (whom the governor had dispatched from that same mission during the entrada) with letters from the viceroy. In them his excellency advised him of the royal cédula dated May 6, 1721, brought by a dispatch boat from Aranjuez. Our lord the king (may God protect him) graciously approved both that the entrada should be entrusted to the direction of the governor, and all the arrangements his excellency had made for it, and once more ordered that war not be waged on the French in recovering this province. This news, especially that of their majesties' health, was celebrated with repeated general salutes. His majesty also ordered that this province be fortified with presidios in the sites that seemed appropriate, especially that of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo (which had already been occupied for one year, defended by forty soldiers), whose garrison the viceroy authorized. The governor was to augment it with fifty soldiers, selecting the best of those he had under his command.

November 29 to December 8. On [November] 29, his lordship arrived at the Tejas presidio, where he outlined a fortification in a square design, in proportion to its twenty-five soldiers. There are only two watchtowers on opposite corners, so that each one defends two curtains, each of which is sixty varas long, including the demigorge. The site is a very good one, on a hill that overlooks all the countryside and with water in the permanent arroyo of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, which passes very close by.[54] His lordship tarried only three days, for fear

53. All Saints' Day is observed on November 1.

54. The presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas (six kilometers from the Angelina, one league from Mission Purísima Concepción, ten kilometers south of the town

that the flooding of the rivers might delay his journey. Having sent out scouts and learned from them that the Río de Santa Bárbara,[55] situated between the two missions of La Concepción de Nuestra Señora and San Francisco, was very swollen, he ordered that a bridge of thirty varas be built in advance, by which the river was crossed without any delay.

December 9 to January 23, 1722. On December 9, his lordship found the second convoy that he was expecting from La Bahía at Santa Efigenia; he sent to Los Adáes on the same day one hundred cargas of flour and other provisions from the convoy, taking the rest with him as supplies for the road. His lordship decided to return by the old road of the Monte Grande, as he had observed that the Río de la Trinidad carried about half a vara of water, and he had learned from some soldiers whom he sent to reconnoiter the Río Brazos de Dios that its crossing was good. With an Indian guiding them along the new route, the Monte Grande was traversed for a distance of seventeen leagues through clearings and open woods. No daily entry is made of the course of our return, as we came back over a known road and the marches were irregular. The heavy rains and terrible ice, as well as the lack of pasturage and the excessive death rate that continued among the horses and mules, compelled us to limit the marches to three, two, and one league. From the Tejas presidio on, almost all the men were already traveling on foot, and the governor had found it necessary to leave eighty cargas with a guard of twenty soldiers at San Juan Evangelista Arroyo (shortly before entering the Monte Grande). Knowing that there would be a delay in arriving at San Antonio (and fearful of running out of supplies on the road), his lordship dispatched ten soldiers from the Río de la Trinidad to bring the provisions. These arrived in thirty-two cargas at the site of El Encadenado, four leagues from the Río de San Marcos, where a second delivery was met. On learning that sixteen huts of the soldiers had been burned in San Antonio, as well as the granary with 700 fanegas of corn[56] and the supply of flour, with not one ear remaining, his lordship dispatched a messenger with instructions that the new string of mules he had requested from Saltillo bring in all haste the necessary supply of flour and corn, for he had two hundred cargas of flour[57] and one thousand fanegas of corn in readiness at the Río Grande in case the sloop had failed to arrive. The mules came with the greatest speed, and with the aforesaid supplies transported there was enough to leave that presidio provisioned, maintain the troops, and continue the march, for which purpose his lordship had also sent urgent orders to Guadiana and other places for a fresh supply of eight hundred horses.

The hardships of the journey continued, with even the captains and the rest of the officers traveling on foot, and the governor making some of the marches in

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of Douglas) replaced the old presidio of the Tejas that had been established by Domingo Ramón in 1716. It was suppressed as unnecessary in 1729.

55. The Santa Bárbara is today known as the Angelina River.

56. A fanega is equivalent to approximately 1½ bushels.

57. The copy of the *Derrotero* in the Biblioteca Nacional de México records two cargas of flour.

the same manner (to share in their toil). His lordship arrived at San Antonio on January 23 to great rejoicing and relieved that the fatalities had included only the mules and horses (the death rate having been so high that out of approximately five thousand horses, less than fifty returned,[58] and only about a hundred of the eight hundred mules). Not one of the soldiers had been lost,[59] and many who left Los Adáes sick arrived at San Antonio in good health. His lordship dispatched a message to the viceroy with tidings of his return.

January 24 to March 7. Realizing that the horses he had requested would not arrive for more than a month and a half, according to information he had by various letters, and recognizing that the presidio of San Antonio was defenseless (besides being vulnerable to another fire such as the one suffered a short time earlier, because the soldiers were living in thatched huts), the governor endeavored to build a fortification that would be fireproof, making his structure from adobe. After ordering the necessary wood cut for the church, storehouses, and barracks, his lordship selected a better site for the presidio between the San Pedro and San Antonio Rivers (although it was necessary to clear the area of many trees). Setting men to work making adobe bricks, he began to draw the lines of the fort. The plan was a square with four watchtowers, so that if there were an attack while the soldiers happened to be on some foray, a few men could defend the plaza from just two opposite towers, covering two curtains from each one, each curtain being seventy-five varas in length from one tower to the other. At the same time, his lordship encouraged the cultivation of a large cornfield for supplying the presidio and the friendly Indians (who came to see the Spaniards each day). At his own expense he had made an irrigation ditch from the Río San Pedro. The ditch can irrigate two leagues of very fertile land in the inlet formed where the Río San Pedro enters the Río San Antonio below the presidio, making a sort of island in that area, which extends from where the presidio is erected. The presidio will be thirty varas from the Río San Pedro, and two hundred from the San Antonio.

March 8 to March 9. On March 8, the messenger dispatched from Los Adáes by his lordship on November 4, returned with letters from the viceroy. His excellency expressed his most sincere thanks to the governor, approving all that his lordship had done in Tejas for the recovery of that province and for its defense, referring to the fortification that [the marqués] had left completed at Los Adáes.

March 10 to March 17. On [March] 10, having already selected a good location between the two missions of San Antonio and San José, the governor proceeded to grant to Juan Rodríguez possession of the mission he had requested for himself and those in his company from the Ranchería Grande. Although there were no more than fifty families, the Indian leader promised and assured him that his many followers from the ranchería would come when they learned that the mission had been established. His lordship granted full title of possession to him, as

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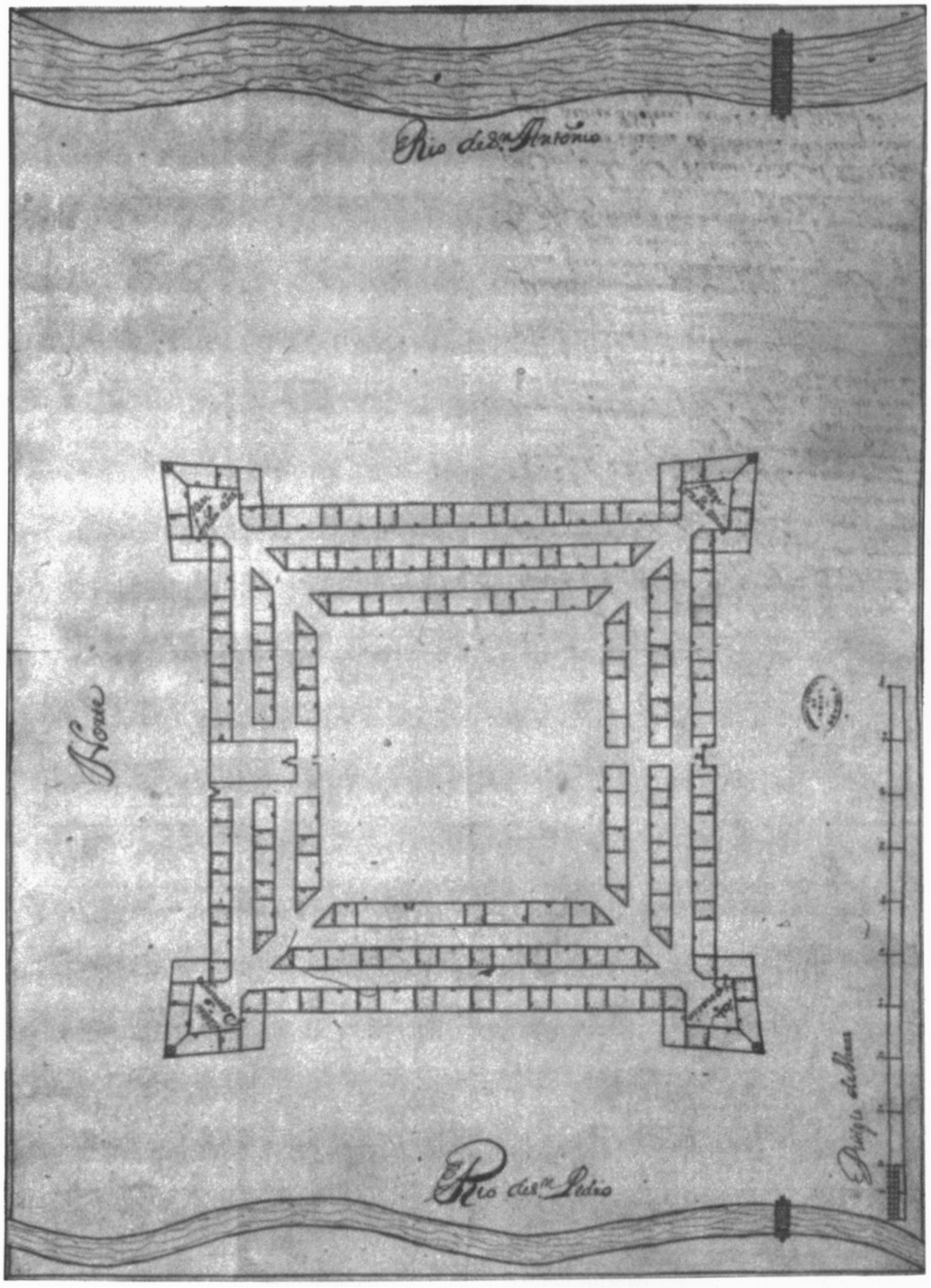
58. Aguayo himself recorded in a letter to the king that of four thousand horses only fifty remained.

59. Peña overlooked the soldier who drowned in the Sabinas River in Coahuila at the beginning of the entrada (see entry of November 25–December 14, 1720). Another casualty was Fray Joseph Pita, who was killed by Apaches in central Texas.



The presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, as designed by the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, 1722. (Archivo General de Indias, M&P, México 117)

well as to the apostolic father Fray Joseph González, who received it on behalf of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, under the title of San Francisco Xavier de Nájera. All the captains of the battalion attended the ceremony, and on this day his lordship clothed the Indian Juan Rodríguez in an entire suit of English cloth in the Spanish style.[60]

When the first drove of horses arrived, the governor dispatched the fifty soldiers designated for La Bahía, under the command of Captain Gabriel Costales. The men, all of whom were volunteers, were detached from all the companies in the entire battalion and formed a very splendid and select troop. Because sufficient horses had not yet arrived, his lordship could not leave until [March] 16, on which day he set out with a detachment of forty soldiers from all of the companies, with Doctor Joseph Codallos y Rabal and Captains Don Tomás de Zubiría, Don Miguel Cilón y Portugal,[61] Don Manuel de Herrera, and Don Pedro de Oribe. The march began toward the south, as far as the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, a distance of about two leagues, and turned to the southwest for the remainder of the day's journey to the Río Salado. We traveled four leagues over level terrain with sparse woods of oaks and evergreen oaks.

On Tuesday, March 17, his lordship continued the journey in the same southwesterly direction, through the same type of terrain and trees, crossing some clearings with good pasture. We traveled four leagues to the site of Aguila, where there are some estuaries that appear to have water all year round. We traveled four leagues.

Wednesday, March 18. The governor continued his march to the south for about two leagues, turning to the east for the rest of the day's journey, to Río del Cíbolo.[62] The march was eight leagues, over hilly, sandy terrain with dense groves of oaks, evergreen oaks, and mesquites. There was no water in this stretch other than a small spring.

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60. San Francisco Xavier de Nájera for Juan Rodríguez' Hierbipiamos remained a "paper mission." The earliest baptismal records make it clear that the Indians remained at Valero. Juan Rodríguez was born about 1679. He most likely had been introduced to Christianity at San Francisco Xavier, which had been established in Coahuila in 1698 for his tribe, and probably had participated in the 1700 revolt there. Rodríguez, then known as "El Cuilón," was one of twenty-three chiefs representing tribes located between the San Antonio River and the Tejas who met Governor Alarcón in 1718 to pledge their loyalty and obedience to the crown. At that time, Alarcón appointed Rodríguez "governor and captain of all the nations on the road to the Tejas." Rodríguez was made "governor of the barrio of the Hierbipiames" when he entered Mission San Antonio Valero with his wife Margarita (an Iman Indian) and three children.

61. The copy of the *Derrotero* in the Biblioteca Nacional de México recorded the name as Miguel Zilón y Gavilán, while Father Morfi rendered it in his *History of Texas* as Zilón y Portugal. The person meant is Miguel Colón, a Portuguese.

62. The Cíbolo has its origins in the hill country north of San Antonio, flows to the southeast, and empties into the San Antonio River. In 1691, Fray Mazanet called it the Santa Crecencia, while Terán de los Ríos named it the San Ignacio de Loyola. To Ramón in 1716, it was the San Xavier. The Aguayo expedition was the first to refer to it as the Cíbolo. Upper portions of the stream separate Bexar (location of San Antonio) from Kendall, Comal, and Guadalupe Counties.

Thursday, March 19. The governor continued the march to the east-southeast over level terrain with the same type of trees and mesquites, and with some clearings. We traveled seven leagues to San Cleto Arroyo.

Friday, March 20. In the afternoon the march continued to the east. There had been a big storm in the morning, with thunder and lightning that caused many horses to [stampede and] become lost; they were not rounded up until midday. We traveled two leagues over land like that of the day before to an unnamed arroyo that his lordship called San Joaquín, where there is turkey hunting.

Saturday, March 21. His lordship continued the journey in an east-southeasterly direction for three leagues, through thick woods of mixed oaks. From there we traveled another three leagues to the east-northeast over very level terrain without trees or bushes, then turned east for another three leagues, also through clear country. The day's march was nine leagues, ending at an arroyo that, as it had no name, his lordship called San Benito.

Sunday, March 22. The governor set out to the east-southeast over open, somewhat broken terrain for about six leagues, then turned to the east for another three leagues along the banks of the Río de Guadalupe, until he found a crossing over some rocks. As the riverbed was very broad and the water more than one vara deep, we had to carry the loads of supplies on our backs. His lordship made camp on the other side of the river, the march having been nine leagues.

Monday, March 23. His lordship continued in the same east-southeasterly direction, traveling for half a league through scattered woods of mixed oaks. The remainder of the road crossed very flat, open terrain as far as the eye could see. After four leagues we turned east, concluding the day's journey on the banks of the Río de San Joseph, [for a total of] seven leagues.

March 24 to April 5. Tuesday, [March] 24, the governor set out to the east over the same type of open terrain adorned with a variety of flowers. His lordship crossed two arroyos containing considerable water and, after five leagues, turned to the east-southeast, arriving at the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de La Bahía del Espíritu Santo after a march of nine leagues.[63]

For the first eight days nothing could be accomplished, as the governor was obliged to keep to his bed, the hardships of the journey having aggravated the ill health he began to experience in San Antonio. Moreover, the days were occupied with church matters, for Holy Week was celebrated to the great consolation of all, it being the first time that services could be conducted properly, with our Lord present in the monumentum.[64]

April 6 to April 25. On Easter Monday, April 6, his lordship, as our lord the king (may God protect him) had ordered, began to draw the lines for the presidio at the site that the French, under La Salle, had occupied from 1684 until 1690, when the Indians had massacred the French, taking alive three men and one girl.

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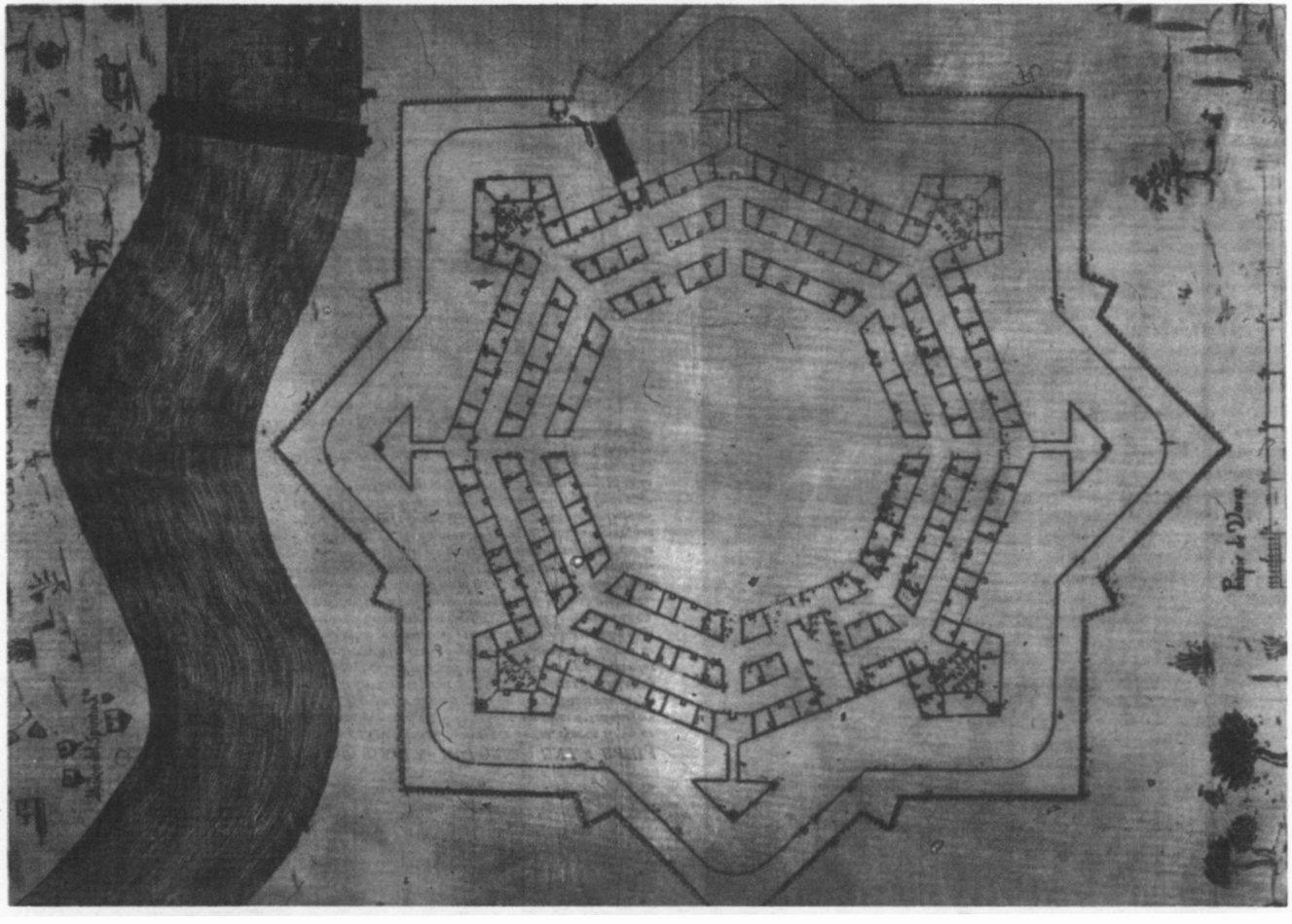
63. A contingent of Aguayo's men, under Captain Domingo Ramón, had taken possession of La Bahía in February of the previous year (1721).

64. In this context the *monumentum* was a terraced construction placed over the altar, with candles and vessels of flowers placed on the ascending steps and the host, as the body of Jesus, at the apex. Constructed specifically for use on Holy Thursday, it was the equivalent of the Altar of Repose.



The presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, Bay of Espíritu Santo, 1722. (Archivo General de Indias, MeP, México 116)

The French had buried their artillery (which the Spaniards later recovered and carried off to Veracruz), the hole for which can still be seen within the confines of the presidio, as well as the hole in which they burned the powder. Nails, pieces of flintlocks, and fragments of other things used by the French were found while digging the ditches for the foundations of the fort. In fifteen days, the foundations of an octagon with a moat and covered entry were ready, with only four watchtowers, there presently being no more than ninety men in the garrison. As it is an important port, however, and the garrison will increase, his lordship planned four external extensions in place of the other four watchtowers,[65] with [another] tower [*caballero*] to the rear on the angle formed by the two curtains, each of which is forty-five varas in length.

This done, his lordship proceeded to grant possession of the Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga mission, which was established near the presidio.[66] Many families from three Indian tribes had come during recent days; they promised the governor that the rest would come when they saw that [the first group] stayed congregated as they were—and as they doubtless will remain, being pleased and grateful with the gifts of clothing and other goods that the governor bestowed upon them, as he had done at the other missions. It was recognized that these Indians were more docile and that they would more readily apply themselves to the cultivation of lands and of their souls, not only because they were living in more misery than the other Indians (surviving solely on fish and without any clothing), but because they offered to the governor, of their own will, three babies whom he might sponsor in baptism. He did so, with Fray Agustín Patrón[67] (a missionary belonging to the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe) performing the baptism, and he presented gifts once more to the children's parents, to the great joy of all.

Throughout the territory of the presidio there are beautiful tracts of very clear land, which, judging from its substance and the brief observation of one year, is extremely fertile. There are very pretty sheltered places for raising horses and all manner of livestock, and the deer and turkeys are also abundant, especially on the road from La Bahía to San Antonio.

April 26 to May 4. Leaving the construction of the fort to the care of Don

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65. The entire clause from "only four watchtowers," until "in place of the other four watchtowers" is missing from the copy of the *Derrotero* in the Biblioteca Nacional.

66. Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga mission (usually referred to simply as Mission La Bahía) was located on Garcitas Creek, near Matagorda Bay. Founded for the Coco, Cujane, and Karankawa, it was the first to be established for these largely intractable coastal groups of southern Texas. The name was derived from the Bay of Espíritu Santo plus the name of the viceroy Baltasar de Zúñiga. The mission was moved in 1726 to the Guadalupe River, north of present Victoria, in the county of the same name, for the benefit of the Aranama and Tamique tribes. The locale is still known as Mission Valley. The mission and presidio were moved a final time in 1749 to the San Antonio River, near present-day Goliad, where the mission was secularized in 1830.

67. Fray Agustín Patrón had accompanied the Domingo Ramón expedition to east Texas in 1716, where, with the other friars from Zacatecas, he was left at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches. Patrón became one of the co-ministers at San José y San Miguel de Aguayo when it was established in San Antonio in 1720. From 1732 until his death in 1735, the veteran missionary acted as guardian of his College of Guadalupe de Zacatecas.

Joseph Ramón (who is captain of that presidio), the governor left for San Antonio, where he arrived on April 26. His lordship's health continued to trouble him, but he said that he was quite happy to have enjoyed good health while having to act in the service of the king in this enterprise, and that now nothing more remained for him to do but to return with all his men to Coahuila. He was not able to undertake that journey until May 5, because, while some of the horses that he was expecting had reached his lordship at La Bahía, the last of them did not arrive until April 30. In the meantime, the new presidio at San Antonio would have been almost completed had it not rained so continuously; not only was it impossible to work for more than three weeks, but 30,000 adobe bricks made before his lordship left for La Bahía were ruined. There were 25,000 remaining, however, a large part of the construction was finished, and the rest of the materials were at the base of the structure. During this entire time his lordship paid for the services of forty Indians, who were left to continue their work.

May 5 to June 12. The governor set out on the aforesaid day, [May] 5. On a very stormy night at a place called La Pita, two days' march from San Antonio, the horses became frightened and made such a stampede that it took all the following day to round them up, with eighty left as lost. The march was continued to the Río Grande, which carried a little more than one vara of water and was crossed without any problem or delay. We traveled on, and two days later, at a place south of the site of San Diego, another stormy night caused a second stampede of the horses. It took four days to gather them, with forty left as lost. Crossing the Río de Sabinas—which had presented a great deal of difficulty and delay in crossing during the entrada, but which now carried less than half a vara of water—his lordship arrived in Coahuila on May 25 with all the rest of his troops. He discharged them on the thirty-first, by virtue of the orders he had from the viceroy to do so when the expedition ended upon returning to this town. After his lordship had ordered that they be given their final pay for the two additional months beyond the second year, and having been provisioned with what they needed for the road, they set out on June 12.

[The final two pages of de la Peña's account are deleted here as they offer no new data. They contain the customary summary of accomplishments by the expedition and its leader for the greater glory of the king and the church.]

Santiago de Monclova, Coahuila, June 21, 1722.
Bachiller Don Juan Antonio de la Peña

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Derrotero de la expedición en la provincia de los Tejas, Nuevo Reino de Philipinas, que de orden del excelentísimo señor marqués de Valero, virrey, y capitán general de esta Nueva España pasa a executar el muy ilustre señor don Joseph de Azlor, caballero mesnadero del Reino de Aragón, marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, gobernador, y capitán general de dichas provincias de Tejas, Nuevas Filipinas, y de ésta de Coahuila, Nuevo Reino de Extremadura, por el rey nuestro señor (que

Dios guarde) que escribe el bachiller don Juan Antonio de la Peña. Con licencia en México: en la imprenta Nueva Plantiniana de Juan Francisco de Ortega Bonilla, en la Calle de Tacuba. Año de 1722.

Si fuera tan seguro, y feliz el desempeño, como es fácil ejecutar los órdenes, que se reciben con gusto, bien podía prometerme el acierto que deseo en desempeñar la honra, que me ha hecho el señor marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, de mandarme escribir este derrotero, como testigo fiel, que he ser de los progresos de esta gloriosa empresa, habiendo logrado mi mayor fortuna en haberme eligido su señoría para ir sirviendo al rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) por capellán mayor de estas tropas.

A cuya narración debo dar principio con el preliminar de los motivos de esta entrada, porque en todos tiempos todos lo sepan, que se reducen a que los franceses, que por cuenta de comerciantes en París, poblaron de veinte y un años a esta parte en la Mobila, puerto del seno mexicano, a doce leguas de nuestro presidio de Santa María de Galve (comúnmente llamado Pensacola) y se han extendido en este tiempo como trescientos leguas, hasta el Río de Nachitoos, que llaman Rivera Roja, confinante a los Adáes de la provincia de Tejas, extendiéndose su pueblo, como cuatrocientas leguas, costa arriba del Río de la Empalizada, que llaman Misuri, y corriendo con la buena fe de la alianza de las dos coronas, sorprendieron el presidio de Pensacola, y invadieron al mismo tiempo la provincia de los Tejas el día 19 de junio del año pasado de 1719, obligando sus superiores fuerzas a abandonarla los españoles, retirándose con los padres misioneros de las seis misiones, que había erigidas, a el presidio de San Antonio de Béxar, que está a la raya de la provincia de Coahuila, y dista doscientas cuarenta leguas de los Adáes, confin de Tejas.

Con cuya noticia dió orden su excelencia para socorrer dicha provincia, que se levantara con la mayor presteza, según la urgencia, una compañía del número más crecido, que se pudiera en el Reino de León, Villa del Saltillo, y Parras, cometiendo al cuidado de equiparla, y bastimentarla al señor marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, como se ejecutó juntándose ochenta y cuatro hombres de los tres partidos de la Villa del Saltillo, a quienes desde el día 5 de setiembre, hasta el día 28 que salieron, abasteció su señoría con vestidos, armas, caballos, y bastimento para un año, de harina, maíz, y ganados, supliendo nueve mil pesos, sobre otros doce mil, que libró su excelencia para este efecto; y habiendo escrito a su excelencia el señor marqués, al instante como tuvo la noticia de la invasión ofreciendo en servicio del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) su hacienda, vida, y espada; en su respuesta le envió su excelencia los despachos, en que le confirió en nombre de su majestad los dichos gobiernos de estas provincias, e hizo la expresión luego como lo recibió, de que aunque fuera de soldado con un fusil iría muy gustoso por servir a su majestad, en empresa tan gloriosa, por no haber tenido desde que se descubrió la América, tan valerosos enemigos, siendo de tan suma importancia asegurar estos dominios de tan inminente riesgo, como están amenazados.

Y partió al instante, habiendo llegado a ésta de Coahuila el día 21 de octubre en donde informado del estado de las cosas hizo representación a su excelencia de las pocas fuerzas, que había en esta frontera, y de lo expuestos por lo abierto del país, que estaban también estos reinos, sobre cuyo informe resolvió su excelencia que se recultaran quinientos hombres en los partidos de las ciudades de Queré-

taro, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Zelaya, y Villa de Aguas Calientes, mandando librar al cuidado del señor marqués el sueldo de un año a razón de cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos cada soldado, y veinte y cinco mil pesos más de paz, y guerra.

En cuyo intermedio estando tan explicado el católico celo del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) del aumento de nuestra santa fe, siendo el medio establecer misiones, erigió la de San José, y San Miguel de Aguayo, con tres naciones de indios numerosas, como una legua del presidio de San Antonio, a cuyo abrigo tiene segura su permanencia, que aprobó su excelencia y mandó dar la asistencia regular para la fundación de ella.

Y para el día 1 de abril de este presente año de 1720 empezaron ya a salir de dichos partidos los quinientos hombres equipados, y bastimentados para el camino, por los apoderados del señor marqués, comprando tres mil y seiscientos caballos para su transporte, y entrada, que desde los primeros pasos fue muy trabajosa por ser en la estación de la mayor sequía, pues llegaron a Coahuila el día 23 de junio con sólos quinientos y sesenta caballos, habiéndose muerto, y dejado imposibilitados los demás en el camino; con cuyo contratiempo no pudiendo tampoco proseguir la marcha por lo fatigadísimos, que llegaron los quinientos y sesenta caballos, se vió precisado a que hicieron alto los soldados en Coahuila, y despachó a todos los parajes donde hay cría de caballos por nueva remonta, que se ejecutó de tres mil y cuatrocientos; pero por continuar el tiempo más riguroso, que se ha experimentado jamás de sequedad todo el verano, tardó su arribo a Coahuila, hasta últimos de setiembre; y a mitad de octubre llegaron las recuas de seiscientas mulas, que salieron el día 24 de abril de México, con el vestuario, armas, pólvora, y seis piezas de campaña, que se había hecho prevenir todo por disposición de su señoría.

Con la noticia de que ya iba viniendo todo lo que se esperaba, formó el señor marqués un batallón de infantería montada con el nombre de San Miguel de Aragón, dividiendo los quinientos hombres en ocho compañías, y con la facultad, que tenía del señor virrey de nombrar oficiales, eligió por su teniente de gobernador, y capitán general a don Fernando Pérez de Almazán, y dió sus títulos de capitanes a don Tomás de Zubiría, a don Miguel Colón, a don Gabriel Costales, don Manuel de Herrera, don Francisco Becerra Luque, don Joseph de Arroyo, don Pedro de Oribe, y don Juan Cantú, y asimismo a todos los oficiales subalternos.

En 5 de octubre llegó correo de México, con despachos, en que su excelencia daba nuevo orden al señor marqués de que entrara a recobrar al dominio de su majestad la provincia de Nuevas Filipinas, y a reintegrar las misiones, haciendo solamente guerra defensiva, en caso que los franceses invadieran las armas de su majestad, en virtud de la noticia, que acababa de tener su excelencia con un navio de aviso, de que había treguas entre las dos coronas, remitiendo al mismo tiempo su excelencia instrucción a su señoría en que cita el despacho, que había tenido del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) en que explica su majestad el modo como se ha de gobernar con los franceses, y que solicite, y admita todos los que quisieren tomar partidos en sus reales armas, o venir a vivir con los españoles; y aunque de primer movimiento no dejó de explicar el sentimiento, que le ocasionaba el orden de limitar sus deseos de intentar el asegurar enteramente estos paises, dijo, que eso más tenía que sacrificar su ciega obediencia.

Y habiendo empleado desde el día que llegaron las recuas, hasta el día 15 de no-

viembre, por no haber venido hecho todo el vestuario, dispuso su señoría la marcha del batallón, habiendo hecho antes la función de bendecir los estandartes con fiesta solemne, que hizo a nuestra Señora de Pilar, trayéndola por guía en un estandarte, con San Miguel, y San Rafael, y con el mote: *Pugnate profide, et rege.* En otro Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, con San Miguel, y San Francisco Xavier, y en el tercero nuestro patrón Santiago, dando el primero, y mejor ejercicio a la artillería, y a todas las compañías, con las repetidas salvas, que hicieron en la fiesta que fue con procesión, misa, y sermón, alegrando el día el señor gobernador, con aguardiente, que dió a los soldados, y un espléndido banquete a todos los capitanes, y padres misioneros de aquella provincia.

Teniendo el señor marqués, que dar diferentes providencias para el gobierno de la provincia, y para asegurar la conducción de bastimentos del Saltillo, y Parras (que distan cuatrocientas leguas, hasta el confín de Tejas) con quinientas mulas, que necesitaba a más de las que había adelantado con mucha provisión a San Antonio, y las cuatrocientas, que iban con el batallón lo despachó bajo el comando de su teniente don Fernando Pérez de Almazán, el día 16 de noviembre, cuya marcha se ejecutó llevando un piquete de soldados veteranos, por prácticos de la tierra, y luego el equipaje de las compañías, y éstas por su antigüedad, cubriendo cada una su caballada, a que se seguían las recuas de víveres de boca, y guerra, y los ganados de reses, y carneros, cubriendo toda la marcha un capitán con su compañía, y por ser la tierra conocida hasta el Río Grande, no se pone el diario de la marcha, que empezó a ser trabajosa, habiéndose hecho una laguna en el camino real, que precisó el rodeo de tres jornadas.

[25 de noviembre a 14 de diciembre, 1720.] Llegaron el día 25 al Río de Sabinas (distante veinte y cinco leguas de Coahuila) que había mucho tiempo estaba crecido por las muchas lluvias del otoño, que fueron con tanto extremo como la sequía del verano, y viendo que estaba intransitable dispuso el teniente general, que se hiciera una canoa, por haberse llevado la creciente otras dos, que ante mano tenía hecho fabricar el señor marqués, en cuyo intermedio bajó el río, y logrando el beneficio de una cinta de peñas muy estrecha, que atraviesa el río, se pasó; pero con mucho trabajo por ser muy rápido, habiéndose ahogado uno de los primeros soldados, que pasaron, y estuvieron muy a riesgo de peligrar el capitán don Miguel Colón, y otros soldados, que cayeron en el río, y se emplearon tres semanas la detención, y tránsito de la compañías, equipaje, recuas, y ganados.

[15 de diciembre, 1720 a 23 de marzo, 1721.] Desde el día 15 de diciembre en que se acabó de pasar el Río de Sabinas, se caminaron las veinte y cinco leguas, que hay al Río del Norte, que vulgarmente llaman Río Grande, hasta el día 20 en que llegó el batallón, que se acampó en su orilla y estaba tan caudaloso, que traía como estado, y medio de agua, y más de un tiro de bala de ancho, y reconociendo los naturales, que tardaría mucho tiempo en reducirse a su natural madre, se empezaron a fabricar por disposición del señor teniente general balsas de madera; y habiéndose hecho tres, se empezó el tránsito pasado Pascua de Navidad.

Al mismo tiempo llegó de Coahuila al dicho Río del Norte el señor marqués, y en su compañía el muy reverendo padre fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, presidente de las misiones de Tejas, por parte del Colegio Apostólico de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, y pocos días después el señor doctor don Joseph Codallos, y Rabal, calificador, y comisario del santo oficio, y examinador synodal del obispado de

Guadalajara, ex-visitador del juez eclesiástico de Mazapil, y del Saltillo, que entra a Tejas con el empleo de vicario general, con la delegación de todas las facultades del señor obispo de Guadalajara, a cuya jurisdicción toca la dicha provincia, habiendo ido de paso su señoría a visitar las misiones de San Bernardino, y Santiago del Valle de la Candela, que están a un lado del camino real, vistió a todos los indios de todas edades, como ejecutó antes lo mismo en las otras dos misiones de San Miguel de Aguayo, y San Buenaventura inmediatas a Coahuila.

Se continuó el tránsito del río, aunque con gran dificultad, probando diferentes modos de balsas de vigas, una con cueros de res, que no subsistió por falta de brea, y después de diferentes experiencias sólo sirvió una de diez vigas, con barriles debajo; y aunque no se pasaban más que seis cargas cada vez atrasó más, que esto su tránsito el recísimo temporal que hacía de hielos, nieves, y lluvias, siendo los días en que llovía, los que mejor se pasaba por templarse algo el frío, teniendo continuos cincuenta nadadores, que nadando tiraban las balsas, y trabajaron con tal empeño, que llegaron a enfermar todos; menos cuatro, acalorándolos, o animándolos el ejemplo de asistir en la playa el señor marqués, disponiéndoles el fomento de aguardiente, y chocolate, y abundancia de comida, por lo mucho que trabajaban.

El día 2 de febrero tuvo su señoría expreso de San Antonio con cartas del capitán don Matías García, de aquel presidio, en que participaba la noticia, que acababa de tener por unos indios de la nación de los sanas, de que el capitán Luis de San Dionis, con otros franceses, tenía convocadas muchas naciones, y se hallaba como a treinta leguas de dicho presidio, sin saber su designios; cuya novedad puso su señoría en consejo de guerra, en que se resolvió despachar a toda diligencia un destacamento de cien hombres de todas las compañías, y diez y seis más de los soldados veteranos, presidiales prácticos de la tierra para socorrer a San Antonio, y si necesario fuera salir al encuentro del enemigo para contenerlo, como se dispuso luego, y partió este destacamento dividido en dos compañías, a cargo de los dos primeros capitanes don Tomás de Zubiría, y don Miguel Colón, comandados por el señor teniente general don Fernando Pérez de Almazán, quien halló la noticia en San Antonio, de que en el ínterin el capitán García había despachado a explorar la tierra unos indios muy confidentes, con el capitán Juan Rodríguez, que es uno de los capitanes de la Ranchería Grande, que había ido a San Antonio a pedir misión, con cincuenta familias, el cual volvió el día 25 de febrero diciendo, que había llegado hasta la cercanía del Río de Brazos de Dios, y que no había encontrado a los indios de la Ranchería Grande, que vivían mucho más acá, y que presumían, que estaba también en la convocación dicha ranchería, y que no se atrevió a pasar más adelante, y luego que llegó a San Antonio le dijeron sus indios, que había estado allí un indio sana a buscarle, y darle noticia de que los indios de la Ranchería Grande estaban en la convocación de los franceses con otras muchas naciones, con muchos caballos, y armados los indios con fusiles, y que se hallaban entre los dos ramos de los Brazos de Dios a la parte de arriba del camino de Tejas.

Con cuya noticia resolvió el señor teniente general despachar una partida de treinta hombres del batallón, y de los veteranos a cargo del capitán don Matías García, que fue hasta los Brazos de Dios (que dista como ochenta leguas de San Antonio) y se volvió por no poder pasar una laguna, que había hecho muy grande

la crecida del río entre los dos brazos de donde alcanzó a ver algunos humos juntos a la otra parte de que infirió, que allí era la convocación, pues a la ida, ni a la vuelta no encontró indio alguno.

Con cuya noticia recibió el señor marqués dos días antes de acabar de pasar el río, y este día, y el siguiente repartió su señoría ropa, vistiendo a sesenta indios, que habían ayudado también a pasar las balsas, y ganados, que los mantuvo también su señoría con maíz, y carne que les dió todo el tiempo que duró el tránsito del río, y se acabó todo de pasar el día 23 de marzo.

[24 de marzo.] Día lunes 24 de marzo salió su señoría de la parte de acá del Río Grande, con las ocho compañías, menos el destacamento, que estaba en San Antonio, llevaba cada compañía trescientos cincuenta caballos, ganado mayor seiscientas cabezas, ganado menor ochocientas (quinientas cargas de víveres de guerra de boca, y de ropa, que fueron avanzadas) y seiscientas cargas de ropa, y bastimentos, y equipaje, que fueron con su señoría.

Salieron también el capitán don Alonso de Cárdenas, y el capitán don Juan Cortinas, con los soldados que tenían de sus compañías, incorporados en la marcha el padre presidente fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, y el padre fray Benito Sánchez, misionero de Tejas, que se hallaba en la misión de San Juan Bautista del presidio del Río Grande del norte; el rumbo fue derecho al norte. . . .

[Se omite el texto hasta 4 de abril, cuando se llegaron a San Antonio.]

[4 de abril a 12 de mayo.] El mismo día 4 [de abril] de los Dolores de Nuestra Señora, llegamos a la villa, y presidio de San Antonio de Béxar con gran gozo de todos los que íbamos, y de los que nos esperaban para incorporarse en esta alegre expedición, habiendo ido el señor gobernador (pasado su acompañamiento) destinado a apearse a la misión de San Antonio de Valero, dedicada al glorioso San Antonio de Padua, con todo su batallón, para ofrecer todos los soldados sus corazones a Dios desde estos primeros pasos, que empezaban a dar en la provincia de las Nuevas Filipinas; y todos los padres recibieron al rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) en la representación del señor gobernador, con el Te Deum laudamus, según lo de Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini, e imploraron, y felicitaron con las oraciones, que trae la santa iglesia, los progresos de las armas de su majestad en la extensión, que tanto anhela de la religión católica; los padres misioneros que aquí esperaban, y se incorporaron en el viaje, son el reverendísimo padre fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, comisario del santo oficio, fundador, y exguardián de los colegios apostólicos de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, y de Cristo Señor Nuestro de Guatemala, prefecto de misiones, y presidente actual de las misiones de Tejas, pertenecientes al colegio apostólico de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, el padre predicador fray Gabriel de Vergara; el padre predicador fray Joseph Guerra; el padre predicador fray Joseph Rodríguez; el hermano fray Joseph Albadadejo; y el hermano fray Joseph Pita.

Aunque el señor gobernador venía con la resolución fija de proseguir la marcha el sábado santo, difirió el viaje informado de que los caballos estaban muy postrados, por lo riguroso del invierno, que habían pasado, y que no se podía ejecutar el viaje tan largo; sino se les daba tiempo para que se reforzasen, y también por no dejar de celebrar la semana santa, en paraje tan oportuno, cedió a las per-

suasivas, y poderosas representaciones de los padres, que su santo celo reconoció ser no sólo conveniente, sino necesario el que para ir a establecer la santa fe católica, entre tanto gentilismo fueran todos los soldados, como buenos cristianos a cooperar son su ejemplo, cumpliendo con el precepto de la iglesia, y más con la circunstancia de que los más no se habían confesado el año antecedente, por haberse hecho la leva de algunos en aquel tiempo, y haberles cogido a otros sobre la marcha, y para lograr el cultivo de sus almas, sembrando la palabra de Dios con la santa misión, predicando muchas misiones, se prolongó la mansión en esta villa, y se logró con gran consuelo de todos el mucho fruto, que hicieron los padres, así en el púlpito, como en su amorosa, y continuada asistencia en el confesionario.

Por no tener en el ínterin el señor gobernador ociosas las tropas en el servicio del rey, y bien de estas dos provincias, dispuso al mismo tiempo diferentes cosas, todas muy importantes, como fueron el enviar una compañía de cuarenta soldados, al descubrimiento de unas salinas, que por noticias de indios se creían estarían muy cerca, careciendo de sal estas dos provincias, aunque no se logró el de la principal salina, que buscaban, habiéndose alejado cincuenta leguas; y reconocido por noticias de los indios, que encontraron el que todavía estarían de allí distantes como cuarenta leguas, y que no se sacaría fruto de su descubrimiento, así por la distancia, como porque habitan en aquellos contornos muchas naciones de indios muy guerreros, que han embarazado muchas veces la saca de la sal a cincuenta, y sesenta hombres armados, que han ido del Nuevo Reino de León, en que ha habido muchas muertes de una, y otra parte; pero aunque tuvo de malo el haber empleado veinte y dos días en reconocer mucha tierra no fue del todo inútil este viaje, que encontraron a la vuelta casi contiguas dos salinas a cuatro jornadas de San Antonio, y a una al lado del camino real del Río Grande, que aunque estaban ahora inundadas por las irregulares lluvias de este año, les aseguraron los indios, que allí habitan, el que tienen en tiempo de seca muy buena sal, como se vió en la muestra, que trajeron, de la que les dijeron los indios habían sacado este último enero.

Hallándole también muy cuidadoso el señor gobernador de no haber noticia alguna de la compañía de cuarenta soldados, que había despachado su señoría desde el Río Grande con el destacamento a cargo del capitán don Joseph Ramón, que había partido de San Antonio el día 10 de marzo a poblar la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, despachó el viernes santo cuatro indios de su confianza, y el día 18 de abril llegó a San Antonio el teniente, y cuatro soldados, que despachó el capitán don Joseph Ramón, con la alegre nueva de haber tomado posesión de la bahía, en nombre del rey nuestro señor enarbolando la Santa Cruz, y sus reales estandartes el día de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, habiendo gastado treinta y dos días en el viaje, desde San Antonio, así por no haber acertado el camino el indio guía, que llevaba, como por la dilación, que tuvo en pasar dos ríos caudalosos; pero el teniente volvió en seis días a San Antonio, y reguló, que habría no más que sesenta leguas hasta la bahía, la cual dicen es muy hermosa, y capaz de abrigar en su seno muchos navíos, aunque todavía no la había fondeado por no tener ni aun palos allí cerca para hacer una canoa; cuyas noticias se celebraron con el alborozo correspondiente a pueble tan preciso, y importante, pues se logra el descubrir toda la provincia, defendiendo aquella entrada, que ha de ser la llave, para esto, y para los socorros que se necesitaren, que podrán venir en breves días de la Veracruz.

Con este aviso del pueble de la bahía, despachó correo el señor marqués, al se-

ñor virrey, el día 26 de abril para dar esta noticia a su excelencia y la de que ya estaba próximo a continuar el viaje, haciendo al mismo tiempo la representación a su excelencia de que aunque era tan pingue el sueldo de los soldados, no era bastante para su manutención si se continuaba por tierra el acarreo de los víveres, y que estaban expuestos a faltarles por la contingencia de los ríos, y por la distancia de cuatrocientas leguas, que hay hasta los Adáes, desde el Saltillo, y Parras, de donde ahora se conducen, en cuya consideración suplicaba a su excelencia le diese facultad para traer los socorros a la bahía desde la Veracruz; ofreciendo, que con sólo el despacho de la licencia de su excelencia costearía la compra, o el flete de una balandra para lo que por ahora necesitaba conducir para el abasto de la provincia, con lo cual se descubriría esta navegación tan importante; y prometiéndose su señoría, que daría este permiso su excelencia escribió al mismo tiempo a su apoderado de México para que comprara, o fletara la balandra; y que le enviara con la mayor presteza la provisión de harina, maíz, y otras cosas, que le pedía.

Y luego, que despachó su señoría el correo visitó un día la misión de San Antonio de Valero, contigua al presidio, y otro día la misión de San José, y San Miguel de Aguayo, que hacía un año había erigido su señoría, con tres naciones de indios, que se congregaron, que dista del presidio río abajo, como legua, y media, y en ambas misiones repartió ropa a todos los indios, y otras cosas de mercería, que estiman mucho, vistiendo a doscientos y cuarenta indios, con mujeres, y muchachos de la misión de San Antonio de Valero, y a doscientos veinte y siete de la misión de San José, y San Miguel de Aguayo; y después vistió asimismo a los cincuenta indios, y a las mujeres, y muchachos de los que había traído el capitán Juan Rodríguez, de la Ranchería Grande, viniendo a pedir misión para ellos, y para otros, que en dicha ranchería tiene de su séquito; y estando informado el señor marqués de las insuperables dificultades para tanto tren, que había en el camino; que hasta este tiempo se ha usado para Tejas, por las lagunas, y por lo caudaloso de los ríos, como por la enmarañada aspereza del monte grande, que llaman así por las muchas leguas, que corre su cinta, y por ser su travesía de veinte leguas, no estando tampoco abierto el camino; y con las noticias, que fue observando su señoría, y últimamente le había dado el indio Juan Rodríguez, de que le guiaría por buena tierra despejada, y llana por donde se pasaban muchos arroyos, y ríos, divididos en diferentes brazos, que por el camino bajo juntándose las aguas, hacen caudalosos a los ríos, e impracticable su transito en tiempo de aguas, como han sido muy copiosas las lluvias de este invierno, y que también se evadiría el monte grande montándole por donde empieza; propuestas todas estas razones en junta de guerra, que tuvo a este fin su señoría, se resolvió, votos conformes, descubrir este nuevo camino, llevando por guía al dicho Juan Rodríguez, y a otros indios.

Asimismo en este medio tiempo se hicieron muchas correrías de diferentes escuadras, que envió el señor marqués para contener los indios, que infestaban entonces aquella comarca, pues dos días antes que llegara su señoría a San Antonio, salieron a tres leguas de aquel presidio a unas recuas, y en la refriega mataron a un arriero, y quedó herido un soldado; y también porque se discurrió podrían ser apaches, dispuso su señoría estas correrías, dando el orden de que se procurara si se encontraban el traer vivos todos los que se pudieran para regalarlos, y solicitar con ellos la importante confederación de su dilatada nación, que se extiende hasta el Nuevo México, y reconociendo el día 10 de mayo, que ya se habían reforzado los caballos, dispuso su señoría la marcha para el día 13; y por entrar ya en

tierra arriesgada de enemigos, dió orden, que todo el viaje marchara de piquete la compañía, que le tocaba estar de guardia, y el equipaje, caballadas, recuas, y ganados de la misma forma, que antes, cubriendo la marcha otra compañía.

[Se omite 13 de mayo hasta 23 de mayo]

23 de mayo. Viernes 23 por el rumbo de nordeste se siguió la marcha, pasando luego el Río de Garrapatas, por una cinta de peñas, que atraviesa todo el río, y hace un hermoso salto de agua, que la mantiene todo el año, y la tarde antecedente había crecido con la tempestad tanto, que estaba intransitable, siendo todo el camino despejado, y de lomitas bajas, hasta la arboleda del Río de San Marcos, que por uno, y otro costado es muy frondosa con gran variedad de árboles, y también parras, y el río estaba doblado caudaloso, que los antecedentes, siendo muy ancha la madre, que fue menester terciar las cargas, por cuyo motivo, y por costar casi todo el día el pasar los ganados, se hubo de hacer alto como a tres cuartos de legua pasado el río, en un arroyuelo; donde hubo buen acampamiento de árboles sombríos, y muchas moras, y zarzamoras (crecidas al doble, que las de España) y habiendo encontrado rastro de cíbolos, se despachó una partida, y se logró una res muy grande; es el cíbolo el toro mexicano, que llamaron los primeros españoles, que es monstruoso, o la corneja de los animales, jibada [sic], y corba la espalda, como el camello, enjuto el ijar, corta la cola, y pelada, como el cerdudo, menos el remate, que tiene lana crecida, de que está cubierta toda la piel, que es oscura (y curtida aunque no es tan fina se parece a la del oso) tiene barbas como la cabra, y el cuello, y la frente con guedeja de media bara, como el león, que casi le cubre los ojos, que tiene muy grandes, y negros; hendido el pie, y armada la frente, como el toro, cuya ferocidad imita sobre ser mucho mayor, así en la ejecución, como en la ligereza; la carne es muy sabrosa, como la de la mejor vaca; y habiendo sido la marcha de tres leguas, se observó, que estábamos a treinta grados. 3 leguas.

[Se omite 24 de mayo hasta 7 de julio.]

8 de julio. Martes 8 continuamos rumbo de estenordeste por tierra quebrada de monte claro con lomas, y plazuelas, y se hizo puente en el arroyo de San Fernando; caminó el batallón hasta el paraje, que nombró su señoría de Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso, que es arroyo pequeño, a la salida de un llano espacioso en seis leguas distante de Santa Clara; y habiendo hecho alto en este sitio por la noticia de haber indios Tejas allí cercanos, y para descubrir sus chozas. 6 leguas.

Había despachado el señor gobernador una partida de soldados aquella mañana, y como práctico fue también el padre presidente fray Isidro, con otros dos religiosos, siguiendo una vereda, que se aparta del camino común hacia el sur, y a distancia de tres leguas encontraron unos sembrados a usanza de los Tejas, y dando voces en lengua de dichos indios, por no descubrirse las chozas respondieron de la parte del monte, y pasando un arroyo pequeño dieron con algunos indios, los más de la Ranchería Grande (cuyo capitán Juan Rodríguez iba con la partida) y todos los recibieron con mucho agrado; pasaron a las chozas de dichos indios, que estaban poco distantes, y reconocieron hallarse allí juntos algunos indios de las naciones Vidays, y Agdocas, con toda la Ranchería Grande; y habiendo

al mismo tiempo encontrado el piquete rastro fresco de indios, y oído alaridos, hizo alto, y despachó el capitán al alférez a dar parte de esta novedad al señor gobernador, que venía a la frente del batallón, y partió su señoría con una compañía apresurado mucho la marcha, dejando orden, que siguieran la suya las demás compañías, y en el paraje, que encontró al piquete ordenó, que hiciera alto, y siguió su señoría el rastro, que habían encontrado de los indios, por una vereda muy viajada; y a distancia como de una legua halló su señoría la partida que había despachado por la mañana, que estaba con los indios; y al resonar el clarín, y descubrirse el estandarte real salieron los indios con una bandera blanca de tafetán con listas azules, que habían adquirido de los franceses, en forma de marcha de apie [sic], haciendo salva con los fusiles, que traían muchos de ellos, se fueron llegando al señor gobernador, con señales de sumisión, y reverencia, y mandó su señoría, que pusieran su bandera bajo el estandarte real, en señal de que prestaban la obediencia al rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) y que su majestad los admitía bajo su real amparo, de que quedaron gozosos; desde a caballo les puso a todos las manos sobre la cabeza, cumpliendo con estas señas, que tienen los indios de prestar la obediencia hombres, mujeres, y niños, que todos al parecer serían como doscientas personas, después de lo cual se apeó su señoría en la barraca de un capitán, y dióles a entender por intérprete; como venía de paz, y lo que convino decirles del motivo de su venida, y dando vuelta al paraje del dicho acampamiento, que dista una legua, se esperó a la tarde que viniesen los indios, que andaban dispersos en la caza, que juntos con los demás vinieron haciendo salva a caballo con sus fusiles al llegar a nuestro real, a los cuales recibió el señor gobernador con todo agrado, y los despidió contentos con algunos manojos de tabaco, para que repartiesen con sus mujeres, e hijos.

9 de julio. Miércoles 9 vinieron a ver al señor gobernador los capitanes, con muchos indios de la ranchería, a quienes después de haberles continuado el halago les dió una res para que almorzara su gente, y les amonestó, que se mantuvieran de paz, pues les estaba también el abrigo de los españoles, y que se retiraran más allá de los Brazos de Dios, a donde solían vivir, que a la vuelta de Tejas los pondría en misión, cerca de San Antonio, a que respondieron, que lo ejecutarían así, y sabido por dichos indios, que el Río de la Trinidad, que dista como cinco leguas, estaba muy crecido les dijo su señoría, que fueran a su orilla donde iba a pasar, y que allí les daría ropa, y otras dádivas; y habiendo hecho señal el clarín de montar a caballo, para que por amor, y temor estuvieran fieles a los españoles, mandó su señoría formar el batallón en cuadro, y habiéndole pedido al señor gobernador, que trabajara el caballo a la moda de España, por el concepto que harían los indios de la ventaja en el manejo, que no habían visto jamás, lo escaramuceó con toda destreza, con todas las diferencias de tornos, y escuela, que se acostumbra, de que estuvieron pasmados los indios, y poniéndose a la frente para seguir la marcha fueron desfilando por su escala las compañías; y prosiguiendo el rumbo de estenordeste por entre monte claro de encumbrados arboles, encontrando a trecho algunas plazuelas, y pasando dos arroyos atascaderos, en que cayeron muchas cargas, se salió al Valle de Linares, donde se mudó el rumbo al nordeste, y se encontraron dos lagunas, y el arroyo corriente de Santa Rosa, y por algunas plazuelas, y monte de robles, nogales, y pinos, se llegó al Río de la Trinidad donde se acampó entre la arboleda, como un tiro de bala, del río habiendo sido la marcha de cinco leguas. 5 leguas.

10 de julio. Jueves 10, reconociendo la mucha creciente del río, y que tendría permanencia mandó el señor gobernador fabricar dos balsas, la una a los indios de la Ranchería Grande, a su moda, de los palos secos, y carrizo, y la concluyeron en dos días, aunque no sirvió por mucha corriente, pues al primer viaje se cansaron, y desengañaron los indios, que no se podía pasar con ella, y la que hicieron los soldados muy grande de troncos, y barriles, se experimentó, que sería muy trabajoso, y con grande dilación el pasar el río, y que se habían de mojar las cargas de ropa, y bastimentos; y habiendo dicho los padres misioneros al señor gobernador, que cuando salieron de la provincia, por la invasión de los franceses, fabricaron una canoa, que dejaron en un arroyo, como una legua del otro lado del río, envió su señoría soldados a reconocer si estaba en ser, y aunque les costó dos días el buscarla, la encontraron encallada en el arroyo, con cuya noticia despachó su señoría gente, y bueyes, que trajía a prevención, y carpinteros para hacer rodadillos, y yugos, y hubo tanta dificultad en traerla por tierra, que costó cuatro días el ponerla en el río, y al instante se pasaron tres compañías, y después todo el tren de cargas, ganados, y caballadas, y luego lo restante del batallón, habiendo sido la detención para todo esto de diez y seis días [sic], en cuya mansión viniendo los capitanes de la Ranchería Grande, con algunos indios, a quienes dió ropa, y otras cosas, a más de mantenerlos de bastimentos los días que allí estuvieron, y después de haber vestido con especialidad a los capitanes, envió su señoría ropa, cuchillos, y otras cosas, que aprecian mucho para toda la ranchería con el soldado Nicolás de los Santos, que los llevó en dos mulas de carga, y fue con los capitanes al repartimiento general, por ser gran lenguaraz, y conoció haber quedado muy agradecido, y asimismo vinieron a este paraje cuatro indios de los tejas, e ygodosas, a quienes regaló, y vistió con particularidad, para que llevaran la noticia del agasajo con que entraban los españoles, que partieron luego para Tejas; y habiendo acabado de pasar todo, se acampó a una legua del río, pasado el arroyo de San Juan, para cuyo transito por nadar en él los caballos previno su señoría, con tiempo el fabricar una puente de quince varas de largo, y tres y media de ancho. 1 legua.

25 de julio. 25 viernes, fue preciso detenerse para sacar la canoa, que se subió río arriba, y por un arroyo se sacó a tierra para dejarla asegurada de las avenidas; en cuyo día llegó el cacique de la nación de los aynays (a quien reconocen por superior todas las naciones de Tejas) con ocho indios de los principales, y cuatro indias, entre ellas Angelina, india, que se crió en el Río Grande, y Coahuila, que sirvió de intérprete, por hablar también la lengua castellana, como la de Tejas, y el razonamiento, que hizo el cacique fue la mayor parte con lágrimas de gozo por la venida de los españoles, que estuvo embargado un rato en los sollozos, y prorrumpió: que habiendo tenido noticia, que habíamos llegado quince días había al Río de la Trinidad, impaciente de tanta detención, había salido a recibirnos, y que sintió tanto la ausencia de los españoles, cuando se salieron de Tejas los padres, y el capitán Ramón, y la tardanza en volver, como lo habían dejado esperanzado, que hubiera ido de buena gana a buscarnos a San Antonio, si hubiéramos tardado más tiempo; y habiéndole respondido el señor gobernador con la estimación correspondiente a su buena voluntad, le manifestó el amor con que su majestad (que Dios guarde) atendía a los tejas, enviando a los españoles para mantenerlos en quietud, defendiéndolos de todos sus enemigos, y a los padres misioneros para que los instruyeron en nuestra santa fe católica; y habiéndolo regalado con un vestido entero de gabán, armador, calzones de paño, etc. y dadole [sic] bastón con puño de

plata nombrándole por capitán, y gobernador de los indios tejas; vistió asimismo a todos los demás indios, e indias, que trajo en su compañía.

26 de julio. Sabado 26 se prosiguió el viaje, rumbo de nordeste, por monte claro de pinos, nogales, encinas, robles, y parras; se pasaron dos arroyos, y se hizo alto en el arroyo de Santa Efigenia, habiendo sido de cuatro leguas la marcha de aquel día, la cual siguió el capitán de los tejas, con los demás indios, admirado de ver tantos españoles, y tanto tren de cargas, y ganados.

27 de julio. 27 domingo continuó el señor gobernador con el rumbo de estenordeste por tierra quebrada con mucha arboleda de nogales, pinos, y castaños, y se pasaron dos arroyos corrientes, hasta el de Santa Coleta, donde se concluyó la jornada de siete leguas, en una hermosa plaza, desde donde se adelantó aquella tarde el padre presidente fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, con el capitán de los tejas, que quiso ir a prevenir con sus indios el recibimiento en el paraje donde estuvo la primera misión. 7 leguas.

28 de julio. Lunes 28 con el mismo rumbo de estenordeste se siguió el viaje, hasta el paraje de San Pedro, por el mismo género de tierra de claras arboledas, donde se puso el presidio, y misión (que no pasaron de allí los españoles) en la primera entrada, el año de [16]90, y no se anduvieron más, que tres leguas, por ser paraje cómodo, y no haber otro a propósito, hasta el Río de los Neches; y este día vinieron al acampamiento los indios, e indias, con sus criaturas, de los ranchos que hay inmediatos, con regalo de elotes, sandias, pinole, y frijoles, a quienes agasajó, y vistió enteramente el señor gobernador, y se volvieron muy contentos, y agradecidos; y a este mismo tiempo llegó el capitán, que gobierna a los nechas, con sesenta indios, e indias, que entraron en el acampamiento haciendo salvas con sus fusiles, a quienes recibió con mucho agrado el señor gobernador, y después de haber hecho las señas de paz (que es usar todos de una misma pipa, mezclando el tabaco suyo, y el nuestro) explicó el capitán el regocijo, que le causaba la venida de los españoles, y se ofreció con todos los suyos a continuar su agradecimiento a la benevolencia, que habían experimentado en los españoles, y que esperaban la continuación; de que lo dejó bien asegurado el señor gobernador, por medio del intérprete Angelina, haciéndoles explicar el fin de su venida, suspendiendo el vestirlos hasta llegar a la misión de San Francisco (en cuyo contorno habitan) dándoles solamente con abundancia carne, y maíz para que cenasen aquella noche, y comieran el día siguiente; al anochecer llegó un francés, que envió el capitán Luis de San Dionisio, desde la capital de Tejas, donde estuvo la misión de la Concepción, a representar al señor gobernador, que si le daba salvoconducto vendría a proponer los órdenes que tenía de la Mobila, como comandante de las armas franceses, en esta frontera, a que le respondió el señor gobernador, que podría venir sobre seguro, y lo despachó al instante, aunque no pudo salir hasta por la mañana siguiente.

29 de julio. Martes 29 salió el señor gobernador al rumbo de nordeste, por monte claro del mismo género de arboles, lomas, y cañadas, y pasando por la llanada a donde se puso primero el presidio en la entrada del año de 1716, al lado de una laguna de agua dulce manantial, se concluyó la jornada en la orilla del Río de [los] Neches, habiendo caminado cuatro leguas, y por hallarlo muy crecido dispuso el señor marqués fabricar una puente, cuya construcción costó seis días, habiendo quedado de treinta y dos varas de largo, y cuatro de ancho, que quedó tan buena, y estable, que se le echó la bendición de la iglesia. 4 leguas.

30 de julio. Miércoles 30 vinieron cien indios entre mujeres, y muchachos, que habitan en el Nacono, que dista cinco leguas de aquel paraje, y reconocen la primera misión de San Francisco de los Neches, y su capitán, que es también el primer sacerdote de sus ídolos, que es ciego, y se presume, que después de haber capitaneado muchos años se sacó los ojos, como acostumbran los indios para ser el primer sacerdote entre ellos; el cual con la mayor eficacia, y retórica natural de voces, y señas hizo una larga arenga a su señoría, expresando la mayor alegría por haber vuelto los españoles, y para mostrar más su amor dijo, que lo que más estimaban era a Dios, al sol, luna, y estrellas, y a los españoles; que el agua, tierra, aire, y fuego no servían para esta comparación, a que respondió el señor gobernador, por el intérprete Nicolás de los Santos (soldado que estuvo en la primer entrada de Domingo Ramón, muy práctico en la lengua, y en las señas) que hacía el mayor aprecio de sus cariñosas expresiones, explicándole el fin de su majestad en enviar tantos españoles para poner en paz toda esta dilatada provincia, y dejarla resguardada con muchos españoles, que quedarían; y que siempre que fuera menester vendrían muchos más para defenderlos de todos sus enemigos, y establecer para bien suyo la religión católica, con los padres predicadores misioneros, que entraban, y que ya no tendrían que temer en adelante invasión alguna, de que monstró [sic] tanto gozo, que levantándose hizo un largo, y fervoroso razonamiento a toda su gente repitiéndoles la respuesta, que su señoría había dado, y los persuadió a que habían de vivir muy amigos de los españoles, y que habían de ir a cuartas guerras se ofrecieran en su compañía, y que los regalaran, yendo a cazar guajolotes, venados, y osos, y trayéndoles de todas las comidas, que ellos usan.

31 de julio. Jueves 31 trajeron al señor gobernador tamales, sandias, elotes, pinole, y frijoles; ese día los vistió su señoría a todos hombres, mujeres, y muchachos, con paño, bayeta, sayal, quexquemiles, y listones; y los regaló con abalorios, navajas, belduques, zarcillos, anillos, espejos, peines, leznas, tijeras, eslabones, y frezadas en que se daba envuelto, a cada uno, su vestido, con las demás cosas expresadas, que estiman mucho, y al capitán dió bastón con puño de plata, y un vestido de distinción, al uso de los españoles, como asimismo a su mujer duplicado de todo lo demás; de que quedaron todos muy contentos, y agradecidos; el mismo día llegó al real, pasando el caballo a nado, el capitán Luis de San Dionis, a quien recibió el señor gobernador con el agrado, y seriedad conveniente, y habiendo dicho, que venía muy fatigado del sol, y camino, le concedió su señoría la licencia, que pidió para descansar, y alojarse aquella noche con los padres misioneros.

1 de agosto. Viernes 1, después de haber oído misa el señor gobernador, mandó llamar al capitán don Luis, y habiéndolo recibido con el teniente general, y los capitanes, le dijo: Que propusiera el motivo de su venida; a que respondió: Que era a decir, que se hallaba comandante de las armas franceses en toda esta frontera, y que si su señoría ejecutaba lo mismo observaría las treguas, que se habían publicado en España entre las dos coronas, con la más amigable correspondencia, creyendo según las cartas, que habían tenido de la Francia, que ya estarían establecidas las pases, a que le respondió su señoría, que arreglándose a los órdenes, que traía mantendría las treguas, como luego evacuará toda la provincia de Tejas, retirándose a los Nachitoos con los demás franceses, y no impidiendo ni procurando impedir directa, ni indirectamente el reintegro, que su señoría había de hacer a todo trance a las armas del rey nuestro señor de todo lo que habían poseído,

hasta los Adáes inclusive, en que convino enteramente, aunque se le conoció el sentimiento (que disimuló) de que se recobraran los Adáes, por ser paraje a que han aspirado los franceses, por importarles mucho para la comunicación con el presidio que tienen en los caudodachos, que facilita el paso para el Nuevo México, ponderando lo mal sano, que era el paraje de los Adáes, y la inutilidad de él para labores (sobre que no podía dejar de conocer, que habiendo tenido allí la misión de San Miguel, que invadieron, no podíamos ignorar la calidad, y bondad de aquel país) y se despidió para partir ofreciendo el retirarse, sin detención alguna, con su gente a Nachitoos.

2 de agosto. Sábado 2 despachó el señor gobernador un destacamento con el padre predicador fray Joseph Guerra, cuyos caballos pasaron a nado para la misión de San Francisco; y otro con los padres predicadores fray Gabriel Vergara, y fray Benito Sánchez, para la misión de la Concepción, para reedificar las iglesias, y viviendas de los religiosos de ambas misiones; y hasta este día que se dividieron los padres se celebraron en el viaje todos los días siete misas, y los días de fiesta ocho, y todos los domingos hicieron sermón de misión alternándose los dos padres presidentes de los dos colegios, con gran edificación de todos, y en todos los acampamientos desde San Antonio, se erigieron cruces por exaltarla en medio de tanta idolatría, y por dejar señas de paz a los indios apaches, que las tienen por tales, de que conocen que ha habido españoles.

3 de agosto. Domingo 3 acabada la puente pasó muy bien toda la gente, equipaje, recuas, y ganados con rumbo de estenordeste; y se acampó inmediato a la misión de San Francisco, donde estuvo el presidio la segunda vez que se mudó el año de diez y seis; y sólo fue la jornada de dos leguas cortas. 2 leguas.

4 de agosto. Lunes 4 despachó el señor gobernador nuevo refuerzo de gente para que se perfeccionaran las obras de la misión de San Francisco, y se pudiera celebrar el día siguiente la fiesta de restablecer la santa fe católica, que estaba abolida en el país de los tejas.

5 de agosto. Martes 5 sabiendo que estaba concluida la iglesia, y vivienda para los padres misioneros, pasó el señor gobernador con todo el batallón a restablecer la misión de San Francisco de los Neches, vulgarmente de los Tejas, que se ejecutó con fiesta muy solemne de misa cantada, que dijo el muy reverendo padre fray Antonio Margíl, con salva general de todas las compañías, en el discurso de la misa, con repique de campanas, clarines, y cajas, y concluida la función, a que asistieron todos los indios muy admirados, se arrodillaron delante del altar a la primera persuasión del padre presidente de las misiones del Santo Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, el muy reverendo padre fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, y congregados en la vivienda de los padres en su presencia, y en la de todos los capitanes, y oficiales del batallón, en nombre del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) hizo nombramiento de capitán de los nechas, dándole bastón, y entero vestido a la usanza de los españoles, al que todos los indios unánimes aclamaron, y vistió enteramente a ciento cincuenta y ocho entre hombres, mujeres, y muchachos, de que quedaron sumamente gustosos, por no haber recibido jamás tanto ni tan general repartimiento; y por medio del padre presidente les dijo, que el fin de esta venida era principalmente por el celo, y deseo de su majestad de la salvación de sus almas, y que los admitía bajo su real, y benigna protección para defenderlos de todos sus enemigos, haciéndoles ver, que las dádivas que estos les han hecho ha

sido por el interés de sus gamuzas, cíbolos, caballos, y principalmente porque les den mujeres, y niños para esclavos, y que el rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) no sólo no les pedía cosa alguna; sino que les daba con tanta abundancia, como acababan de ver (no habiendo querido recibir el señor gobernador, ni una gamuza, porque no hubiera ni aun esta leve señal de recompensa) deseando solamente, que entraran en el gremio de la iglesia, como se los hizo su señoría entender bien; y que para esto era preciso que se congregaran, y juntaran en la dicha misión, formando un pueblo a usanza de los españoles, el cual pueblo puso por nombre San Francisco de Valero, y que no había de ser como otras veces, que no se habían congregado; sino que lo habían de ejecutar sin falta, y bien enterados de todo por dicho padre presidente, que es muy práctico en su lengua, respondieron unánimes, y conformes, que lo ejecutarían así en levantando la cosecha de maíz, que tenían en el campo, y para que pudieran ejecutarlo en el ínterin que pasaba el señor gobernador a los Adáes, pidió a su señoría el padre presidente, les diera posesión a los indios de las tierras, y aguas convenientes para su permanencia, a que condescendió, dándoles en nombre de su majestad; y haciendo todos los actos de posesión, y dejando por misionero al padre predicador fray Joseph Guerra, del Colegio de la Santa Cruz, a quien presentó el padre presidente de dicho colegio, por tal misionero; y habiéndole dicho, que confiaba de su celo toda la brevedad posible en la conversión de aquellas almas, prosiguió la marcha entre nordeste, y estenordeste por entre arboledas claras de empinados robles, y morales, pasando dos arroyos, y dos llanadas hasta un arroyo corriente, que está en el principio de otra llanada mayor, que las antecedentes, donde hizo alto por ser muy tarde, por haberse detenido hasta cerca de medio día en la misión; y se anduvieron este día cuatro leguas, y puso su señoría al dicho arroyo, y paraje por nombre Nuestra Señora de las Nieves. 4 leguas.

6 de agosto. Miércoles 6 continuando el mismo rumbo por el mismo género de arboledas, y llanadas se pasó un arroyo, y después de un llano, como de dos leguas, se encontró un río pequeño, que tiene agua permanente, y crece tanto lo más del año, que tienen allí canoa los indios para transitarlo, aunque ahora no fue menester; y por no tener nombre le puso su señoría él de Santa Bárbara, que dista menos de media legua de la misión de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora, y por no hacer daño en las sementeras de los ranchos, que están allí cercanos, pasó el señor gobernador a acamparse una legua más adelante en donde estuvo el presidio de Domingo Ramón, al tiempo que desampararon las misiones, habiendo sido la jornada de cinco leguas; y la misma tarde envió su señoría nuevo refuerzo de gente para reparar la iglesia, que sólo la de esta misión no estaba enteramente destruida; y para fabricar las dos viviendas de los padres, luego que llegó descubrió a su señoría el indio Juan Rodríguez, la noticia que había adquirido de que el capitán don Luis de San Dionis, después que vino del Río de los Neches de ver a su señoría, se detuvo tres días, como siete leguas de aquel paraje con los indios de los caudodachos, y de otras naciones de esta provincia, a quienes desde el invierno había convocado para ir a señorearse de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo y desde allí pasar a San Antonio, y que este nublado se había desvanecido con la venida de los españoles. 5 leguas.

7 de agosto. Jueves 7 con la orden que dió el señor gobernador, caminando con grave castigo, para que no se hiciera daño alguno en los maizes, estuvieron muy

contentos los indios, y mucho más después, viendo observada la orden, y este día se concluyó la iglesia, y se previno la artillería para la fiesta.

8 de agosto. Viernes 8 pasó el señor gobernador con todo el batallón, y las dos compañías de don Alonso de Cárdenas, y don Juan Cortinas, a la misión, y luego que llegó regaló al capitán gobernador de los tejas, con el mejor vestido, que tenía su señoría, de paño azul muy bordado de oro, y con chupa de tela de oro, y plata, y todo lo demás correspondiente a quedar enteramente vestido; se formaron las diez compañías en tres líneas delante de la iglesia, y entre esta, y el batallón las piezas de campañas, para hacer las tres salvas generales en la misa, que cantó el muy reverendo padre presidente de las misiones de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, y predicó el muy reverendo padre fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, presidente de las del Colegio de la Santa Cruz, con grande elocuencia, y ternura por el gozo de ver reintegrada la misión, y la santa fe católica, a cuya función concurrieron muchisimos indios de diferentes naciones, y entre ellos como ochenta de los caudodachos, que están bajo el dominio de los franceses, y habían venido a la convocación referida con los tejas, cuyo gobernador vive en esta misión, y a todos les causó suma admiración el disparo de la artillería, las salvas concertadas de las compañías, y el ver tantos españoles, pues quedaron como asombrados, y gustosos; y concluida la misa, en una de las viviendas de los padres pasaron a ver a su señoría todos los capitanes de las naciones, que habían concurrido, y muchos indios, e indias, trayendo las tejas cada una su regalito de las comidas que ellos usan, que son: frijoles, elotes, pinole, y tamales, a quienes mostró [*sic*] mucha estimación de su buena voluntad, y les ofreció de nuevo el amor, que siempre les habían tenido los españoles, asegurándoles, que esta vez venían a quedarse muchos en su compañía, de que estaban desconfiados escarmentados de las entradas antecedentes temiendo, que los desampararían como entonces, y los dejó satisfechos de que los defenderían de todos sus enemigos, y conociendo el gran séquito, que tiene Cheocas, el capitán de los tejas, le dijo el señor gobernador, que juntara toda su gente hombres, niños, y mujeres, para regalarlos con ropa, y otras cosas, y para darles a entender la intención de su majestad en haber enviado tantos españoles; y por estar dispersos en ranchos distantes respondió, que los juntaría dejando en sus casas, solamente los muy precisos; después solemnizó el día su señoría con el convite espléndido, que dió a todos los padres, y capitanes, y después de comer el padre presidente, pidió amparo de posesión por el derecho de su colegio, y por parte de los indios; y su señoría se la dió así a dicho padre, como al gobernador Cheocas, con toda solemnidad, quedando por misioneros dicho padre presidente, y el padre predicador fray Gabriel Vergara, de esta misión, y a la tarde se volvió su señoría con todas las compañías a su acampamiento.

9 de agosto. Sábado 9 despachó su señoría un teniente con un destacamento, que fue con el padre predicador fray Benito Sánchez, misionero destinado para la misión de San Joseph de Los Nasonis, que dista ocho leguas hacia el norte, de la de la Concepción, para fabricar la iglesia, y vivienda de los padres, que uno, y otro estaba arruinado. 8 leguas.

10 de agosto. Domingo 10 envió el señor gobernador otro destacamento, con el muy reverendo padre fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, presidente de las misiones del colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, y otros religiosos, a edificar la mi-

sión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Nacogdoches, de que no había quedado señas de la iglesia, ni vivienda de los padres, que dista ocho leguas de este acampamiento.

11 de agosto. Lunes 11 habiendo juntado el capitán gobernador de todos los tejas, toda la gente de los Aynais, que reconoce la misión de la Concepción, y los ochenta caudodachos, vino con todos, y muchos de ellos con fusiles al acampamiento de su señoría; y después de haberles hecho el mismo razonamiento, que a los demás indios para que se congregaran a pueblo, y ofrecido ellos que lo ejecutarían levantada la cosecha, les dió ropa, vistiendo cuatrocientos indios enteramente a su usanza, y repartido las dádivas, que ellos estiman mucho, navajas, tijeras, peines, espejos, leznas, eslabones, listones, gargantillas, chochomite, fajas, abalorios, zarcillos, y anillos, dando a cada uno de todo lo referido, y a dos capitanes, que venían con los caudodachos los vistió su señoría, y les dió un fardo de ropa, y de la dicha mercería para que la repartieran entre sus indios, que pareció al señor gobernador hacer esta demostración, para aficionarlos a los españoles, y por estar confederados con los tejas, de que quedaron unos, y otros muy agradecidos, y contentos.

12 de agosto. Martes 12 por dar algún descanso a los caballos dejó el batallón en este acampamiento, y pasó el señor gobernador con una compañía, a la misión de San Joseph de los Nasonis, que está extraviada ocho leguas, y recibieron a su señoría los indios de aquel paraje con muchas muestras de gozo.

13 de agosto. Miércoles 13 se solemnizó la reintegración de aquella misión, con misa cantada, y repetidas salvas, que hizo la compañía, y después de la misa se hizo la diligencia de amparo de posesión al padre presidente, y al capitán de los indios nasonis, con la misma solemnidad, que en las otras dos misiones; y congregados todos los indios, e indias; muchachos, y muchachas, que pertenecen a esta misión, nombró su señoría por capitán, al que ellos tenían reconocido, dándole la insignia de bastón con puño de plata, y les hizo explicar, por intérprete, el fin de la venida, y les persuadió, como en las demás misiones, que se juntaran a pueblo, que ofrecieron hacerlo, y luego vistió su señoría al capitán con vestido de paño de castilla, entero, al uso de los españoles, y a todos los demás, sin dejar ninguno en la misma conformidad, y con los mismos géneros, que en las otras misiones, dejando al padre misionero fray Benito Sánchez, que lo es de esta misión, el repartimiento para los indios ausentes que la reconocen, que se quedaron guardando sus milpas, y casas (habiendo ejecutado lo mismo en las misiones antecedentes) y quedaron tan gustosos, que trujeron todo el día calabazas, sandías, elotes, y pinole, y se vistieron trescientos indios en esta misión.

14 de agosto. Jueves 14 se volvió el señor gobernador al acampamiento a incorporarse con el batallón.

15 de agosto. Viernes 15, celebrada muy de mañana la solemnidad de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora, dejó su señoría la compañía del capitán don Juan Cortinas, que se compone de veinte y cinco soldados, restituida en su presidio antiguo, que está situado una legua de la misión, para resguardo, y asistencia de las misiones; y partió con todo el batallón por rumbo de estenordeste, y montes claros de nogales, pinos, y robles llegando a un paraje muy despejado, que tiene una gran cañada, y ojo de agua abundante, donde se hizo mansión aquel día, habiendo sido la jornada de cuatro leguas, y por no tener nombre se le puso el arroyo de la Asunción de Nuestra Señora. 4 leguas.

16 de agosto. Sábado 16 continuó su señoría por el mismo rumbo de estenordeste, y género de tierra, y arboleda, hasta el paraje donde estaba la misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches, que pertenece al Colegio de Zacatecas, habiendo caminado cuatro leguas. 4 leguas.

17 de agosto. Domingo 17 se acabó de fabricar la iglesia, y vivienda de los padres con nuevo refuerzo de gente, que su señoría dió del batallón.

18 de agosto. Lunes 18 se solemnizó la bendición de la iglesia nueva con misa cantada, en que predicó el muy reverendo padre fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, presidente de las misiones de la Santa Cruz, y formadas las nueve compañías del batallón, y Cárdenas, en tres líneas delante de la iglesia, hicieron las salvas generales, como en las demás misiones; y concluida la misa, el muy reverendo padre fray Antonio Margíl de Jesús, presidente de las misiones de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, pidió a su señoría el amparo de posesión por el derecho de su colegio, y del de los indios, la cual le dió su señoría con las solemnidades acostumbradas, quedando por misionero el padre predicador fray Joseph Rodríguez; y juntos todos los indios de todas edades vistió el señor gobernador al indio capitán, que tenían aclamado, con un vestido entero de paño de Inglaterra, y todo lo correspondiente, dándole bastón con puño de plata, y nombramiento de capitán, y a todos los demás también los vistió a su usanza, y repartió generalmente las dádivas, que a los indios de las demás misiones, y les explicó el fin de la venida, persuadiéndoles a que se congregaran, que ofrecieron el ejecutarlo, e hicieron un razonamiento muy largo con muchas expresiones de alegría, y reconocimiento; y solemnizó el señor gobernador la fiesta con un banquete, que hizo a todos los padres, y capitanes; se vistieron trescientos y noventa indios.

19 de agosto. Martes 19 prosiguió la marcha el señor gobernador con el rumbo de estenordeste, aunque hubo algunas guiñadas por lo torcido del camino, que todo el fue por cañadas, y monte claro de robles, pinos, y nogales; atraveseando algunos arroyos en que fue necesario hacer dos puentes, y cerca de la última se hizo alto en un llano, que hay una lagunilla, que llamó su señoría de San Bernardo; y fue la jornada de seis leguas, desde donde se adelantó el padre Margíl, con un destacamento a fabricar la siguiente misión de los Dolores. 6 leguas.

20 de agosto. Miércoles 20 partió su señoría por el mismo rumbo, y género de tierra, y arboledas, que el día antecedente, y pasando un río, que cuando crece es muy caudaloso, llamado ya Todos Santos, se acampó el batallón a su orilla, habiendo sido la marcha de 8 leguas.

21 de agosto. Jueves 21 prosiguió el viaje el señor gobernador por el mismo rumbo de estenordeste, y por tierra quebrada de arroyos, y árboles, hasta un cuarto de legua más adelante de donde estuvo situada la misión de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Adáes, de que no había ni aun vestigio alguno, por haber reconocido el padre Margíl, que era mejor paraje al lado de un arroyo, y ojo de agua, que sale no muy lejos, y por ser tierra alta, despejada, y tener una gran llanada para las sementeras; habiendo caminado seis leguas aquel día. 6 leguas.

22 de agosto. Viernes 22 se empleó en fabricar la iglesia, aplicando toda la gente necesaria.

23 de agosto. Sábado 23 se hizo la fiesta con la misma solemnidad, que en las misiones antecedentes, de misa cantada, y salva de todas las compañías, y concluida, y dado posesión al padre presidente fray Antonio Margíl, y al capitán de los indios, y vestido a este como a los demás capitanes, y a todos los demás in-

dios, e indias en la misma forma, que en las otras misiones, les hizo el señor gobernador el razonamiento conveniente, a que respondieron como los demás de las otras misiones; y se regocijó la fiesta con una abundante comida, que les dió su señoría a los padres, y todos los capitanes; quedando en esta misión el padre fray Joseph de Albadadejo, donde se vistieron ciento y ochenta indios.

24 de agosto. Domingo 24 dejando el señor gobernador un destacamento para perfeccionar la iglesia, y fabricar la vivienda de los padres, partió por el rumbo del este, y guiñando después al estenordeste por tierra montuosa de nogales, y pinos, y por cañadas, plazuelas, y algunos arroyos permanentes, y paró su señoría junto a una laguna, que la llamó de San Bartolomé (habiendo sido la jornada de cinco leguas) desde donde despachó su señoría un correo a San Antonio, con diferentes providencias, especialmente para apresurar los convoyes de bastimentos, y se hizo salva general al toque de las oraciones, celebrando el día de años de príncipes, y este día volvió el correo, que despachó su señoría a San Antonio con la respuesta de su excelencia en que le daba las gracias del descubrimiento, que ofrecía hacer, a su costa, del camino de la Veracruz a la Bahía del Espíritu Santo (que los franceses llamaban de San Bernardo) para socorrer esta provincia, por la dicha bahía, y que había dado ya los despachos para que saliera la balandra de la Veracruz, que con el mismo correo avisaba a su señoría el apoderado, tenía dispuesto, y concertado el flete de este viaje en tres mil y quinientos pesos, y que por todo el mes de julio saldría sin falta de la Veracruz, con todo lo que se había pedido. 5 leguas.

25 de agosto. Lunes 25 continuó su señoría la marcha al estenordeste por tierra quebrada de lomas altas, y cañadas, todas muy espesas de arboledas, y algunos arroyos, en que por lo atascoso se hicieron varios puentes, y se llegó a parar a una laguna, que llamó su señoría de San Luis, que dista como una legua del paso del Río de Sabinas, habiendo andado este día siete leguas. 7 leguas.

26 de agosto. Martes 26 salió el señor gobernador siguiendo el rumbo del día antecedente, y se pasó el Río de San Francisco de Sabinas, aunque venía, que llegaba hasta más arriba de la coraza el agua, en cuyo transito se gastó más de medio día por componer la salida, que tenía largo atolladero, y el resto de la tarde en transitar las lagunetas, y atolladeros, que hay de esta parte del río, que son en tiempo de invierno intransitables, y se hizo mansión en una loma junto a un arroyo, que llamó su señoría de San Nicolás de Tolentino, y fue esta marcha de tres leguas. 3 leguas.

27 de agosto. Miércoles 27 prosiguió su señoría caminando por el mismo rumbo, y por lomas, cañadas, y arboledas de pinos, nogales, encinos, algunos castaños, y nisperos, y diferentes arroyos, hasta un arroyo grande permanente, que le puso su señoría por nombre Santa Rosa de Lima, y pasado este, se acampó el batallón en su orilla, en un llano muy despejado; habiendo andado este día seis leguas. 6 leguas.

28 de agosto. Jueves 28 en prosecución de su viaje, salió su señoría por el rumbo de estenordeste, y el mismo género de tierra, y arboleda, que el día antecedente, por plazetas, y arroyos, en que fue menester fabricar algunos puentes para pasarlas, y acampó su señoría entre una laguna, y un arroyo, que le puso por nombre San Agustín; y fue la marcha de ocho leguas. 8 leguas.

29 de agosto. Viernes 29, antes de partir añadió el señor gobernador un destacamento a la compañía de piquete para abrir camino a la entrada, y salida del arroyo, por su impenetrable espesura, y para fabricar un puente grande, y con la

noticia de estar todo ejecutado salió su señoría llevando el rumbo del día antecedente por llanos descampados; y a trechos montes claros de árboles de nisperos, nogales, pinos, y robles, y habiendo llegado al paraje donde estuvo la misión de San Miguel de los Adáes, reconociendo su señoría ser muy incómodo para acampar el batallón por ser muy bajo, y estar expuesto a inundarse si llovía, y no haber agua corriente en el arroyo, envió exploradores por diferentes partes, los cuales hallaron a media legua más adelante un ojo de agua, que se derrama en una gran llanada a donde fue a hacer mansión; habiendo sido la marcha de tres leguas. 3 leguas.

30 de agosto. Sábado 30 no habiendo encontrado indio alguno en los Adáes, despachó su señoría partidas por diferentes partes, quienes trajeron la noticia el día siguiente de haber encontrado las rancherías más cerca, como de diez a doce leguas, y habiéndoles hecho saber a los indios (como llevaba orden) la venida de los españoles, se alegraron infinito los indios, y les dijo el capitán gobernador de ellos, que juntaría luego su gente, y vendría a ver a su señoría.

1 de setiembre. Lunes 1 llegó al acampamiento un francés con carta del capitán comandante de Nachitoos monsieur Rerenor, (que envió su señoría después a el señor virrey), cuyo contexto se reducía a cumplimentar a su señoría, por su venida, y a decir, que el capitán Luis de San Dionis, luego que había vuelto de Tejas a mitad de agosto había partido a la Móbila por el Río de Nachitoos (que los franceses llaman Rivera Roja) a dar cuenta a su gobernador de la venida de los españoles, y que este comandante no tenía orden de dejarnos poblar en los Adáes, y que así debía abstenerse su señoría, hasta que volviera el capitán Luis; y viendo el señor gobernador esta ambigua propuesta en junta de guerra, que tuvo luego con ella su señoría, resolvió, que el día siguiente pasara a Nachitoos el señor teniente general don Fernando Pérez de Almazán, con el capitán don Gabriel Costales (con el designio también de que observara la entrada de la isla, en que está constituido el presidio, y qué género de fortaleza tenía, por si se declaraba la guerra, ya que los demás franceses habían visto las fuerzas, que traía su señoría) y en su carta respondió al comandante, que como no se trataban bien con la pluma las cosas de la guerra, enviaba a su teniente general para que expresara con claridad la determinación con que venía su señoría, sobre cuya carta se explayó el señor teniente general en la conferencia con el comandante, diciéndole, que la resolución con que venía el señor gobernador, era, de ocupar el país de los Adáes, como se había señoreado del de los tejas, y que había de restablecer la misión de San Miguel, y construir un presidio en aquella frontera, en el paraje que le pareciera más conveniente; a que le respondió el comandante, que no tenía orden distintiva de convenir en ello, ni de embarazarlo, y que sabiendo las treguas con que corrían en Europa las dos coronas las mantendría si su señoría aderecía a ello, en la América; con lo cual se concluyó la conquista, o recobró de toda aquella provincia, capitulando las condiciones de que observando las treguas por una, y otra parte, quedaría reintegrado a la obediencia del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) todo cuanto habían poseído las armas de su majestad católica en aquella provincia, y que se fortificara el señor gobernador, como le pareciera, en el paraje que quisiera en aquella frontera.

Con lo cual trató luego el señor marqués de elegir paraje para erigir el presidio, y aunque envió exploradores por toda la comarca, y salió en persona a reconocer la tierra, no halló puesto más oportuno, ni de más conveniencias, que el paraje

donde estaba acampado en el camino real de nachitoos (de donde dista siete leguas) por ser toda la demás tierra cerrada, y sombría de arboledas, y por haber en el dicho paraje buenas cañadas donde poner la misión cerca del presidio, y tierras bastantes para hacer a parte sus siembras los españoles, y los indios; y por tener un ojo de agua al lado de un alto, en cuyo plan que predomina toda la campaña, demarcó su señoría, y se empezó luego a trabajar la fortificación de un hexágono, quitándole tres baluartes, interpolando los otros tres, defuerte [sic], que cada uno cubre, y defiende las dos cortinas, que cada una tiene cincuenta y cinco varas, acomodándose en esto, y en haber reducido los baluartes, no sólo al terreno; sino a la guarnición de los cien soldados de su dotación (de que han de estar siempre ocupados los treinta en la guarda, y custodia de los caballos, y ganados) y por no haber más que seis piezas de campaña, que tendrán el agua a medio de tiro de bala, aunque no se dejará de probar a dar pozo dentro de la plaza; en cuya fortificación hubo lo más que trabajar en abrir los cimientos a punta de barra, y en despejar el sitio, y su circunvalación de especísima, y gruesa arboleda, que había, para que no pudiendo acercarse encubiertos los enemigos, quedara como debía quedar en mayor defensa la estacada.

A 1 de setiembre vino el cacique de los Adáes, con muchos indios, con las mayores señas de alborozo, por la venida de los españoles, y habiéndolo agasajado el señor gobernador, y regaládolo como a los demás capitanes de los indios tejas, explicó el singular motivo, que tenía para complacerse de la venida de los españoles, porque esperaban todos los indios de aquel país vivir bajo su amparo; deseándolo, porque cuando invadieron los franceses la misión de San Miguel de los Adáes, por sólo haber mostrado sentimiento de la retirada de los españoles, les hicieron los franceses, y los indios de nachitoos muchas hostilidades, llevándoles cautivos algunos hombres, mujeres, y criaturas, que les cogieron al tiempo de retirarse, que por esta novedad se vieron precisados a abandonar aquel país, y a acogerse a tierra más distante, y fragosa de donde fueron viniendo a ver al señor gobernador, pasados de cuatrocientos entre hombres, mujeres, y muchachos; a quienes dejó su señoría muy contentos con la mucha ropa, y dádivas, que les repartió, vistiéndolos a todos como en las demás misiones, y habiéndoles asegurado su señoría la protección del rey nuestro señor y que dejaría formado en aquella frontera un presidio de cien hombres, y que restablecería en su cercanía la misión de San Miguel, ofrecieron congregarse en ella, en las noticias que indagó su señoría de todo aquel país, le dieron los indios la de que allí cerca había unas salinas, y siendo tan útil como necesario su descubrimiento despachó su señoría un teniente con una partida de veinte soldados, y veinte y cinco mulas, que trajeron cargadas de saltierra, tan buena, que con el beneficio acude por mitad, que la encontraron a quince leguas de donde se erigió el presidio.

29 de setiembre a 12 de octubre. En cuya iglesia se celebró el día del Arcángel San Miguel, la renovación de la misión, que se ha de poner como un cuarto de legua de distancia, y el día 12 de octubre, por ser el día de la Aparición de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza, se celebró la dedicación de aquella iglesia, y presidio eligiéndola su señoría por titular, y columna antemural de aquella frontera, cuyas dos fiestas se solemnizaron con la mayor solemnidad, y señas de regocijo, que se pudieron hacer con repetidas salvas de artillería, y de todas las compañías, que estuvieron formadas en la plaza de armas, durante la misa, que cantó el señor doctor don Joseph Codallos, y Rabal, habiendo bendecido antes el templo, y la for-

taleza sacando en procesión la imagen de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, cuyo culto ensalzó, con muy devoto, y elocuente sermón el reverendísimo padre fray Antonio Margíl, y se concluyó la fiesta, con banquete espléndido, que dió su señoría a los padres, y a los capitanes, y aguardiente a los soldados, que en varias fiestas de danzas, comedias, y encamisada mostraron su alegría.

Medio octubre a 31 de octubre. A mediado de octubre tuvo el señor gobernador la buena nueva de haber aportado con felicidad en la Bahía del Espíritu Santo el día de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora la balandra, que se fletó de orden de su señoría en tres mil y quinientos pesos, por hacer el descubrimiento a la bahía, desde la Veracruz, de donde trajo el abasto de trescientas y cincuenta cargas de harina, y ciento y cincuenta cargas de maíz, y otras provisiones para los soldados; cuya noticia se celebró, como merecía el descubrimiento de tan importante camino, y el socorro de bastimentos, del cual enviaron luego en las mulas, que tenía prevenidas su señoría en San Antonio, esperando esta embarcación, doscientas cargas de harina, y otras cosas, que llegaron al mejor tiempo, por el cuidado con que estaba sobresaltado el señor gobernador, de que no habiendo maíz en Tejas, y Adáes más que para el gasto de los indios, faltaría la provisión para su gente si se desgraciaba este convoy, del cual entraron cuarenta cargas el día 20 de octubre, y las demás a primeros de noviembre, con una partida de cuatrocientos carneros, y trescientas reses, que vinieron de la frontera del Reino de León, que dista de los Adáes trescientas y cuarenta leguas.

Como a una legua de distancia donde queda situado el presidio, empieza la gran laguna de los adaes, que tiene de circunvalación diez leguas, por donde pasa el Río de Caudodachos, que va a Nachitoos, por distancia de sesenta leguas, que hay de uno a otro presidio, y está a cuatro leguas de Nachitoos lo más cercano de la laguna; donde hay todo el año abundancia de diferentes géneros de pescado, y muchos patos de variedad de tamaños todo el invierno; hay en el país de los adaes osos, venados, nueces, y nisperos, de que hacen los indios mucha provisión en tortas para el invierno, y de manteca de oso, que es lindísima.

1 de noviembre a 28 de noviembre. Concluida la fortificación, y cuarteles el día de Todos Santos despachó su señoría correo al señor virrey con esta noticia, y con la de dejar los cien soldados de la dotación de este presidio, los treinta y uno con sus familias, dejándolo guarnecido con las seis piezas de campaña, y con víveres de guerra, y boca, y lo demás necesario para la buena manutención de la gente, pues aunque no quedaron de harina más que noventa cargas, esperaba enviar desde el camino ciento más del segundo convoy de la bahía, que tenía noticia su señoría estaba ya en camino de Tejas.

Ejecutado todo lo cual dió orden el señor gobernador, que se previniera todo para emprender la retirada el día 12 de noviembre; pero el día antecedente empezó un riguroso temporal de agua nieve, helándose los árboles tan copiosos, y crecidos carámbanos, que sobre ser muy gruesos, empezó a desgajar unos, y arrancar otros, desde la raíz el peso del hielo, con tal continuación que en veinte y cuatro horas cayeron más de doscientos en el acampamiento, y en su contorno más de dos mil, habiendo muerto muchos caballos, y mulas, que cogieron debajo; pero gracias a Dios sólo lastimó a un oficial un árbol, que le cayó en un hombro, cogiéndole dormido, que estuvo de bastante riesgo; y aunque amainó algo el tiempo a los tres días no se pudieron recoger los caballos, y muladas hasta el día 17, que se emprendió la marcha siendo desde los primeros pasos muy trabajosa, pues em-

pezaron a caerse muertos los caballos de tanto como los había postrado el frío, y ya desde la misión de los Dolores, que dista treinta leguas del presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, empezaron muchos soldados a marchar a pie; y en la siguiente de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe llegó el correo de México (que desde el mismo paraje había despachado el señor gobernador a la entrada) con pliegos del señor virrey, en que le remitió su excelencia testimonio de la real cédula, que había traído un navío de aviso, su fecha de Aranjuez de 6 de mayo de 1721, en que la benignidad del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) fue servido aprobar todas las disposiciones de su excelencia para esta entrada, y que la hubiera cometido a la conducta del señor gobernador, mandando de nuevo, que no se hiciera guerra a los franceses, en recobrando esta provincia; cuya noticia, y principalmente la de la salud de los reyes, se celebró con repetidas salvas generales, mandando también su majestad, que se fortificará esta provincia con los presidios, y en los parajes, que pareciera convenientes; y especialmente el de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo (que estaba ya un año había ocupado, y guarnecida con cuarenta soldados) cuya guarnición dió orden el señor virrey, que aumentará el señor gobernador con cincuenta soldados, eligiendo los mejores de los que tenía bajo su comando.

29 de noviembre a 8 de diciembre. El día 29 llegó su señoría al presidio de Tejas, donde delineó la fortificación proporcionada a la situación de los veinte y cinco soldados en figura cuadrada; pero con sólos dos baluartes en los ángulos encontrados; para que cada uno defienda las dos cortinas, que tiene de largo cada una sesenta varas (inclusa la media gola) siendo el paraje muy bueno en un alto, que predomina toda la campaña, con el agua permanente del arroyo de Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, que pasa muy cerca, en donde sólo se detuvo su señoría tres días por el cuidado de que no atrasarán el viaje las crecientes de los ríos; y habiendo enviado exploradores, y sabido por ellos, que estaba muy crecido el Río de Santa Bárbara, que esta entre las dos misiones de la Concepción de Nuestra Señora, y San Francisco, hizo fabricar en el ínterin un puente de treinta varas, con cuya fábrica se pasó sin detención alguna.

9 de diciembre a 23 de enero, 1722. El día 9 de diciembre encontró en Santa Efigenia el convoy segundo, que esperaba su señoría de la bahía del cual remitió el mismo día a los Adáes cien cargas de harina, y otras provisiones; llevándose lo demás para la manutención del camino, que dispuso su señoría volver por el bajo antiguo del monte grande por haber visto que traía como media vara de agua el Río de la Trinidad, y por haber sabido por unos soldados, que envió a reconocer el Río de los Brazos de Dios, tenían bueno su transito, y con un indio, que guió por nuevo rumbo se travesó el monte grande por plazetas, y monte claro en distancia de diez y siete leguas; por cuyo motivo de volver por camino conocido no se pone diario del derrotero de la retirada, como porque fueron irregulares las marchas precisando a hacerles de tres, de dos, y de una legua el mal tiempo de lluvias, y terribles hielos, como por la falta de pastos, y por la suma mortandad, que se fue continuando de los caballos, y mulas, defuerte, que desde el presidio de Tejas casi toda la gente caminaba ya a pie, y se vió precisado el señor gobernador a dejar ochenta cargas en el paraje del arroyo de San Juan Evangelista (poco antes de entrar en el monte grande) con escolta de veinte soldados; y conociendo su señoría la dilación, que había de haber para llegar a San Antonio, despachó desde el Río de la Trinidad diez soldados para que trujeran bastimentos (cuidadosos de que lle-

gara a faltarle en el camino) que llegó en treinta y dos cargas al paraje del encadenado, cuatro leguas del Río de San Marcos, en donde halló segundo socorro; y habiendo tenido su señoría la noticia de haberse quemado en San Antonio diez y seis jacales de los soldados, y la troje con setecientas fanegas de maíz, y la provisión de harina, que había, sin quedar una mazorca, despachó su señoría correo, dando providencias para que condujeran a toda diligencia, con nueva recluta de mulas, que pidió su señoría al Saltillo el abasto, que se necesitaba de harina, y maíz, que por si se desgraciaba la balandra tenía apromptadas en el Río Grande doscientas cargas de harina, y mil fanegas de maíz; y habiendo venido con la mayor prontitud las mulas, y transportado la dicha provisión hubo lo necesario para dejar abastecido aquel presidio, y para mantener las tropas, y proseguir la marcha para la cual también despachó correos a Guadiana, y a otras partes encargando con el mayor apremio la remonta de ochocientos caballos.

Prosiguiendo la penalidad del viaje, caminando hasta los capitanes, y demás oficiales a pie, habiendo hecho algunas marchas del mismo modo el señor gobernador (por acompañarles en la fatiga) llegó su señoría a San Antonio el día 23 de enero con el mayor gozo, y consuelo de que la epidemia sólo hubiera comprendido a las mulas, y caballos (habiendo sido tanta la mortandad, que de muy cerca de cinco mil caballos, no llegaron cincuenta, y como ciento de ochocientas mulas, que entraron) no habiendo peligrado soldado alguno, y hasta muchos que salieron enfermos de los Adáes, llegaron con salud a San Antonio, con cuya noticia de la retirada despachó su señoría correo al señor virrey.

24 de enero a 7 de marzo. Viendo el señor gobernador, que tardarían a llegar más de mes y medio las partidas de caballos, que tenía su señoría pedidas, según las noticias que tuvo su señoría por varias cartas, y reconociendo que estaba indefenso este presidio de San Antonio (a más de estar expuesto, al incendio, como poco tiempo ha lo había padecido por vivir los soldados en jacales techados de zacate, o heno) trató su señoría de hacer una fortificación, que estuviera preservada de este accidente, haciendo su fábrica de adobe, y habiendo hecho hacer el corte de madera necesaria para la iglesia, almacenes, y cuarteles eligió su señoría un paraje mejor, que donde estaba el presidio entre los dos ríos de San Pedro, y San Antonio (aunque fue menester despejar la campaña cortando muchos árboles) y hechando gente a trabajar adobes, empezó su señoría a tirar las líneas del fuerte, en cuadro, con cuatro baluartes, para que por si hallándose los soldados, en alguna correría, había alguna invasión pudieran pocos defender la plaza en sólo dos baluartes encontrados, defendiendo desde cada uno las dos cortinas, que cada una tiene setenta y cinco varas de un baluarte a otro; fomentando al mismo tiempo, que se hiciera una copiosa siembra de maíz para el abasto del presidio, y de los indios amigos (que cada día vienen a ver a los españoles) con la saca de agua, que a su costa tenía hecha su señoría del Río de San Pedro; que puede regar dos leguas de tierra fertilísima que tiene la ensenada, que forma el Río de San Pedro, entrando más abajo del presidio en el de San Antonio, haciendo como una isleta en lo que ensancha desde donde se erige el presidio, que quedará a treinta varas del Río de San Pedro, y a doscientas del de San Antonio.

8 de marzo a 9 de marzo. El día 8 de marzo volvió el correo, que despachó su señoría desde los Adáes, el día 4 de noviembre, con cartas del señor virrey, en que su excelencia daba las gracias al señor gobernador, con las mayores expresiones

de complacencia, aprobando cuanto había hecho su señoría en Tejas, para el recobro de aquella provincia, y para su resguardo con la fortificación, que dejó hecha en los Adáes.

10 de marzo a 17 de marzo. El día 10 de dicho mes, teniendo elegido ya muy buen paraje entre las dos misiones de San Antonio, y San José, pasó el señor gobernador a dar posesión de la misión, que le tenía pedida el capitán Juan Rodríguez, para sí, y los que estaban en su compañía de la Ranchería Grande, que aunque no eran más que cincuenta familias, ofreció, y aseguró, que vendrían los muchos que tenía de su séquito in su ranchería, en sabiendo que estaban puestos en misión; de que le dió su señoría posesión en toda forma, como al padre predicador fray Joseph González, que la recibió por parte del colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, con la advocación de San Francisco Xavier de Nájera, a cuya función asistieron todos los capitanes del batallón, habiendo este día vestido su señoría (a la usanza de los españoles) con un vestido entero de paño de Inglaterra, al indio Juan Rodríguez.

Con la primera partida de caballos, que llegó, despachó el señor gobernador los cincuenta soldados destinados para la bahía, elegidos de todo el batallón, que fueron todos voluntarios destacándolos de todas las compañías (formando una muy lúcida por ser la gente muy selecta) al cargo del capitán don Gabriel Costales, y por no haber venido bastantes caballos, no pudo partir su señoría hasta el día 16 del dicho mes, en cuyo día salió con un destacamento de cuarenta soldados de todas las compañías, con el señor doctor don Joseph Codallos, y Rabal, los capitanes don Tomas de Zubiría, don Miguel Cilón y Portugal, don Manuel de Herrera, y don Pedro de Oribe; empezando la marcha por el rumbo del sur, hasta la misión de San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, que dista como dos leguas, declinando al sudoeste todo el resto de la jornada, hasta el Río Salado, que fue de cuatro leguas por tierra llana de monte claro de robles, y encinos. 4 leguas.

Martes 17 prosiguió su señoría el viaje por el mismo rumbo de sudeste, y por el mismo género de tierra, y árboles pasando algunas plazuelas, con buenos pastos, hasta el paraje del Águila, donde hay unos esteros, que al parecer mantienen el agua todo el año; habiendo andado cuatro leguas. 4 leguas.

18 de marzo. Miércoles 18 continuó el señor gobernador su marcha por el rumbo del sur, como dos leguas guiñando al este todo el resto de la jornada, que fue de ocho leguas, hasta el Río de Cíbolo, por tierra montuosa con mucha arena, y arboleda espesa de encinos, robles, y mesquites, no habiendo agua en este intermedio; sino un chupadero muy corto. 8 leguas.

19 de marzo. Jueves 19 prosiguió el señor gobernador la marcha, rumbo a estesudeste, por tierra llana con arboleda del mismo género de árboles, y mesquites, con algunas plazuelas despejadas, hasta el arroyo de San Cleto; habiendo caminado siete leguas. 7 leguas.

20 de marzo. Viernes 20 se prosiguió la marcha sobre medio día rumbo al este, por haber habido una gran tempestad por la mañana, y con los truenos, y relámpagos por haberse perdido mucho caballos, que no se recogieron, hasta medio día; habiendo andado dos leguas por tierra, como la del día antecedente, hasta un arroyo, que por no tener nombre le puso su señoría San Joaquín; hay caza de guajolotes. 2 leguas.

21 de marzo. Sábado 21 continuó su señoría el viaje por el rumbo de estesudeste tres leguas, por monte muy espeso de encinos y robles, y desde allí otras tres leguas al estenordeste, por tierra muy llana sin árboles, ni matorrales, y decli-

nando al este también por tierra despejada otras tres leguas, fue la jornada de nueve, hasta un arroyo, que por no tener nombre le puso su señoría de San Benito. 9 leguas.

22 de marzo. Domingo 22 salió el señor gobernador por rumbo de estesudeste, y por tierra despejada, algo quebrada, como seis leguas declinando al este tres leguas más, costeando el Río de Guadalupe hasta encontrar el paso, que es sobre peñas, y siendo su caja muy ancha traía más de una vara de agua, que fue menester terciar las cargas; y acampó su señoría pasado el río, habiendo sido la marcha de 9 leguas.

23 de marzo. Lunes 23 continuó su señor por el mismo rumbo de estesudeste, y caminando media legua por monte claro de encinos, y robles, fue lo demás del camino muy llano de tierra despejada, cuanto se extendió la vista, y declinando el rumbo a las cuatro leguas al este, se concluyó la jornada de siete leguas, en la rivera del Río de San Joseph. 7 leguas.

24 de marzo a 5 de abril. Martes 24 salió el señor gobernador por el rumbo del este, y el mismo género de tierra despejada, matizada con variedad de flores, habiendo pasado dos arroyos de bastante agua, declinando a las cinco leguas al estesudeste, llegó su señoría al presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo habiendo andado nueve leguas. 9 leguas.

Los ocho días primeros no se pudo disponer cosa alguna por haber obligado a hacer cama al señor gobernador el habérsele agravado los accidentes del quebranto de salud, que de resulta del viaje empezó a experimentar en San Antonio; y también eran días ocupados de iglesia, que se celebró la Semana Santa, con gran consuelo de todos por ser la primera vez, que con la decencia que se pudo, se hicieron los oficios, teniendo a Nuestro Señor en el monumento.

6 de abril a 25 de abril. El segundo día de Pascua, 6 de abril, empezó su señoría a tirar las líneas para formar el presidio, como el rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) lo tenía mandado en el paraje donde lo tuvieron construido los franceses, a cargo de monsieur La Sala, desde el año de [16]84, hasta el de [16]90, que los acabaron los indios, quedando vivos en su poder tres franceses, y una muchacha, los cuales enterraron la artillería (que después recogieron los españoles, y se llevó a la Veracruz) cuyo hoyo, que está dentro de donde se ha puesto el presidio, se conoce todavía, y el en que quemaron la pólvora; y al abrir las zanjas para la fortificación se encontraron clavos, piezas de llaves de fusil, y otros fragmentos de lo que usan los franceses; para cuyo fuerte en quince días quedaron abiertos todos los cimientos de un octógono, con foso, y esterada encubierta, dejándole sólo cuatro baluartes por no ser más al presente, que de noventa hombres la guarnición; pero como es puerto importante, y que se ha de aumentar de gente, delineó su señoría cuatro lenguas de sierpe en lugar de los otros cuatro baluartes, y detrás un torreón, o caballero en el ángulo, que forman las dos cortinas que cada una tiene cuarenta y cinco varas de largo.

Concluido esto pasó su señoría a dar posesión de la misión del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga, que se fundó cerca del presidio, habiendo venido estos días muchas familias de tres naciones de indios, que ofrecieron al señor gobernador vendrían los demás en viendo que ellos quedaban, como quedaron congregados, y como no se duda que lo ejecutaran según lo contentos, y agradecidos que quedaron con las dádivas de ropa, y las demás cosas, que les repartió el señor gobernador, como en las demás misiones; y se reconoció que estos eran más dóciles, y que entrarían más

fácilmente en la aplicación del cultivo de las tierras, y del de sus almas, así por vivir en más miseria, que los demás indios (manteniéndose sólo de pescado, y sin vestuario alguno) como porque de su propia voluntad ofrecieron tres criaturas al señor gobernador, para que las sacara de pila, como lo ejecutó regalando de nuevo a sus padres con gran alborozo de todos, habiendo bautizado el padre predicador fray Agustín Patrón (su misionero por parte del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas).

En toda la comarca del presidio hay hermosas campiñas de tierra muy despejada, que según el miajón [sic], y la corta experiencia de un año, es fertilísima, y hay lindísimas ensenadas para crías de caballos, y de todo género de ganados, abundando también de venados, guajolotes, o pavos de indias, especialmente en el camino de la Bahía a San Antonio.

26 de abril a 4 de mayo. Y dejando al cuidado del capitán don Joseph Ramón (que lo es de aquel presidio) la fábrica de esta fortaleza, partió el señor gobernador a San Antonio, a donde llegó el día 26 de abril, continuándole a su señoría la quiebra de salud; pero dijo, que tenía gran gozo de que la había disfrutado mientras que había tenido que hacer en el servicio del rey en esta empresa, pues ya no le faltaba más para concluirla, que volver con toda la gente a Coahuila, cuyo viaje no pudo emprender, hasta el día 5 de mayo, por no haber llegado hasta el día 30 de abril los últimos caballos, que esperaba su señoría, habiendo venido los demás en el medio tiempo, que estuvo su señoría en la bahía, y en el ínterin se hubiera casi acabado el presidio nuevo de San Antonio; sino hubieran sido tantas las lluvias, que no sólo no se pudo trabajar más de tres semanas; sino que se perdieron treinta mil adobes, que había dejado fabricados su señoría antes de ir a la bahía; pero quedaron hechos veinte y cinco mil, con gran parte de la obra, y los demás materiales al pie de la fábrica, en que costeó su señoría cuarenta indios todo este tiempo, y quedaron continuando su trabajo.

5 de mayo a 12 de junio. Partió el señor gobernador el dicho día 5, y a dos jornadas de San Antonio en el paraje, que llaman la pita, una noche muy tenebrosa se espantaron los caballos, y dieron tal estampida, que costó todo el día siguiente recogerlos, habiendo quedado perdidos ochenta; y prosiguiendo la marcha se pasó el Río Grande, sin embarazo ni detención alguna, que traía poco más de una vara de agua; y habiendo continuado el viaje en la segunda jornada más acá el presidio, en el paraje de San Diego otra noche lluviosa, y tempestuosa dieron segunda estampida los caballos, que costaron cuatro días de recoger, habiendo quedado perdidos cuarenta; y pasando el Río de Sabinas (que a la entrada hubo mucha dificultad, y dilación en transitarlo) sin traer ahora media vara de agua, llegó su señoría a Coahuila el día 25 de mayo con todo el resto de sus tropas; las cuales licenció su señoría el día treinta y una en virtud de los órdenes, que tenía del señor virrey, de ejecutarlo así en volviendo a esta villa, que es cuando se concluya esta expedición; y después de haberles mandado dar el último pagamento de los dos meses más del segundo año, y haberse abastecido de lo que necesitaban para el camino, lo emprendieron el día 12 de junio.

[Se omite las últimas dos páginas del documento.]

Santiago de Mondova, Coahuila, 21 de junio, 1722.
Bachiller don Juan Antonio de la Peña

Dereliction of Duty at La Bahía Presidio, 1724

Governor Fernando Pérez de Almazán's report to the viceroy, dated May 1, 1724, is the first of two presented in this chapter that depict the negative side of the presidio as an institution of Spanish expansion in the frontier. A presidio could only be as effective or strong as its commandant's character. In reporting his findings at La Bahía following the revolt of the Karankawas in December of the previous year, Pérez de Almazán describes the disorder that ensued when discipline was not maintained among the presidial soldiers. His report also reveals the arrogance of the captain and some of those who served him, and their total lack of understanding or empathy toward the Indians—as well as their downright duplicity and cruelty.

Sir:

As soon as I dispatched the messenger to your excellency,[1] giving notice of the death of the [messenger] who was returning from that city to the Bahía del Espíritu Santo,[2] I traveled to that presidio to ascertain its condition. I found weapons and horses to be very scarce, as the list that I am sending your excellency indicates, and the majority of the soldiers to be very heedless of their clothing. The lack of arms and uniforms with which they find themselves is caused by [a state of] disorder so great that there has been gambling in that presidio. The inattention of the captain, Don Domingo Ramón, and of his son, Don Diego Ramón,[3] who has taken over the command of that presidio since the death of Don Domingo Ramón, has resulted in the decline of order to such an extent that the soldiers may gamble away their weapons, horses, and the clothing necessary for their decency. Yet, the said presidio should be better provisioned overall than any other in the province [because] my predecessor, the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, added fifty soldiers to the presidio two years ago and left the en-

1. The viceroy at the time was Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte, who held the position from 1722 until 1734.

2. A contingent of Aguayo's men under the leadership of Domingo Ramón had taken possession of the bay in February 1721. Construction of the presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto began on April 6, 1722, upon Aguayo's arrival there. It was located on Garcitas Creek, near Matagorda Bay.

3. Joseph Domingo Ramón was one of two sons of Diego Ramón, longtime captain of the presidio of Río Grande. His brother was Diego Ramón II. His son, who succeeded him at Loreto, was Diego Ramón III. Domingo Ramón had commanded the 1716 expedition to east Texas and had served as captain of the presidio of Tejas from 1716 to 1719. His son was also a member of that entrada.

tire company well armed. Fourteen months later ample provisions for the whole garrison arrived by sea, [including] uniforms, thirty muskets, and other [weapons] such as double-edged swords to replace the arms that might have broken or malfunctioned in the course of fourteen months. Furthermore, the presidio of La Bahía has the least work for the soldiers, due to the few escorts that occur there.

The officers have also neglected the cleaning of their weapons, for which reason many are useless. They informed me at the presidio that some soldiers had not cleaned [their weapons] from the time they received new ones until my inspection. From this it is clear that there has been no military discipline in that presidio, nor is there [now]. I found that a palisade built as a covert entrance by Captain Don Joseph Ramón, at the order of the said Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, was almost destroyed. Many stakes had decayed in the damp earth or were overgrown with vines, while others were being pulled out of place to be burned as firewood, without the officers [doing anything] to prevent it. It seems to me that the only way to construct a lasting fortification at that presidio would be to build it of brick, for there is no stone, and wood does not endure.

According to the recorded testimonials of the soldiers, some are content in the complete liberty that they enjoy, although there are no arms, horses, or clothing. Others are very disgusted, as your excellency will perceive from the document that they presented to me. It does not seem appropriate for me to act on [the document], given the irregular way in which they made their request, and I am sending it to your excellency [along with my] order with instructions for the remedy of the described problems. Your excellency should understand, however, that the only way to correct them is to name a captain proven in the service of his majesty (may God protect him), whom the soldiers will obey out of respect, which is what is lacking at present.

I performed the legal formalities relating to the Indian insurrection on December 15 past and the death of Captain Don Domingo Ramón. The witnesses' depositions record that the cause [involved] an Indian from among those who settled near the presidio about three months [earlier]. He entered a soldier's house, where a cow had been slaughtered, hoping that they would give him some meat. When he shook out a piece of baize over a bit of corn that the soldier's wife was grinding, she told him to leave the house. The lieutenant of the presidio, who was also there, told him the same thing. Without any regard for the Indian, the lieutenant got up to throw him out, and the Indian grabbed a piece of firewood to hit him. After the said Indian had gone [back] to the ranchería, the lieutenant sent for him to have him whipped, [but] the attempt to do so put the Indian to flight. Two soldiers went out to capture him, and one of them stabbed the Indian. At this time some forty [Indians] from the ranchería rose up, armed with bows and arrows. They came with their weapons and began to shoot arrows at the soldiers, wounding one soldier and the horse of another. All the Indians [then] fled with their women and children and, before crossing a river near the presidio, took two cloaks from some soldiers who were on its banks.

[The soldiers] informed Captain Don Domingo Ramón, who was at a ranch two leagues from the presidio. He mounted a horse and went with some soldiers to follow the Indians, catching up with them a little more than a league away. He managed to calm them down and coaxed them to return to the presidio. As night had fallen on the trail, however, about half of the Indians hid themselves. Those

who remained returned to the presidio with most of the women and children. [The captain] crammed them into a hut with the intention of taking all their lives. For that purpose he arranged for a bull to be slaughtered the next morning, so that the Indians would come out to take the meat. At that moment they were to be shot with a cannon. However, a witness states that the said captain had ordered him to collect all the rope that could be found in the presidio, because he wanted to seize all the Indians when they were dividing the meat and hang every one. Observing the commotion in the presidio, the Indians became suspicious and did not want to go to get the meat. They tried to escape from the hut, and some actually began to leave. Seeing them, the captain rushed to stop them, calling to some soldiers, who followed him. He returned the Indians to the hut, entered it with them, and calmed them down with sign language. As some soldiers came close, he shouted out, "Here, comrades!" intending that they should kill the Indians, according to the witnesses. At the moment the captain shouted an Indian approached him and, with half of a large pair of scissors, delivered him a wound in the chest, from which he died eight days later. The soldiers killed two Indians in the hut and, at the captain's order shot a cannon that was brought near the hut. The soldiers missed, [however,] and the Indians fled through a small door, the cannon having had no effect. The [soldiers] captured an Indian woman alive, and the captain ordered them to kill her. This is what the *autos* consist of, and I am providing your excellency with this information in case the said presidio has not notified your excellency of it separately.

I have already advised your excellency that the number of soldiers at this presidio is complete. I inspected the company and found five [soldiers] to be without firearms, having lost them in the wilderness. I also found some disorder in the form of gambling, especially among the soldiers who guarded the horse herd, but this problem has been corrected by removing the sergeant who permitted it and by imposing severe penalties on soldiers who gamble away thing[s] that they need to fulfill their duties and for their personal decency.

It has not been possible to finish enclosing the presidio with a wall, because the soil is very unsuitable for making adobe bricks. Even though many have been made for this purpose, all of them disintegrate as soon as there is any humidity. The only way to fortify this presidio is to build it of stone. [Stone] is quite a distance away, however, and mule trains would be needed to transport it. This represents the greatest cost, because the construction [itself] would be very easy. Thus, I intend to move this presidio about two musket shots away from where it is [now], onto a peninsula formed by the river, which can serve as an excellent, deep moat that can be crossed only by swimming.[4] The banks of the peninsula are so steep that one will be able to climb them [only] with great difficulty. As soon as the mission Indians are finished planting the fields, the first step will be to clear the woods.

The Apache Indians appear to regret having made peace. I expected as much, given their great hostility. They have begun trying to start a war with the mission

4. The presidio and mission were not moved until 1726, when the new commandant, Juan Antonio de Bustillos y Ceballos, found a more favorable location on the Guadalupe River, some five or six leagues distant.

Indians, having taken the life of one and wounded another. Some shadowy figures have also been seen at night near the presidio's horse herd, but no damage has been done. In the event that [the Apaches] declare war, I entreat your excellency to please give me orders as to how I should respond. The orders I have [had] from his majesty until now address defensive action only, and this is to the Indians' advantage, because the land is so open and they are so swift in executing hostilities that [the soldiers] are aware of the attacks [only] after they are already over. Then [the Indians] retreat, which they accomplish with great swiftness because they have many fine horses. The only way to chastise and severely punish the Indians is to search them out in their rancherías. For my greater effectiveness, [I trust] your excellency will instruct me as to what I should do concerning this.

I have had news that a month and a half ago the same Apaches took a herd of mares and some horses from the Río Grande presidio.[5] From this it can be inferred with certainty that it was Apaches who took the life of the messenger who was coming to the presidio of La Bahía. There is no other news of the Indians or of anything else in this province. Even the rebels in the presidio of La Bahía have not made any demonstration [of discontent], since [the Apaches] killed two of the soldiers [assigned to] the horse herd. I will advise your excellency of anything that might occur via the messenger I will send when the inspection of the presidio is completed.

May our Lord protect your excellency in your great nobility for many years as I desire and as these realms require. Presidio of San Antonio, May 1, 1724.

Your excellency, your most devoted subject kisses your hand.

Fernando Pérez de Almazán

AGN, Provincias Internas, 181.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Señor:
Luego que despaché el correo a vuestra excelencia dando cuenta de la muerte [de el] que venía de vuelta de esa ciudad para la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, pasé a aquel presidio a reconocer su estado y lo hallé tan escaso de armas y caballos como lo manifiesta la lista que remito a vuestra excelencia, y la mayor parte de los soldados muy distraídos de ropa. Ha ocasionado la falta de armas y vestuarios con que se hallan, el desorden tan grande de que ha habido en aquel presidio en juegos, y el poco cuidado del capitán don Domingo Ramón y de don Diego Ramón, su hijo, que después de la muerte de dicho don Domingo Ramón ha corrido con el comando de aquel presidio, en evitar el orden, tan sumamente [li]mitado, de que los soldad[os] jueguen y enajenen las [ar]mas, caballos, y la ropa

5. The presidio of Río Grande del Norte (or San Juan Bautista) was initially established in 1701 as a compañía volante under Captain Diego Ramón I and acquired the status of a presidio two years later. Located near Guerrero, Coahuila, it protected the missions of San Juan Bautista, San Francisco Solano, and San Bernardo.

[que] necesitan para su decen[cia]. Siendo así que dicho pres[idio] debía estar más proveído de [y] en todo que otro alguno de esta provincia, por cu[ando] el Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo mi [ante]cesor, aumentó cincuen[ta] plazas, en aquel presidio al tiempo de dos años, [dejando] toda la compañía ar[ma]da. Y a los catorce meses [des]pués, vino por la mar p[rovi]sión abundante de ves[tuari]os y treinta escopetas, y [otras] tantas espadas de ref[il]ón para reemplazar las [ar]mas que en el discurso de los catorce meses se podrí[an] haber quebrado o des[com]puesto; y es el presidio de [la] Bahía el de menos traba[jo] para los soldados por las p[ocas] escoltas que en el se ofrecen.

También ha faltado el cuidado en los oficiales en hacer limpiar las armas, por eso hay muchas inútiles, pues me informaron en dicho presidio que algunos soldados desde que las recibieron nuevas no las habían limpiado hasta que yo pasé muestra, en que se conoce la ninguna disciplina militar que ha habido [y] no hay en aquel presidio. Una estacada que de orden de dicho Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo formó el capitán don Joseph Ramón, para entrada encubierta, la hallé ya casi destruida; por haber consumido el terreno tan húmedo, muchas estacas, y otras arrancándose de su lugar para quemarlas en lugar de leña, sin evitarlo los oficiales; y solo me parece se podrá hacer fortificación que subsista en aquel presidio, formándola de ladrillo, pues no hay piedra, y la madera no aguanta.

Los soldados están divididos en sus dictámenes porque unos se hallan gustosos, aunque [no hay] armas, caballos, ni ropa, la entera libertad de [que] gozan; y otros se hallan [muy] desabridos, como vuestra excelencia [se co]nocerá por el escrito que [me] presentaron, que no me pa[rece] conveniente proveerlo, [por] el irregular modo con que piden, y lo remito a vuestra excelencia [para que fi]je mandamiento con ins[trucciones] para que se remedien los d[años] expresados, pero [comprendiendo] que solo se remedia[rán] sirviéndose vuestra excelencia de [nombrar] capitán que con actividad para el servicio de su majestad (que Dios guarde), y a quien por respeto obedezcan los solda[dos], que es lo que al presente fal[ta].

Hice diligencias jurídicas sobre la sublevación de los [indi]os, el día 15 de mes de diciembre próximo pasado, y sobre la muerte del capitán [don] Domingo Ramón. Y consta [en] las disposiciones de los tes[tigos] que fue el motivo el que un indio de los que estaban rancheados haría como tres meses, inmediatos al presidio, entró en casa de un soldado, a donde habían muerto una vaca, a esperar le diesen alguna carne; y habiéndose puesto a sacudir una bayeta encima de un poco de maíz que estaba moliendo la mujer del soldado, le dijo ésta que se saliese fuera de la casa, y el teniente del presidio, que estaba allí, le dijo lo mismo. Y no habiendo aprecio al indio, se levantó dicho teniente para echarlo fuera, y el indio cogió una raja de leña para darle al teniente, y habiéndose ido el dicho indio a la ranchería, envió por él el teniente, para hacerle dar unos azotes, y queriendo ejecutarlo se puso en fuga el indio. Salieron dos soldados a cogerlo, y el uno de ellos le dió una cuchillada al indio. A este tiempo se alborotaron los de la ranchería, que serían como cuarenta de arco y flecha, y salieron con sus ar[mas] y empezaron a disparar flechas a los soldados, hiriendo a uno, y a otro el caballo, y todos los indios con sus mu[jer]es e hijos se pusieron en fuga y antes de pasar un río que está cerca del presidio, les quitaron dos capas a unos soldados que estaban en sus orillas.

Avisaron al capitán don D[omin]go Ramón, que estaba en un rancho [a] dos leguas del presidio, y habiendo ido a el, montó a caballo con al[gunos] soldados y fue

a seguir [a los] indios, que los alcanzó a distancia poco más de una legua. Procuró sosegarlos, y los [sedujo] a que volviesen al presidio y por haberle anoche[cido] en el camino se le escondieron como la mitad de los indios, y la mayor parte de las mujeres y muchachos llegó al presidio con los que quedaron. Y los hizo meter en un jacal, con el ánimo de quitarles la vida a todos, y para ello hizo al otro día por la mañana que matasen un toro, para que fuesen los indios a coger la carne y a ese tiempo dispararles un cañonazo, pero un testigo declara que le había dado orden dicho capitán para que recogiera en el presidio cuantos cordeles hallara, porque quería coger a todos los indios cuando estuvieran partiendo la carne y ahorcarlos a todos. Los indios con el bullicio que verían en el presidio se hubieron de recelar, y no quisieron ir a coger la carne, y trataron de huirse del jacal y con efecto se empezaron a salir algunos. Y viéndolos el capitán acudió detenerlos, llamando algunos soldados [que] lo siguieron; volvió a meter los indios en el jacal y él se entró con ellos, y haciéndoles señas se sosegaron, llegando algunos soldados cerca dió una voz el capitán diciendo: aquí compañeros!, con [áni]mo según dicen los testi[gos] de que los matasen los indios. Al tiempo que el capitán dió el grito se arrimó un indio a él, y con una media tijera grande le dió una [he]rida en el pecho de que él murió a los ocho días. Los [solda]dos mataron dos indios dentro del jacal, y habiendo dado orden el capitán, dispararon un cañón que estaba abocado al jacal. Erraron los soldados, y los indios se huyeron por un portillo, con que el cañón no hizo efecto alguno. Cogieron una india viva, y mandó el capitán que le quitasen la vida. Esto es lo que consta de los autos, cuya noticia participo a vuestra excelencia por si acaso de dicho presidio no la han participado a vuestra excelencia con individualidad.

Ya tengo noticiado a vuestra excelencia como el número de soldados de este presidio está completo. Pasé muestra a la compañía y hallé cinco sin armas de fuego por haberse perdido en el campo. Hallé también algún desorden en juegos, especialmente en los soldados que guardaban la caballada, pero se ha remediado este daño apeando al sargento que los consentía, y habiendo impuesto graves penas a los soldados que jugaren cosa que les haga faltar para servir sus plazas, y para la decencia de sus personas.

No se ha podido acabar de cercar de pared este presidio, porque es tan mala la tierra para hacer adobes, [que] aunque se han hecho muchos para este efecto, luego que hay alguna humedad se deshacen todos. Y solo puede haber el arbitrio para fortificar este presidio el hacerlo de piedra; pero ésta está muy distante y se necesitan recuas de mulas para conducirla, que es el mayor gasto que se puede ofrecer, porque la [manufactura] sería lo más fácil. [Así], me hallo de ánimo de hacer mudar este presidio como dos tiros de fusil de donde está hoy, en una península que forma el río, y este le puede servir de un admirable foso profundo que solo se puede pasar a nado, y sus riveras son tan empinadas a donde forma la península, que con mucha dificultad se podrán subir. Se dará pri[ncipio] a desmontar la arboleda l[uego] que los indios de las misiones se desocupen de las siembras.

Los indios apaches parece s[e han] arrepentido de darse de paz. Así lo esperaba yo de su suma hostilidad, y así han empezado a experimentar principios [de g]uerra con los indios de las [misio]nes, habiendo quitado la vida a uno y herido a otro, y se ha visto algunos bultos de noche cerca de la caballada de este presidio pero sin daño alguno. En [el] caso que se acaben declarando de guerra, suplico a vuestra excelencia se servirá de ordenarme lo que debo ejecutar, en razón de hacerla a ellos,

porque las ordenes que tengo hasta ahora de su majestad es solo para practicar la defensiva, y esta es ventajosa para los indios. Porque como es la tierra tan abierta y ellos son tan prestos en ejecutar las hostilidades, que son sentidos cuando ya han descargado el golpe, y luego se ponen en fuga que ejecutan con gran ligereza porque tienen muchos caballos, y buenos, y solo se pueden castigar y escarmentar, buscándolos en sus rancherías. Sobre ello se servirá vuestra excelencia de mandarme lo que debo ejecutar para mi mayor acierto.

He tenido noticia que los mismos apaches se han llevado del presidio del Río Grande a tiempo de mes y medio una manada de yeguas y algunos caballos, y de ello se puede inferir con certeza que fueron apaches los que quitaron la vida al correo que venía para el presidio de la Bahía. No hay otra novedad de indios o de otra cosa en esta provincia, [y] es aún los sublevados en el presidio de la Bahía, desde [que] hicieron las dos muertes [de] los soldados de caballada, no han hecho demostración alguna. Y daré cuenta a vuestra excelencia de las que ocurrieren, con el correo que despacharé finalizada la visita de presidios.

Nuestro Señor guarde a vuestra excelencia [en] su mayor grandeza los [muchos] años que deseo y estos reinos necesitan. Presidio de San Antonio y mayo 1 de 1724 años.

Excelentísimo señor, besa la mano de vuestra excelencia su más rendido súbdito.

Fernando Pérez de Almazán.

Casafuerte's Order Suppressing the Tejas Presidio, 1729

With Viceroy Casafuerte's order of April 26, 1729, for the closure of La Señora de los Dolores de los Tejas, the history of the first presidio to be founded in the province ended on an inglorious note. It was the only garrison that failed to pass muster in Rivera's inspection of 1727.

Official communication from Viceroy Don Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte, knight of the Order of Santiago, commander of the Adelfa in Alcántara,[1] member of his majesty's supreme war council, captain general of the royal army, viceroy and captain general of New Spain, and president of his majesty's Real Audiencia:

At the time that Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera carried out his *visita* to the interior presidios of this realm, he found Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Texas[2] to be of such little use to the royal service that it does not even deserve the honor of being called a presidio. [To do so] is an affront to the illustrious standard of the army, for it cannot be credited with having performed any function of merit since its establishment. Moreover, its buildings consist of some huts built from sticks and straw, which are materials better suited to the decline of [the presidio] than a shield for its defense. All of this gave the brigadier cause for considering it entirely useless and to present it thus in a report found in the *autos* of the visita to this presidio. In paragraph 20 of the third statement of his plan, he recommends the closure of [the presidio] and the dismissal of the captain and soldiers, so that the wages [currently] advanced without benefit may be applied to other ends that are more important to the king's service.

I have examined this statement with the attention that such a grave matter demands, and using the powers his majesty has seen fit to grant me in the real cédula of May 12, 1722, I hereby order the governor of the province of Tejas[3] to dis-

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1. Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte (1658–1734) was born in Lima. He had a distinguished career, serving as governor of Sicily, general of artillery and captain general of the army, and viceroy of New Spain from 1722 until his death. The Orders of Santiago and Alcántara were military-religious orders that had their beginnings in medieval Castile and that were incorporated into the crown by a papal bull in 1523.

2. First established by León in 1690, the presidio was moved by Ramón in the fall of 1716 and renamed Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas. It was reestablished by the Aguayo expedition in 1721, after having been abandoned in 1719 as a result of the French occupation of Los Adáes.

3. The governor of Texas was Melchor Media Villa y Ascona, who served in that post from 1727 to 1730.

miss from service the captain and the twenty-four soldiers of the garrison of Nuestra Señora de Dolores in this province, the presidio being eliminated because it is unnecessary. They should be paid the wages that are due them through June 30 of this year, when this order is to take effect. I would also advise that the aforesaid soldiers not be allowed to attach themselves to another branch [away from the frontier]. Military men are needed [here], and the most capable will be detached for any duty that presents itself. Once this is executed, the governor will notify me. Mexico City, April 26, 1729.

Marqués de Casafuerte

By order of his excellency,

Juan Antonio de Aviles

Archivo Franciscano, Caja 6.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Despacho del señor virrey. Don Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte, caballero del orden de Santiago, comendador de Adelfa en la Alcántara, del consejo de su majestad en el supremo de guerra, capitán general de los reales ejércitos, virrey y capitán general de esta Nueva España, y presidente de la real audiencia de ella virrey:

Por cuanto con el motivo de que al tiempo que el brigadier don Pedro de Rivera ejecutó la visita de los presidios internos de este reino, halló que el de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Texas es de tan poca util[idad] al real servicio, que ni aún merece la honra de nombrarse presidio, porque no afrente los lustrosos timbres de las armas, pues desde su erección no ha hecho el mérito de facción alguna que lo acredite, a más de componerse su plantel de algunas chozas de palos y zacate, que más sirven de materia apta para su consunción que de broquel para su defensa; dió margen a dicho brigadier para que considerándolo tan inútil, haya representado así en consulta que se halla en los autos de la visita de este presidio, como en el párrafo 20 del tercer estado de su proyecto, lo que convendrá se extinga, y queden despedidos su capitán y soldados para que los sueldos que sin mérito avanzan, se apliquen a otros fines de más importancia en servicio del rey.

Y vista esta representación, con la atención que pide materia de tanta gravedad, usando de las facultades que su majestad se ha servido conferirme en su real cédula de 12 de mayo de 1722. Por el presente mando al gobernador de la provincia de los tejas, despida del servicio al capitán y 24 soldados de la guarnición del presidio de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de aquella provincia, quedando extinto por innecesario, y pagándoseles los sueldos que hubieran devengado hasta el día 30 de junio de este año, que es cuando ha de quedar ejecutada est[a] orden. Y con la advertencia que dichos soldados despedidos no han de poder agregarse a otro cuerpo; porque necesitándose de militares, se [d]estacarán los más capaces para la función que acaeciere. Y luego que esto se ejecute me dará cuenta dicho gobernador. México, y abril 26 de 1729.

Marqués de Casafuerte

Por mandado de su excelencia,

Juan Antonio de Aviles

X

New Mission Expansion and Meeting the Apache Threat (1730-1758)

Brigadier General Don Pedro de Rivera's new regulations for the northern frontier, adopted on April 21, 1729, had an immediate impact upon affairs in Texas. The presidial garrisons were reduced as recommended and the presidio of Tejas was closed. The missionaries within its jurisdiction protested that the six guards assigned them from Adáes were inadequate, given the fact that reinforcements from that presidio were 60 leagues away and help from San Antonio was 150 leagues distant. Rivera suggested that their missions be moved to the Río San Marcos (the Colorado), where the Indians were thought to be more inclined to missionization. The fact that during the thirteen years since all three missions had been founded in 1716, only 165 Hasinais and Apaches had been baptized probably swayed the missionaries to accede to Rivera's proposal. The removal of the three Querétaran missions appears to have been effected in July 1730, but the new locale proved less favorable than anticipated, and they were reestablished again on the banks of the San Antonio River on May 4 of the following year. There, they quickly attracted one thousand gentiles, which boded well for their future.

San Antonio's civilian population got a boost in the same year with the arrival on March 9 of fifteen families (fifty-five individuals) of settlers (or Isleños) from the Canary Islands. Still, the settlement was terrorized into the 1740s by Apache raiders, who became increasingly brazen as a result of the inability of a reduced and overwhelmed garrison to retaliate. To the physical threat was added the mental torment caused by the arrival in September 1736 of a new governor, Carlos Benites Franquis de Lugo—megalomaniac, martinet, and perhaps, madman—who managed to infuriate everyone but the local priest (the only person who came to his defense when his *residencia* was held in 1737).

Lugo's harassment of the missionaries was particularly vitriolic. He undermined their authority with the Indians and endangered the missions by removing two of the three guards assigned to each one at a time when emboldened Apaches were murdering any mission Indians and settlers they found outside the walls. To add to the woes of San Antonio, an epidemic of smallpox and measles hit the mission Indians in March and April 1739, causing a skyrocketing mortality rate and widespread desertion by terrified Indians in a vain attempt to outrun the diseases.

Other Spanish outposts experienced different vicissitudes that made their existence equally precarious. The missions and presidio of Adáes in northeast Texas were unable to raise enough corn to become self-sufficient and remained dependent upon purchasing corn and beans from the French at Natchitoches. The winter of 1734 found the Spaniards suffering from malnutrition, illness, and exposure—the women and children forced indoors for lack of clothing and the soldiers wrapped in blankets and buffalo hides. The French doubled the price of their grain. Relief supplies from San Antonio either could not be distributed promptly for want of pack animals or arrived with the flour spoiled. The Spaniards remained partially dependent upon Natchitoches for food as late as 1741, because of the prohibitive cost of freighting corn and beans from Saltillo. The removal of the French post from its island location to the west bank of the Red River and the doubling of its garrison to fifty men, while settlers moved onto the vacated island post, appeared to the Spaniards as a new menace, but nothing came of it.

The presidio of La Bahía also remained dependent upon supplies imported from either San Juan Bautista or San Antonio. This was because of a most injudicious order of Rivera that put the Indians and the few soldiers remaining there to the task of constructing a dam for the purpose of irrigating the fields. After ten years, the futile project was abandoned and the Indians successfully turned to dry farming. With an assured food supply the situation improved. The cattle herds increased and the conversion and civilizing of the Aranamas and Tamiques proceeded without interruption.

During the 1740s the numerous problems within the Tejas settlements that had made life such a struggle were being resolved. In San Antonio the bitter squabbles between the missionaries and the Isleños, who had cast covetous eyes on the growing wealth of the missions, came to an end in 1745, when the latter agreed to desist in their pleas for Indian labor and their demands that grain and supplies for the presidios not be purchased from the missions. By then the missions were prospering. The combined population of the three Querétaran missions in 1745 was 574 souls. They were collectively producing 8,000 bushels of corn, 340 bushels of beans, and 2,000 pounds of cotton. They counted 5,115 cattle, 2,661 sheep, 664 goats, and 257 horses. In 1749 the Zacatecan mission of San José, with a population of 200, accounted for 3,000 bushels of corn, 2,000 cattle, and 1,000 sheep. The missionaries were at last in a position to think of expanding their activities, and their chance came in 1745.

On June 2 a delegation of Yojuanes, Deadoses, Mayeyes, and Hierbipiamos from the area of the Ranchería Grande appeared in San Antonio to request a mission on their own lands. During the following winter some 1,228 people of those four tribes, plus many coastal Indians, including the Cocos, announced their intention of settling in missions. Although the president of missions, Father Mariano de los Dolores, discouraged them from congregating their families yet for lack of supplies and protection, the men started fields and built a stockade to protect a temporary church and living quarters for the priests. While the missionaries awaited authorization for new missions and a presidio on the San Xavier (now San Gabriel) River, the Indians tenaciously held on, tending their fields in spite of five of their number being murdered by Apaches, while the College of Querétaro convoyed provisions to the site. The viceroy finally granted temporary approval for the missions on February 14, 1747, with a twenty-two man guard from Adáes and

San Antonio. A new viceregal order issued on July 27 augmented the guard to thirty, with additional troops to be sent from La Bahía, but fell short of authorizing a real presidio. The commanders balked at sending the guards, however, until the viceroy ordered compliance in January of the following year, upon approval of the establishment of three new missions by the king.

At last, San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas, which had begun unofficially in February 1746 for the Hierbipiamos, Mayayes, and Yojuanes, was legalized, exactly two years later. On December 27, 1748 a second mission, San Ildefonso, was founded one league distant from the first for the Orcoquisacs, Bidais, and Deadoses, linguistically related tribes who intermarried. Its establishment was followed in April 1749 by that of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, where coastal tribes such as the Cocos and Tops were gathered. By now, authorities in Mexico were convinced that a presidio was necessary to ensure the success of the new settlements and ordered that the garrison be augmented to forty-eight men. On July 7, 1749, the viceroy approved the plan that established the presidio of San Xavier de Gigedo, and the military reinforcements arrived on August 28.

The San Xavier settlements were beset with adversity from the outset. A large Apache party fell on San Francisco on May 2, 1748, and although they were repulsed, two mission Indians were killed and the frightened neophytes abandoned the mission the next day, taking with them all the horses. The governors of the province during those years were opposed to the mission establishments and hostile to the padres, and did all they could to undermine them. But the biggest threat to their success was the presidial garrison itself. Unhappy with their isolation, 77 leagues from San Antonio and 220 leagues from Adáes, many soldiers deserted their post. Others coached the Indians to testify that they didn't want missions, thus adding fuel to the fires of discontent stirred up by the governors. The friction among the Spaniards and the attitude of the soldiers caused the Cocos, who had been awaiting their own mission, to flee during the winter of 1748, and Father Benito Fernández had to bring them back without a military escort to take possession of their mission. The Indians of San Ildefonso fled in October 1749. The missionaries complained that the soldiers refused to help them but readily joined the Indians in singing, dancing, and gambling. Both the soldiers and Indians were consuming the corn before it had a chance to mature. The soldiers traded their supplies for meat, lead, powder, and bullets the Indians obtained from the French. This fraternization and the soldiers' refusal to cooperate with the padres eroded the authority of the latter and caused the Indians to become increasingly insolent. The situation went from bad to worse with the arrival in late 1751 of the lascivious new presidial commander Captain Felipe de Rábago y Terán. A letter written by Father President Mariano de los Dolores, presented in this chapter, outlines the tragic consequences that followed the crown's unhappy appointment of Rábago.

After 1752, conditions at the San Xavier settlements declined to a truly desperate state, with drought and crop failures, the drying up of the river to a few stagnant, contaminated pools, and illnesses that ravaged the Indian and Spanish populations alike. By August 16, 1755, the presidio and the two remaining missions of San Francisco Xavier and Candelaria, with the remaining 140 neophytes, had been moved, without superior authorization, to the San Marcos River. Within a month three Apache chiefs with 986 people had joined them. One year later,

sometime between mid-July and late November 1756, the one remaining mission of San Francisco was suppressed, and the remaining neophytes were amalgamated into Mission San Antonio de Valero.

Meanwhile the Apaches posed a continual threat throughout this period. Since its founding in 1718 San Antonio had been vulnerable to Apache attacks, which increased in frequency, boldness, and cruelty in the 1730s and 1740s. The theft in September 1731 of sixty head of horses belonging to the presidio was countered by a retaliatory raid in which the Spaniards were ambushed and two of their number killed and thirteen wounded. In October of the following year another campaign engaged an estimated seven hundred Apache warriors from four bands on the San Sabá River. The victorious Spaniards returned with seven hundred recovered horses, one hundred muleloads of plunder and peltry, and thirty captive women and children. In January 1733, peace emissaries were sent to the Apaches. A promise from the latter to come in two moons to make a treaty lulled the populace into a false sense of security, and Indians were allowed to come and go freely to trade in the town. On March 27 the alférez and two soldiers were escorting a woman and three men back to their camp. One soldier turned back to town. The other two were attacked by twenty-four warriors, who killed them and cut away all their flesh within sight of the horrified townspeople.

The old Apache fighter Joseph de Urrutia was appointed as the new presidial captain, and the forty-three-man garrison was augmented with thirty men from La Bahía and Adáes. These measures did nothing to stem the wrath of the implacable Apache foe, however. Between 1733 and 1737 two residents of the villa were captured and killed. Nine Indian women from the missions were killed (and some mutilated) and four Indian boys were captured. Forty horses from Mission San Francisco de Espada were run off. A herd of one hundred presidial horses was driven off from the Cíbolo in September 1737, in spite of a ten-man guard. Even though the guard was increased to eighteen, on December 2 about two hundred more horses were lost.

Captain Urrutia mounted a campaign during the winter of 1739 that attacked a ranchería in the vicinity of the San Sabá and returned with a large number of captives. The governor of Coahuila himself undertook a campaign against the enemy in 1743, but suffered severe casualties when the soldiers were led into an ambush. Captain Toribio de Urrutia, who succeeded his father as commandant at San Antonio, mounted another campaign in the spring of 1745. Instead of deterring further hostilities, the campaign had the opposite effect, as the Apaches, enraged over the continuing enslavement of their kin, stepped up their attacks. Within a three-week period they killed and robbed nine people and raided all the settlements in San Antonio except Mission Concepción. On the night of June 30, 1745, the presidio itself was attacked by a combined force of about 350 Ypandi (Lipan) and Natage Apaches, including women and children. Had it not been for the timely arrival of one hundred armed neophytes from Mission Valero, the presidio might have fallen. A daughter of the Ypandi chief was held hostage at Mission Concepción. Upon learning from an escaped captive that the Indians were being treated kindly, the chief retreated with his people—to the chagrin of the Natage chief.

To comprehend what drove the Apache bands to their vicious raiding in south Texas, one must look at the dynamics beyond the immediate vicinity. Since the

entry of the Spaniards into Texas in 1690, the Apaches had watched growing alliances between these white intruders and their bitter enemies of the Tejas Confederacy, the Ranchería Grande, and the Coahuiltecan bands that had been brought into the missions. Furthermore, these enemies had access to French arms through the Natchitoches trade. On the northern front as early as 1724, the French, operating out of Fort Orleans on the Missouri River (present state of Missouri), had forged a peace between the Comanches and the tribes of the central Plains: Kansas, Otoes, Osages, Missouris, Iowas, Panismahas, and Illinois. In forming that broad treaty the French thus eradicated, at least temporarily, the Comanche barrier to reaching Santa Fe and the trade to be expected there. The Comanches had alternately raided and traded with the Spanish and Pueblo frontier settlements since the early part of the century. By 1730 they and their Ute linguistic cousins had driven the Apaches from their northern range. Furthermore, through their raiding and trading activities the Comanches were becoming armed with muskets. Early in 1740 Comanche raiders had even invaded the Apachería in central Texas. Thus surrounded by armed enemies and threatened with the loss of their traditional hunting territory, the Apaches were left with no alternatives but to turn to raiding.

By the 1740s, however, the Apaches, like it or not, were being driven to the bargaining table with the Spaniards. They were not without friends among the Spaniards. Ever since the 1732 campaign against the Apaches the missionaries had protested the treatment of the Indians. Father Gabriel Vergara, who had accompanied that campaign, and citizens of the town composed a letter to the viceroy soon afterwards pointing out that the continual reprisals and taking of captives only embittered the Apaches more. Their plea for a different tactic went unheeded. In a 1740 letter to the guardian of the College of Querétaro, Father Benito Fernández de Santa Ana accused those who promoted such campaigns of realizing a profit through the high prices they charged the soldiers for their horses and supplies, as well as what they gained from the sale of captured slaves, horses, and hides. The soldiers on the campaigns were undisciplined and allowed to commit "disorders." According to Fray Benito Fernandez' *memorial* (in this chapter) the Apaches first requested a mission in 1740, just months after the 1739 campaign. Their requests were repeated in 1741, 1745, and 1746, and hostile acts by the Indians abated somewhat following their 1745 attack on the presidio. By the end of 1748 Captain Urrutia had been swayed by the peace proposals of the missionaries, and the following year he led peaceful campaigns intended to demonstrate to the hostiles the Spaniards' change of heart.

The campaigns had their desired effect. All hostilities against the Spaniards ceased in March, and the Apache bands even made an armistice with their old adversaries the Cadodachos in August, from whom they received French muskets and ammunition. This new alliance mandated quick authorization for Apache missions in order to bring these Indians into the Spanish orbit. A peace treaty was concluded on November 28 and 29, 1749 in the plaza of San Antonio. The peace was celebrated with the release of an Apache chain gang being held at the presidio and the convening of three chiefs and their followers with Spaniards and Indians of the settlement. The treaty culminated with the burial in a pit of a live horse, a lance, a hatchet, and six arrows as symbols of war and as a sign that hostilities were over.

While Father President Mariano de los Dolores awaited authorization from the viceroy to establish missions for the Apaches, he instructed their leaders to congregate their bands on the Guadalupe River. He promised them a mission in "five moons." But in spite of the good intent of the ministers and the willingness of the Apaches, several years elapsed while local authorities fought the removal of their presidio and crown officials in Mexico debated the feasibility of the project, before a favorable site for a mission and presidio was finally located on the San Sabá River. Some of the Apaches, frustrated by the failure of the San Antonio missionaries to establish their promised mission and unable to comprehend the Spanish bureaucracy that prevented their doing so, directed their appeals to Father Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, the president of the Río Grande missions. The upshot was the founding on December 21, 1754, of Mission San Lorenzo, situated eighteen leagues west of San Juan Bautista. Natage, Cíbolo, and Tucubante Apaches congregated there in estimated numbers ranging from more than nine hundred to more than two thousand. The mission was short-lived, however. The Indians revolted within a year (October 4, 1755) and left their mission a looted and burned-out ruin.

It was actually the collapse of the San Xavier settlement that cleared the way for starting a new presidio and missions on the San Sabá in Texas, because the cost to the crown for a new presidio had been a major consideration its rejecting the expansion into the Apachería. Extraordinary demands were being made on the treasury all across the northern borderlands. Mission expansion in Sonora and Baja California was being impeded by the coastal Seris, and an unsuccessful campaign of extermination was mounted against them in 1750. The Upper Pimas revolted in 1751, causing widespread destruction and loss of life. A new presidio was established at Tubac to prevent further trouble. The New Mexico settlements were being menaced by both Comanches and Apaches. New Indian revolts had erupted in Coahuila and Chihuahua. Costly, too, was Escandón's expansion into Nuevo Santander in the 1740s and 1750s. By eliminating the now useless San Xavier presidio and erecting a new one on the San Sabá with unspent funds already set aside for construction at the earlier presidio, the crown's additional expenditures were limited to the twenty-seven new recruits. Furthermore, an angel had appeared to underwrite the cost of missions for the Apaches in the person of Don Pedro Romero de Terreros, a man made rich from his mines in Pachuca. He had embraced the cause of the peaceful conversion of the Apaches through the influence of his cousin, Father Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, who had founded the short-lived San Lorenzo mission for them in Coahuila. Don Pedro agreed to back the enterprise for three years, with the understanding that his cousin would be put in charge of the new mission, or missions, and that friars from both the College of Querétaro and the new College of San Fernando de México man the station.

Colonel Diego Ortiz Parrilla, a man with impressive credentials and frontier experience, was appointed captain of the new presidio. New recruits came north from older provinces to join the sick, impoverished, and bedraggled garrison from San Xavier. Quarrels erupted between Father Alonso and Father Mariano, who was bitterly disappointed that after his many years of agitating for Apache missions the job went to Father Alonso. And relations between Colonel Ortiz Parrilla and Father Alonso soured over the delays. Nevertheless, the advance party set out in the spring and arrived at their destination on April 18, 1757. A mission was

founded on the south bank of the San Sabá and the presidio of San Luis de Amarillas (generally referred to simply as the presidio of San Sabá) was established on the north bank three miles away.

Disturbing to soldier and priest alike was the absence of the Indians who had promised to meet the Spaniards. In mid-June an estimated three thousand Lipan Apaches camped nearby, but only to hunt buffalo and plan a war raid against their enemies, the Norteños. Small groups of Apaches drifted into the mission during the ensuing months, stayed a few days, and slipped away. Ominous reports were received of Norteños gathering from all points to the north, causing unease, especially among the friars, the five-man guard, the Tlaxcaltecan families, and a few Indian servants at the mission. The months wore on and just as the freshly planted fields were turning green under the warm sun of an early Texas spring, the promise of renewed life suddenly turned to ashes. On March 16, 1758, the enemy horde appeared without warning. Father Miguel Molina, the sole missionary to survive the attack, recorded the tragedy in the final document of this chapter.

Colonel Ortiz Parrilla mounted a retaliatory campaign in August of the following year, consisting of more than 600 men: about 380 presidial soldiers and militiamen, 90 mission Indians, 30 Tlaxcaltecan Indians, and 134 Lipan Apaches. They surprised a ranchería of Yojuanes somewhere north of the Brazos, killing 55 and capturing 149. Feeling confident after this initial victory, the army proceeded north to the Red River where scouts reported a sizable Taovaya and Iscani town (subsequently known as Spanish Fort). On the outskirts there was a brief skirmish from which the hostile attackers retreated with the army in hot pursuit. The soldiers were led into an ambush and, after a fierce battle, were forced to retreat under cover of darkness. The presidio of San Sabá was rebuilt, and in the 1760s two unauthorized missions for the Lipanes were placed on the upper Nueces River, midway between San Sabá and the Río Grande, where the Apaches would be out of harm's way from the Norteños. But it was no longer the Apaches who constituted a threat to the Spanish settlements. In the years ahead it would be the Norteños, large and powerful alliances of Indians, armed and sometimes led by Frenchmen, who would threaten the peace of the Texas frontier and block further Spanish territorial expansion.

As yet unbeknownst to the Spaniards were larger international changes that were to affect this frontier. British power was growing in North America. Since 1689 the English had been vying with their old adversary in the French and Indian War, and while the Spaniards were en route to Spanish Fort, French Quebec fell to the English. Carlos III succeeded Fernando VI to the Spanish throne, and his Bourbon reforms would spell profound changes for New Spain during the coming years. Most significant in terms of military history, these reforms would reorganize the presidial system on the northern frontier in an attempt to streamline it and make it able more efficiently to meet the challenges of the new era. Within two years Spain would find herself involved in a war with England. And the year after that she would find herself in possession of French Louisiana. Peace was proving to be an elusive dream.

Fernández de Santa Ana's Petition for an Apache Mission, 1750

Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana's memorial *to the auditor, written in Mexico City, summarizes the events that led up to the treaty made with the Apaches in November 1749. It signals a change in attitude on the part of the military who, since 1718, had attempted to reduce Apache depredations on Spanish settlements through retaliatory raids and the taking of captives. The utter failure of such tactics induced them to switch to campaigns offering peace. The transcriptions of several other documents covering the Apache peace overtures from November 25, 1749 to March 22, 1750 can be found in the* Documentos para la historia eclesiástica y civil de la provincia de Texas o Nuevas Philipinas, 1720–1779, *pp. 171–205.*

According to San Antonio de Valero mission registers Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana was in Texas by 1731. He became president of the Querétaran missions in San Antonio in 1733, and took up residence at Concepción for the next sixteen years. The San Xavier missions were founded under his directorship, and he was among the first of the missionaries to push for the peaceful conversion of the Apaches. He left for Mexico City in 1749 to seek help for the San Xavier missions and never returned to the province.

MEMORIAL

Your Excellency:

In the autos concerning the reduction of the Apaches, I, Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana, president of the missions of the rivers of San Antonio and San Xavier[1] in the province of Tejas, present myself with the greatest humility at the feet of your excellency and declare [the following]:

In view of the opinion of the auditor de guerra,[2] I must convey to your excellency the reasons for a judicious belief that the reduction of the Apache Indians should be carried out. They have already requested a mission three times, and in

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1. Three missions were established on the San Xavier (San Gabriel) River in 1748 and 1749: San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, and San Ildefonso. Due to a variety of circumstances, they were removed in 1755. San Antonio de Valero (1718) was the first of the Querétaran missions to be located on the San Antonio River; it was followed by San Francisco Xavier de Nájera in 1720 (later amalgamated with San Antonio). They were followed by the three missions of Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada in 1731, when they were finally moved from their ephemeral location on the Colorado.

2. The auditor was Don Juan Rodríguez de Albuerne, Marqués de Altamira, who had been overseeing matters on the northern frontier since at least 1744.

the name of the king (may God protect him) I have promised them one in their own land. The first time was when his excellency the Duque de la Conquista was viceroy.[3] The second was in the time of his excellency the Conde de Fuenclara,[4] and the [third] was under the current governance of your excellency.[5] From that [first] time until the present, more than a few men, women, and children of this nation have traveled to the aforesaid missions under my charge—mainly to the missions of Concepción and San Antonio,[6] where they have been in the churches listening to the explanation of Christian doctrine and observing how the Indians of those two conversions are trained. Some of them show signs of not wanting to return to their lands for many days, for they find the way of life pleasing, with reasons as good as any missionary could think of for their reduction. Today, it is a very rare Apache Indian who does not know, either by observation or by report, the manner in which the priests and the Spaniards behave toward the Indians at the reductions of the San Antonio River. In [the Apaches'] judgment, [this behavior] is very different from what happens at the missions in the jurisdiction of Conchos[7] and El Paso del Norte.[8]

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3. Pedro Castro Figueroa y Salazar, Duque de la Conquista, served as viceroy for only a year, from August 1740 until August 1741. The timing indicates that the Apaches first requested a mission just months following Captain Urrutia's 1739 winter campaign against them, at which time a large number of captives were taken. Another possible factor in their request was a fierce battle fought when the Comanches invaded their territory in Texas in early 1740. That the Comanches stood their ground to the last man against their vastly superior number impressed the Apaches and reminded them just how formidable this enemy to the north was.

4. Pedro Cebrián y Agustín, Conde de Fuenclara, was viceroy from 1742 until 1746. In a letter to this viceroy dated October 1745, Fray Benito wrote that the chief of the Lipanes had formally requested a mission for the third time. The wife of the chief again requested a mission and a presidio of Fray Benito in January 1746, and noted that the Natages were opposed to the request.

5. At the time of this letter, the viceroy was Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Conde de Revillagigedo (1746–1755).

6. In the registers of baptism, marriage, and burial for San Antonio de Valero from 1721 through the 1780s, 129 Apaches can be counted. Of course, the actual number present would have been higher, since not all individuals would appear in those records. From 1749 through 1753, twenty-three Apaches were baptized from among those captured. Only the marriage register of Concepción survived, and the six Apaches named in it provide no clue to their actual numbers there.

7. In 1747, just three years before Fray Benito penned his *memorial*, Spanish exploratory expeditions visited five missions. San Francisco de la Junta had a congregation of Conchos and Tecolotes. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and San Antonio de los Plaques served the Cíbolos and Pescados. San Cristóbal also had Cíbolos. San Juan Bautista (on the Conchos) gathered the Cacalotes, Mesquites, Conejos, and Cholomes (Jumanos). With the exception of San Antonio, each had its own church, sacristy, and articles for church rites. Only two missionaries, Fray Lorenzo de Saavedra (who had been there for seventeen years) and Fray Francisco Sánchez, ministered to the Indians at the time. The missions of Santa María la Redonda and San Pedro Alcántara had been located somewhere in the vicinity at an earlier time.

8. The first missions to be founded in the El Paso area were established in 1659 for Mansos Indians. The church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Norte (located on the

The second time they requested a mission, not one band committed the slightest depredation anywhere in the province from the month of June until May 10 or 12 of the following year. The finest of both sexes repeatedly came down to the mission in my charge, insisting that I go up to their country to establish a mission and offering their children to me for baptism. Finally, seeing that not even the rudiments of what they hoped for and requested were being granted to them after such a long time, they concluded that the Spaniards were rejecting the peace and that only the captain and the priest desired it. In this belief, the group of Indians who had realized the greatest benefits sent a message or notice, by way of four women, that they would now initiate war and would attack the presidio's horse herd. They gave me to understand that they would do the same with whatever belonged to the mission where I lived, and that I should be sure to advise the captain so that he might prepare for it.

I went up to the presidio with the same four women, and they told the captain roughly what I have said. Although he took all possible precautions, they were not adequate to prevent the robbery of most of the [presidio's] property. The Indians left clear indications at the same time that, although they were capable of doing the same to the mission property, they did not want to do so.[9]

What they value most—more than any gift or courtesy I could give them—is the liberty of the prisoners from their nation. These were [being held] in various buildings at the presidio, and some—although few—were in the missions. We came to believe that the most effective way to reduce those Indians was to offer them the prisoners, and that the bloodier the campaigns are the worse [the Indians] become, repeating their hostilities with greater force.

The captain of the presidio realized this[10] and carried out two campaigns last year [1749] with a better outcome and tactics than preceding ones. He gave orders that neither the soldiers nor the Indian auxiliaries were to kill any Indian, except in self-defense. They were simply to capture those they could, of both sexes, and any captives were to be treated with great kindness. All of this was done to the great wonder of the Apaches, for they had never seen such humanity among the Spaniards.[11] [The campaign] was followed by gifts that the father Fray Mariano de

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Mexican side of the present border) was built between April 2, 1662 and January 15, 1668. Three missions were established in the wake of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico, to care for Indian allies who fled south with the Spaniards: San Antonio Isleta del Sur for the Tiguas from Isleta, New Mexico; Nuestra Señora del Socorro del Sur for the Piros from Socorro, New Mexico; and San Antonio Senecú for the Piros and Tompiros from Senecú, New Mexico. By the time of this report, the Socorro and Isleta missions boasted permanent churches.

9. A campaign against the Apaches was led in 1743 by the governor of Coahuila, Juan García de Pruneda, which might have had some bearing on their request for missions. The eleven-month cessation of hostilities referred to here must have been in 1744, because the Apaches turned hostile again in 1745, in reprisal for the continued enslavement of their people. Indeed, only Fray Benito's mission of Concepción was spared their wrath.

10. Toribio de Urrutia succeeded his father as captain of the presidio of San Antonio when the elder Urrutia died on July 16, 1740.

11. This new peace campaign of 1749 was, in fact, following provisions set forth twenty

los Dolores gave them. Some important Indians were returned to their homeland, to advise their chiefs that the benign war was dedicated solely *to the goal of their conversion, which they had forsaken in the previous years.* The return of all the prisoners was promised, on the condition that they cease the war entirely and live among the fathers in the same way as the Indians from the San Antonio River.

In a few days all the frontier people replied, saying that they were entering into the pact with great pleasure. At the same time they asked where their old friend the father president could be found.[12] This compelled Fray Mariano to write me to cut short what I was doing in San Xavier and travel to the area around San Antonio to reassure those Indians, which I could not do until May 1749.

From the twentieth of that month until the beginning of August, when I came down to this town [San Antonio], many other frontier people came down from the north. Among them was the [Indian] captain to whom the prisoners were handed over. He and others assured me that they would be true to their word, with such solid reasoning that I had to believe them. One [intention] was for the young Apache women to marry the free Indian men of the missions,[13] either before or after [the Apache] mission was established. So effective was this proposal that some young women, being single, did not want to return to their land—among them a niece of Captain Boca Comida,[14] who was quite attractive. This was also the case with some youths who were awaiting the conclusion of the agreement. The father missionaries gave no countenance to this proposition, so as not to run the risk of repeating previous difficulties, which might result from this situation.

I am omitting other firm intentions that the Apaches have expressed so as not to be boring. I cannot omit, however, the opinion the mission Indians have formed [of the Apaches]. Although they are very old enemies of the Apaches, they say, "We always thought that the Apaches would never be our friends nor come to be Christians, but today we know that their friendship with us comes from the heart. They speak the truth, that they desire a mission, and the priests can believe them." Although it stems from the Indians' judgment, this conviction car-

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years earlier in Rivera's Reglamento of 1729. These policies enjoined presidial commanders to try to maintain friendly relations with Indians through kindness and gifts, and not to provoke hostilities or make war on them unless Indians initiated an attack. Nor were they to aid one tribe against another, unless the target was a known enemy of the Spaniards as well. Indian prisoners taken in action were not to be disposed of as slaves by the officers, and women and children were to be repatriated in order to try to bring hostiles around and to eliminate the excuse for reprisals. A final provision was that hostiles who sued for peace were to be forgiven.

12. The author of this *memorial*, Fray Benito, is meant. It was he who had befriended the Apaches and pushed for their missionization for so many years.

13. From 1749 through 1753, ten Apaches married mission neophytes and stayed in the mission.

14. The niece of Boca Comida cannot be identified in the mission registers of San Antonio de Valero. However, an entry from a decade later is significant. Pedro, a Lipan of about twenty years of age, the son of "the old Captain Boca Comida" and his wife (both gentiles and still living), was baptized on June 29, 1759. The implication is that Boca Comida himself came to Valero when the promised mission on the Guadalupe failed to materialize.

ries great weight for me, for many of them are very shrewd, and all of the Indians commonly keep their thoughts to themselves without imparting them to the Spaniards.

On December 4 of last year [1749], Padre Procurador Fray Diego Martín García[15] wrote me the following: "On November 24, the [Indian] captain to whom the captain of this presidio had given the hat and cane [of office], and with whom your reverence spoke, came with one hundred of his people, over and above those who had arrived on the twenty-second and twenty-third. After explaining why he was delayed and why some of his people had not yet arrived, he said that Captain Boca Comida[16] and the other with the wounded forehead were now ready to come to Guadalupe with all of their people to live in a mission. Everyone was content and came voluntarily, *with pleasure.*" Up to this point [I have quoted] the said father. The following provides only a summary: First of all, the Apaches gave clear signs of those who came and went from San Xavier, whether they were many or few [and whether they were] with or without livestock. Second, once the peace was arranged, there was not the slightest problem in that land, and the said Indians maintained peace to vouch for what they had promised in March of last year. Third, on November 28, some messengers arrived from Captain Boca Comida, giving notice of his imminent arrival and asking where he should situate himself with his people, among whom many little ones had died of smallpox.[17] Finally, the governor conveyed two prisoners [to return to Boca Comida]. To this I might add that the great value the Spaniards place on prisoners, well known to the Indians, not only impedes interaction with them, but also [reduces] the effectiveness of the peace. Don José de Escandón suggested this in his report of October 26, 1747, number 70,[18] hinting at the doleful complaints that the Indians had made to him about this matter, from which the implacable hatred for the Spaniards

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15. Fray Diego Martín García entered the College of Querétaro on January 5, 1733. According to mission registers at San Antonio de Valero, he served in Texas at least from 1745 through 1754. In the former year, while co-minister of San Antonio de Valero with Fray Mariano de los Dolores, he authored a treatise on the customs and character of the Indians and the methods employed by the ministers for their instruction.

16. The Boca Comida band took their name from their captain. It is not clear whether Boca Comida was a chief or simply a war leader.

17. In response to the 1749 peace campaigns, the Apaches ceased all hostilities in March. Their first emissaries appeared before Fray Mariano de los Dolores on August 20, and again on September 24, to request missions and to announce that two leaders were ready to bring their people into the San Antonio missions. Feeling it unwise to amalgamate them with their old enemies, the minister instructed them to congregate on the Guadalupe, where supplies would be delivered to them. From this and other documents, it is evident that by November the chiefs were indeed converging on the Guadalupe and dispatching delegations to San Antonio every few days. Representatives arrived on November 11, 20, 22, 23, 24, and finally, on November 28 and 29, when the treaty was made.

18. In 1746 the new viceroy, the Conde de Revillagigedo, named José de Escandón to undertake the exploration and settlement of the Gulf of Mexico from Tampico in the modern state of Veracruz to the San Antonio River in Texas. Following his exploratory expedition, he made his recommendations to the viceroy in a report (the *Consulta*) dated October 26,

from Nuevo Reino del León has originated. I note that the same thing occurs with the Apaches, who would already be reduced today if not for the impediment of the [Spanish] avarice for prisoners, for which principal end many campaigns were carried out.

From what has now been said it can be seen that my claim is not born of excessive zeal or frivolous, unfounded arguments. On the contrary, many nations have been reduced to our holy faith in the province of Tejas since the year 1731, and not one of them offered serious resistance in the early years, [yet] most [people] continue to doubt [the wisdom of] the reduction of many [nations]; and here I always object. I staunchly insist that [even] the most rebellious nation can easily be reduced to civilized life using the same means that were employed with the Indians at the missions on the San Antonio River. The principal maxim is to admit at the beginning of each reduction only those Indians who can be supported and clothed adequately—no more than one hundred souls.

These are easily civilized in the first year, and they gladly engage in moderate labor, which results in [enough] produce and seeds to maintain as many more. Since the heathens are within sight of what is happening, they are attracted by the same suitable employment that they observe in the [Indians] already reduced, until the entire nation is won over. In subsequent years, others continue to aggregate.

When the mission at San José was founded this maxim was not observed, for which reason four large nations returned to their former faithlessness, namely, the Pampopas, the Pastias, the Sayopines, and the Tacames.[19] They endured almost the same punishments as did the Apache Indians not only during the term of Governor Don Manuel de Sandoval,[20] but also in the time of others. Today, at last, they are all reduced and gathered together in different missions by means of the maxim that I have discussed.

I wish for the Apaches to be few in number and well cared for in the beginning of the reduction, since only in this way will everyone come to the missions in subsequent years. At the first mission more than three hundred souls will offer themselves right away, and I see no way or means whereby they can be maintained in the manner that I have discussed. The same situation that developed at the mis-

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1747. Because of previous experience in Nuevo León, in which Indians had only become more hostile when their captured men and women had been sold into slavery (and the old of both sexes killed as useless for the purpose), Escandón proposed a startlingly different approach. No new presidios would be established, since they were more of a hindrance than an aid to the success of new settlements and missions. Instead, families would be recruited as colonists; because they built their homes and cultivated their fields there, they could be expected to defend the land better than soldiers who had no investment in the land. It is apparently this point to which Fray Benito refers.

19. The tribes mentioned all fled their mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo shortly after being congregated there in 1720. Some, such as the Tacame, agreed to return only after being permitted to change missions.

20. Manuel de Sandoval, a native of Santa Fe, New Mexico, served as governor of Texas from 1734 to 1736. He resided in San Antonio instead of the capital at Los Adáes because of the severity of Apache hostilities at the San Antonio settlements.

sion of San José will come to pass unless some means can be found to prevent an effect that will be much more destructive among the Apaches.

In accordance with what I have said, I must implore your excellency not to fault the small size of the [mission] populations at the beginning of the reductions, as it is known with certainty that these [people] have many heathen relatives who can be reduced. However, if we try to reduce everyone in the first few years, the conversion of few, if any, will be achieved, which is what happened at some of the missions in the province of Coahuila. Everything that I request should be kept in mind during the new inspection of San Xavier.

I have presented your excellency with the basis for making a judicious decision that there are Apache Indians for a reduction and that a presidio is needed to carry it out.[21] Even though [a presidio] may not be necessary for either the priests or the Indians, it is the most effective means known whereby [the Indians are compelled to] sow their fields and maintain them until the harvest. Once this is accomplished there is a compelling reason for the Indians to stay and for others to be reduced. However, if [the mission] lacks the respect commanded by a presidio, it is unlikely that this can be achieved, and it all becomes a mission in name [only], nothing more.

This is the reason the priests have asked for a presidio and for one or more soldiers at every reduction. Although there might be few soldiers, or even one alone, the Indians well understand that they must have the [same] respect for him as for the whole presidio, and that offense must not be given to this [presidio] through infractions practiced against that one [soldier] who commands them. In this manner, admirable results of obedience are obtained, the like of which do not occur with any other [person] whom [the Indians] know is not a military man.

Any reductions conducted in other ways, if they manage to survive, will be Christian in appearance only. In reality, they will serve the worst heathenism, hiding robberies, murders, and other crimes under the cloak of the mission Indians. This is presumed to have occurred at some missions in the jurisdiction of Conchos.[22] Those Indians can only be brought to order after they see the reduction of the Apaches, whom they accuse of the very things that they [themselves] commit.

If the presidio is to be specifically the one in San Antonio, it is not my intention to oppose it. I will simply set forth plainly the motives that I have for requesting one. The first is due to the captain, whom the Apaches fear and love at

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21. Fray Mariano had suggested in September 1749 that the presidio of San Xavier be moved to the Guadalupe River.

22. Fray Benito is referring to the presidio of Conchos and not the presidio of la Junta de los Ríos, which was not established until 1760. His allusion is probably to the fact that the Tarahumaras had been leaving their mission pueblos and reverting to paganism at the same time that Apaches were invading the territory in ever-increasing numbers. This was due to drastic reductions in the garrisons of Nueva Vizcaya and the lack of funds to mount campaigns that resulted from Rivera's recommended economies of 1729. The captain at Conchos had warned the viceroy in 1748 of impending disaster due to the undermanning of the presidio and a shortage of horses. There were not enough men or mounts to regularly visit the Tarahumara villages, to keep them in check, or prevent them from retaliating against Apache raids.

the same time.[23] Second, its soldiers are well paid, and I am not sure if this is true at the other presidios. Third, the defense of the San Antonio area is improved through the presidios, for it is true that the [Río] Pedernales[24] constitutes a necessary crossing point that enables the Apaches to come and go from San Antonio to their land. There is no other pass or trail, except for the Puerto de la Bandera,[25] and that one is inferior to the Pedernales. Thus, it is very easy to punish the Indians who might travel to the area of San Antonio, in the event that their reduction is not achieved—something that is rarely accomplished without the struggle of campaigns, as experience demonstrated on the two occasions when [the Indians] invaded the missions of San José and Espada and the presidio itself, not to mention the many other robberies, assaults, and deaths that have occurred frequently in that land. The fourth [reason] is also beneficial: if the presidio were moved it would not be far from the [Río] San Xavier, and it would have the missions of this river[26] and those of San Antonio under its command, since it would be central to all of them, with little difference [in distance]. I believe that the reduction of the Apaches will be effected in such a manner, through presidial arms. Out of respect for the presidio the Indians of both the old and the new missions will live without strife.

For these reasons, I requested in my petition to your excellency that the soldiers from San Antonio who are located in San Xavier—apparently, there are eighteen—be returned to their unit, along with those from La Bahía.[27] However, since the señor auditor may consider them to be needed more urgently for other purposes, others can be supplied from the presidio of Los Adáes. Three soldiers from La Bahía must be present at the three most recently established missions of the San Antonio River though, as the order for their founding states. The viceroy, his excellency señor Marqués de Casafuerte,[28] generally granted one soldier for each reduction, to supervise the Indians in their work.

By what I said in my earlier petition and what I presently propose, San Xavier ends up without any soldiers. The sixteen [soldiers] from the province of Coahuila reside at the presidio of San Antonio, and with respect to those serving at

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23. The captain referred to was Toribio de Urrutia, who had led major campaigns against the Apaches in 1745 and 1749.

24. The Pedernales River is a tributary of the Colorado that rises in Gillespie County and crosses Blanco County and the corner of Hays County before joining the main river.

25. Bandera Pass, near the border of Kerr and Bandera Counties, is a gorge that cuts through a mountain range separating Medina and Guadalupe Valleys. The Apache trail south from their homeland north and west of the pass ran through it. It was for this reason that Captain Joseph de Urrutia had proposed in 1740 that a military post be situated there.

26. The San Xavier referred to is now the San Gabriel River.

27. The presidio of San Xavier was formally authorized by the viceroy on July 7, 1749. It was garrisoned by forty-eight soldiers under a lieutenant and an alférez. Prior to that time it had a temporary guard of thirty men from Los Adáes and La Bahía.

28. Juan de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte, was viceroy from October 1722 to March 1734. During his tenure the three missions of Concepción, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco Espada were moved from east Texas to the San Antonio River.

San Xavier who are from this [presidio], La Bahía, and Los Adáes, it is my intention that they be removed in order to accomplish the reduction of the Apaches, which leaves some recently established missions without any escort. Since it seemed to me a little earlier that a presidio of fifty soldiers was necessary to resolve this inconsistency, I am [now] compelled to state that I requested the presidio for two purposes. The first and principal reason is to repel the invasions of the Apaches. The second one, which I have already hinted at, is that the harvests of these missions are to be accomplished by means of the [Indians'] respect for the soldiers. This second purpose has not been achieved with the forty-eight soldiers who were detached. In both spiritual and temporal matters those three troublesome reductions display a remarkable backwardness, and the soldiers are the cause. The first and principal goal is probably assured because, since March of last year when the Apache Indians promised peace, the invasions have ceased entirely. A better result was achieved in this manner than with the existence of the presidio, and looking for ways to secure the peace through the reduction of the Apaches seemed more appropriate to me than the presence of the soldiers at San Xavier. For this reason I again implore your excellency that, until such time as [conditions in] the provinces can be improved, only the lieutenant of Santa Rosa serve in San Xavier, with no more soldiers than those belonging to his presidio.[29] By this measure I hope to achieve the result that has not been attained with the forty-eight soldiers residing there. This makes soldiers available for other purposes, and those whom your excellency deems necessary can be attached to the captain of San Antonio. Three [soldiers] from La Bahía can stay in the three indicated missions of San Antonio, and all the rest can be returned to their units as soon as the decision to carry out the reduction of the Apaches is reached.

I do not find any real reason not to believe what the captain of the San Antonio presidio and the fathers of that region report. Inasmuch as experience teaches me that the storm continues to rage over this point, however, I feel obliged to request that the captain from La Bahía[30] travel to the Pedernales. If he cannot, then the lieutenant from Santa Rosa should do so not only to ascertain the presidio's situation with regard to the water and land required for its maintenance, but also to keep your excellency apprised at the same time of the new reduction's status. The frequent, tiresome appeals to the superior government will be avoided, along with the nuisance, unpleasantness, and expense that the College of Santa Cruz[31] experiences with the missions of San Xavier. As with everything else that I have said, it is not my intention to annoy or pressure either your excellency or the honorable ministers regarding this particular matter. It is simply my duty to pro-

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29. The lieutenant from Santa Rosa was apparently Juan Galván, who arrived with troops from La Bahía and Los Adáes at San Xavier on January 25, 1748.

30. Fray Benito refers to Captain Joaquín Orobio y Basterra because the new captain, Manuel Ramírez de la Peszina, did not arrive at his new post until February 1, 1750, just twenty days before the *memorial* was written.

31. The missionary College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro had founded and was responsible for (until 1772) all the missions in San Antonio (with the exception of San José) and those on the San Xavier.

pose plainly and truthfully whatever seems appropriate to me for the growth of our holy faith, taking care not to waste treasury funds—which, as I am fully aware, have different specific uses.

I have seen from the royal decrees that the prosperity of the crown is tied to the extension of the holy faith here in America. This prompts me to beg your excellency's assistance for this very purpose as long as reason tells me that the propagation of the faith is attainable, which is presently the case, and there is no reason to refrain from undertaking the reduction of the Apache Indians. I have no doubt that your excellency will help with respect to the improvement of the San Antonio region, once the invasions of San Xavier have come to an end.[32] The expense to the royal treasury will not be significant but will always be very beneficial to the tranquillity and extension of all the internal provinces, not to mention other advantages that are not overlooked.

I submit to your excellency that the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro is resolved and obliged to undertake the reduction of the Apaches by whatever possible ways and means are provided to its apostolic institute, in the certainty that from the Río del Norte to that of San Xavier, an area of almost 130 square leagues, an end to the misfortunes has been noticed. It only remains to move forward and preserve the missions of San Xavier, and to remove the impediment that can obstruct these two goals, which will be accomplished by beginning the reduction of the said Apache Indians.

If my judgment held greater authority, the conversion of these Indians would already have been accomplished. When his excellency señor Conde de Fuenclara was governing this kingdom, I reported to the Real Audiencia that by simply relocating three presidios into the very territory of the Apache Indians, they would be brought under royal subjection.[33] All [the Apaches] sustain themselves by hunting bison, deer, and bears and [gathering] other fruits of the land, something they cannot achieve without dividing themselves into small bands separated from one another for this purpose by three or four days' journey. This was recognized during the campaigns, and the Indians themselves would admit it. I surmise that with the stationing of the presidios in that country this division would not be possible for them, nor would they be able to support themselves given the continual sweeps of the soldiers. Thus brought down, they would give in out of necessity and would reduce themselves like lambs into three missions, just as the presidial captains would wish. There are not enough [Apaches] for more [missions], ac-

32. Since they had begun to congregate on the San Xavier in 1746 (two years before the first mission was formally established there), the Indians had been repeatedly attacked by Apaches. In the first year, five of them were murdered by the hostiles within an eight-month period. In 1747, they abandoned the fields they had planted in anticipation of an Apache attack. Sixty Apache warriors assaulted the mission on May 2, 1748. Although they were repulsed, the retreating Apaches encountered two mission Indians who were out hunting and killed them. The mission Indians suffered further raids in 1749.

33. In other words, had the authorities acted upon the ministers' requests for missions for the Apaches in the early 1740s, their conversion would already have been accomplished—an exaggeration, of course. Nevertheless, the frontier settlements might have been spared an additional decade of grief had authorities acted favorably to the earlier proposal.

cording to what the Apaches themselves have told me, and I feel certain of this for other reasons that I believe are rather less than obvious.

In the event that this is undertaken for the glory of God, the service of our lord the king (may God protect him), the peace of the internal provinces, and the distinction that your excellency's honorable predecessors failed to attain, it will always be advantageous for each of the three presidios to be located thirty leagues from the next, with a mission at each one. Since the forces of those Indians would be spread out, I do not conceive of any uprising, nor will there be enough people for one. The main thing is to place a presidio two leagues away from each reduction, so that the Indians greatly respect it and what happened in San Xavier does not come to pass. In that case, the soldiers fraternized to such an extent that some slept in the houses of those Indians, serving them and assisting them with tasks that they should not have, which resulted in a complete lack of respect and esteem for those soldiers. With this in mind, I am obliged to plead to your excellency that if the presidio is to be relocated to the Pedernales, or farther, a separate location should be found for the mission.

It is not my intention to request that a Spanish settlement be established right away on the Pedernales, or farther, but only that the presidio be located where it could serve as a settlement for the settlers who would gather around it, all of them being granted the land and water with which to support themselves. I imagine this would be easily accomplished as soon as it is known that the Apaches no longer cause any trouble, for I do not forget that [the colonists] are coming to this province from the city of San Luis Potosí,[34] and if by any chance some settlers return for a second time, they will come into the San Antonio region, where they will have no thought of leaving.

I cannot omit the great benefit that the reduction of the Apaches would bring to the Isleño families, who are numerous in the area of San Antonio. Once the reduction is achieved, they will have horse herds, large and small livestock, and fields of wheat and other grains that they do not have today and cannot [have] because they are confined to the banks of the San Antonio River without the possibility of [even] establishing a ranch anywhere else. In spite of all these benefits, even the safety of their lives may not be enough to make those colonists agree that the relocation of the presidio is advantageous. Thus, no matter how your excellency decides to improve the defense of the San Antonio region, it will be more than the citizens, who know no enemies other than the Apaches, [will be willing to] acknowledge. Being certain of all this and not having anything else at this time to which you should respond, I beg your excellency to please grant the measures that I have requested, or whichever ones may seem most suitable to the service of both majesties. It is justice that I ask, of necessity.

Your Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana
Mexico City, February 23, 1750

To the auditor of war

Archivo Franciscano, Caja 9.

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34. San Luis Potosí had been populated by Spaniards from the late sixteenth century and, presumably, had a sufficient population from which to draw new colonists.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

MEMORIAL

Excelentísimo Señor:
Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana presidente de las misiones de los ríos de San Antonio y San Xavier, provincia de Tejas, en los autos sobre la reducción de los apaches, con el mayor rendimiento a los pies de vuestra excelencia me presento y digo:

Que en vista del parecer del señor auditor general de la guerra debo expresar a vuestra excelencia los fundamentos de una prudente credulidad por que se efectúe la reducción de los indios apaches, los que ya tres veces han pedido misión, y en nombre del rey (que Dios guarde) se la tengo prometida en su mismo país. Fue la vez primera siendo virrey el excelentísimo señor Duque de la Conquista; la segunda en tiempo del excelentísimo señor Conde de Fuenclara; y otro gobernando vuestra excelencia y desde aquel tiempo hasta el presente, no pocos hombres, mujeres y niños de dicha nación, bajaron a dichas misiones de mi cargo, principalmente a la de la Concepción y San Antonio, en las que han estado en las iglesias oyendo la explicación de la doctrina cristiana, viendo igualmente en cuanto se ejercitaran los indios de dichas dos conversiones, dándose ejemplares de no querer salir a sus tierras en muchos días; que les complacía mucho aquel modo de vivir, con tan buenos fundamentos como les pudiera inventar el menor misionero para su reducción. Y hoy será rarísimo el indio de la nación apache que no sepa, o de vista o de oídas, el modo con que se procede, así por parte de los padres como por los españoles, con los indios de las reducciones del río de San Antonio; muy distinto en su juicio de lo que pasa en las misiones de la jurisdicción de Conchos y Paso del Norte.

En la segunda vez que pidieron misión, desde el mes de junio hasta el 10 o 12 de mayo del siguiente año, no se vió una sola escuadra que hiciese el menor daño en toda la provincia y bajando a la misión de mi cargo repetidas veces lo mas florido de ambos sexos, insistían en que yo subiera a su país a poner misión; ofreciéndome sus niños para que los bautizara. Más por último, viendo que a tan largo tiempo no se proporcionaban los rudimentos de lo que esperaban y pedían, formaron juicio de que los españoles rehusaban la paz, y que sólo el capitán y el padre la deseaban. Y en esta inteligencia aquella porción de indios que se han reconocido más beneficiados, remitieron un recado o correo, por cuatro mujeres, de que ya rompía la guerra y se asaltaría la caballada del presidio; dándome a entender que harían otro tanto con lo que pertenecía a aquella misión en donde yo vivía, y que no dejase de avisar al capitán para que se previniese.

Con las mismas cuatro mujeres subí al presidio, y poco menos de lo que llevo dicho le dijeron al capitán, el que dando las providencias posibles no bastaron para impedir el robo de la mayor parte del situado, dejando al mismo tiempo evidentes señas de que pudieron y no quisieron hacer otro tanto en lo que pertenecía a la dicha misión.

Sobre regalo y obsequio que les hice, lo que más estiman es la libertad de las presas de su nación, que estaban en diversas casas del presidio y algunas, aunque pocas, en las misiones. Y se vino a pensar que el medio más eficaz para reducir aquellos indios era ofrecerles las presas; y que las compañías, cuanto más

sangrientas, tanto más los empeora, repitiendo con más fuerza las hostilidades.

Conocido esto por el capitán del presidio se hicieron el año pasado dos compañías con mejor fin y modo que los antecedentes. Y así dió orden que ni los soldados ni los indios auxiliares mataran indio alguno sino en su propia defensa; si sólo que apresaran los que pudiesen de los dos sexos; y que apresados que fuesen, los trajesen con la mayor caridad: todo lo que se ejecutó con mucha admiración de dichos apaches, por no haber visto jamás tal humanidad entre los españoles. A esto se siguieron los regalos que les hizo el padre fray Mariano de los Dolores, y se remitieron algunos indios grandes a su país para que noticiasen a sus capitanes que aquella benigna guerra se enderazaba *sólo al fin de su conversión, que los años antecedentes habían desertado*; prometiéndoles toda la presa, con la condición de que cesase totalmente la guerra y viviese con los padres en el mismo modo que lo hacían los indios de aquel río de San Antonio.

En breves días dieron su respuesta los fronterizos todos, diciendo que entraban en el partido con mucho gusto, preguntando al mismo tiempo donde se hallaba su antiguo amigo padre el presidente, y lo que obligó al padre fray Mariano a escribirme de que abreviara en lo que estaba entendiendo en San Xavier y bajara al país de San Antonio para consuelo de aquellos indios, lo que no pude ejecutar hasta el mayo del [17]49.

Desde el 20 de dicho mes hasta los principios de agosto que bajé para esta corte, entre otros muchos fronterizos que bajaron del norte, fue uno el capitán a quien se le entregó la presa; y este, con otros me aseguraron no faltarían a su palabra, con tan sólidos fundamentos que hube de creerlos; siendo uno, el que las mujeres doncellas de dichos apaches se casasen con los indios libres de las misiones; y de estas respectivamente recurrirán ellos antes o después de formarse su misión. Fue esta propuesta con tal eficacia, que algunas doncellas entrando en su número una sobrina del capitán Boca Comida, harto agraciada, no querían, siendo libres, retirarse de su país, y lo mismo algunos mancebos, esperando la conclusión del concierto, a que no dieron lugar los padres misioneros, por no exponerse a previos inconvenientes que pueden resultar de esta misión. Digo, unión.

Omito por no cansar, otros sólidos fundamentos que han expuesto los apaches; más no puedo omitir el juicio que han formado los indios de las misiones, no obstante de ser antípodas antiquísimos de dichos indios. Dicen, pues: pensamos siempre que nunca serían amigos nuestros los apaches, ni llegarían a ser cristianos, más hoy conocemos que la amistad con nosotros les sale de corazón, y que dicen verdad el que quieren misión, y los padres los pueden creer. Este fundamento aunque nace del juicio de los indios, es para mi de grande peso, pues hay bastantes bien avesados, y es regular que los indios todos, unos a otros se beban los pensamientos, sin que lleguen a tanto los españoles.

El padre procurador fray Diego Martín García, con fecha de 4 de diciembre del año pasado, me escribió lo siguiente: El día 24 de noviembre vino con ciento de los suyos, fuera de los que el día 22 y 23 habían llegado, aquel capitán a quien el de este presidio dio el sombrero y bastón, y vuestra reverencia habló. Y después de exponer las causas de su demora, y de no venir ahora todos, dijo: Que el capitán Boca Comida, y otro de la frente rompida, estaban ya para venir a Guadalupe con toda su gente para estar en misión; que estaban todos contentos, y venían de buena gana y *con gusto*. Hasta aquí dicho padre. Y en lo que prosigue dicen sólo la substancia. Lo primero, que dichos apaches dan señas evidentes de los que

fueron y vinieron a San Xavier, o fuesen muchos o fuesen pocos; ya con recua ya sin ella: Lo segundo, que ajustada que fue la paz no se sintió el menor daño en aquel país, y que esto alegan dichos indios en abono de lo que han prometido el año pasado por marzo: Lo tercero, que el día 28 de dicho noviembre llegaron unos correos del capitán Boca Comida, noticiando su inmediación, y preguntando del sitio para situarse con toda su gente, de la que mucha pequeña ha muerto de viruelas. Y por último, de que el gobernador llevó dos presas de la pieza; a que añado que el grande apego que tienen los españoles a las presas, harto conocido por los indios, impide no sólo su comunicación sino también la eficacia de la paz, lo que supone don José de Escandón en su consulta de 26 de octubre del año de [17]47, al número 70, insinuando las lastimosas quejas que sobre este punto le han dado los indios, de que se ha originado el implacable odio contra los españoles del Nuevo Reino de León. Y otro tanto asiento ya sucede con los apaches, los que se hallarían ya hoy reducidos sino lo impidiera la avaricia de las presas, fin a que principalmente se hicieron muchas campañas.

Con lo ya dicho se puede conocer, el que mi pretención no nace de nimio celos, ni leves o livianos fundamentos; antes si, no siendo pocas las naciones que se han reducido a nuestra santa fe en la provincia de Tejas desde el año de [17]31, ninguno de ellos en sus principios dió fundamentos tan graves, llegando a dudar la reducción de muchas, los más. Aqui siempre me opuse, y asiento firmemente, que la nación más rebelde con facilidad se puede reducir a vida política; por los mismos medios que se practicaron con los indios que se hallan en las misiones del río de San Antonio; siendo la máxima principal admitir sólo en los principios de cada reducción aquellos indios que se pudiesen mantener y vestir, sin escasez, no pasando de cien almas.

Estas [almas], en el primer año, fácilmente se docilizan y entran con gusto en un moderado trabajo, el que efectúa frutos y semillas, para mantener otros tantos más. Y como los gentiles estan a la vista de lo que pasa, la misma propia conveniencia que ven en los ya reducidos los atrae, hasta que se agota toda la nación. Y en los años siguientes se van agregando otras.

Cuando se fundó la misión de San José, por no haberse observado esta máxima se han retirado a su antigua infidelidad cuatro corpulentas naciones, y son los pampopas, los pastias, los sayopines, y los tacames. Y faltó poco para que sintieran los mismos castigos, que los indios apaches, no sólo siendo gobernador don Manuel de Sandoval, sino también en tiempo de otros. Más al fin hoy se hallan todas reducidas y agregadas en distintas misiones, por medio de la máxima que llevo dicha.

Yo deseo que en el principio de la reducción de los apaches, sean pocos y bien asistidos; pues con sólo esto se entrarán todos en los sucesivos años. De pronto se ofrecerán en la primera misión arriba de trescientas almas, y no hallo modo ni medio para que se puedan mantener en la forma que llevo dicho, y vendrá a suceder lo mismo que se experimentó en el caso puesto de la misión de San José, sino se providenciare algun medio para precaver un efecto, que en los apaches será mucho más pernicioso.

Según lo dicho, debo suplicar a vuestra excelencia que en los principios de las reducciones, en la cortedad de los pobladores no se repare, como se sepa de cierto de que estos tienen muchos parientes gentiles que se puedan reducir; pues si se intentase reducirlos a todos en los primeros años, se conseguirá sólo el que se con-

viertan muy pocos, y aún ninguno, lo que sucedió en algunas de las misiones de la provincia de Coahuila, todo lo que suplico se tenga presente en la nueva inspección de San Xavier.

Llevo expuesto a vuestra excelencia los fundamentos para hacer un prudente juicio de que hay indios apaches para una reducción, y también el que se puede efectuar para lo que se necesita un presidio, pues aunque no fuera necesario ni para los padres ni para los indios, es el medio que se conoce más eficaz para que estos formen sus siembras y estas se conserven hasta llegar a colmo; lo que logrado, hay un máximo fundamento para la permanencia de los indios y que otros se reduzcan. Más si faltase el respeto del presidio, no se hace verosímil que esto se pueda lograr, y viene a quedar todo en ser misiones de nombre, no más.

Este es el fundamento de los padres para pedir presidio, y alguno o algunos soldados en cada reducción; pues aunque sean pocos, y aun uno sólo, entienden bien los indios que le han de tener el respeto que a todo el presidio, y que este no se ha de dar por ofendido de las desobediencias que se practicaren con aquel sólo que los manda, consiguiéndose por este medio admirables efectos de obediencia, y no sucede otro tanto con otro alguno que conozcan que no es militar.

Cuantas reducciones se hicieran de otro modo, cuando que lleguen a subsistir, servirán sólo de apariencia de cristiandad y la realidad del gentilismo peor, encubriendo con la capa de indios de misión, robos, muertes y otros delitos, lo que se presume pasa en algunas misiones de la jurisdicción de Conchos; los que sólo se podrán reducir a razón después que vean ya reducidos los apaches, a quienes acumulan lo mismo que ellos operan.

Que el presidio sea precisamente el de San Antonio no es mi intento contravenirlo; y sólo propondré sencillamente los motivos que tuve para pedirlo. Lo primero por razón del capitán, a quien los apaches temen, y al mismo tiempo le aman. Lo segundo porque sus soldados estan bien pagados, y de los otros presidios no me consta. Lo tercero porque en los presidios mejora de defensa el país de San Antonio, siendo verdad que dichos Pedernales, es como preciso paso para poder los apaches bajar y subir de San Antonio a su país, sin restar otro puerto ni camino que el puerto de la Bandera, y este viene también a reconocer la cabecera de dichos Pedernales. De modo que es muy fácil castigar a los indios que bajen al país de San Antonio en caso que no se logre su reducción, lo que rara vez se consigue sin el afán de las campañas, como lo demostró la experiencia en las dos ocasiones que invadieron la misión de San José, también la de la Espada, y el mismo presidio, sin otros muchos robos, asaltos y muertes que han sucedido frecuentemente en aquel país. Se logra también lo cuarto: el que este presidio, trasplantado que sea, no este lejos del país de San Xavier y tenga debajo de su comando las misiones de este río y también las de San Antonio, por quedar en medio de todas con poca diferencia. Y como creo que se efectuará la reducción de dichos apaches a las armas de estos, y al respeto del presidio, vivirán sin alteración no sólo los indios de las misiones antiguas sino también los de las nuevas.

Por estos motivos con que me hallaban, supliqué en mi pedimento a vuestra excelencia que los soldados de San Antonio que se hallaban en San Xavier, que parece son 18, se devolvieran a su cuerpo, y con ellos los de la Bahía. Más como estos los considere el señor auditor más precisos para otros destinos, podrán suplir otros del presidio de los Adays, si bien tres soldados de la Bahía deben asistir en las tres misiones menos antiguas del río de San Antonio, como consta del des-

pacho de sus fundaciones siendo virrey el excelentísimo señor Marques de Casafuerte, el que concedió generalmente un militar a cada reducción para superintendente de los indios en sus faenas.

Por lo que dejo dicho en mi antecedente pedimento y de lo que de presente propongo, viene a quedar San Xavier sin soldado alguno. Respecto a que los 16 de la provincia de Coahuila, residen en el presidio de San Antonio, y los de este, de la Bahía y Adays, que asistían en San Xavier, intento se remuevan para el fin de la reducción de los apaches, y vienen a quedar unas misiones recién plantadas sin alguna escolta. Pareciéndome poco antes que era necesario un presidio de cincuenta soldados para dar solución a esta inconsecuencia, me precisa hacer presente que por dos fines supliqué al presidio. Fue el primero y principal el que se rechazaran las invasiones de los apaches; y el segundo el que llevo ya insinuado: y es, que se lograsen las cosechas de aquellas misiones por medio del respeto de los militares. A este fin segundo no se consiguió con los 48 soldados destacados; antes si, en lo espiritual y temporal, se ven con notable atraso aquellas tres perseguidas reducciones, siendo los soldados el motivo de dicho atraso. El fin principal y primero esta probablemente precavido, pues desde el año pasado por marzo, en que los indios apaches prometieron la paz, cesaron totalmente las invasiones, lográndose por este medio mejor afecto que con la existencia de un presidio. Y me pareció más conveniente buscar medios para que la paz se afianzara con la reducción de los indios apaches, que la asistencia de los soldados en San Xavier. Por lo que de nuevo suplico a vuestra excelencia que hasta el tiempo que se puedan mejorar las provincias, asista sólo en dicho San Xavier el teniente de Santa Rosa, sin más soldados que los propios de su presidio, esperando por este medio el efecto que no se ha conseguido con los 48 militares que allí residen; quedando de este modo soldados para otros destinos, pudiendo subir con el capitán de San Antonio los que parezcan a vuestra excelencia precisos. Tres de la Bahía podrán quedar en las tres dichas misiones de San Antonio y todo el resto se puede restituir a sus cuerpos, luego que se haga juicio se efectúa la reducción de los dichos apaches.

No hallo verdadero motivo para que no se crea lo que representa el capitán del presidio de San Antonio y a los padres de aquellas partes. Más como la experiencia me enseña que dura la tempestad sobre este punto, me vi precisado a la súplica de que subiera a los Pedernales el capitán de la Bahía, y cuando este no pueda, sea el teniente de Santa Rosa, no sólo para que se acierte en la situación del presidio con aguas y tierras para poder mantenerse, sino también para que quede de una vez informado vuestra excelencia del estado de la nueva reducción, y se eviten los importunos frecuentes recursos a este superior gobierno y también las molestias, desabrimientos y gastos que hoy siente el Colegio de la Santa Cruz con las misiones de San Xavier; sobre cuyo particular, como en todo lo demás que llevo dicho, no es mi intento violentar importunamente ni a vuestra excelencia ni a los señores ministros, por ser sólo mi obligación proponer sencillamente y con verdad, lo que me parece conveniente al aumento de nuestra santa fe, con atención a que no se malgaste la real hacienda la que no ignoro tiene distintos precisados destinos.

Tengo visto en reales cédulas, que las felicidades de toda la corona estan vinculadas en la extensión de la santa fe en esta América, y esto me impele a implorar el auxilio de vuestra excelencia para dicho fin, siempre que la razón me dicta que la propagación de la fe es asequible, lo que me pasa de presente, sin hallar

fundamento para dejar de emprender la reducción de dichos indios apaches, a que no dudo coadyuvará vuestra excelencia respecto se mejora el país de San Antonio, quedan fenecidas las invasiones contra San Xavier, y el gasto de la real hacienda no será de notable consideración pero siempre muy fructuoso a la quietud y extensión de todas las provincias internas sin otras utilidades que no se ignoran.

Hago presente a vuestra excelencia de que el colegio apostólico de Santa Cruz de Querétaro esta resuelto y precisado a emprender la reducción de los apaches por los modos y medios que le sean dables y se proporcionen a su apostólico instituto; en la cierta consideración que desde el Río del Norte hasta el de San Xavier, espacio de 130 leguas casi en cuadro, se dió fin notablemente a la infelicidad, y sólo resta para pasar adelante y conservar las misiones de San Xavier, remover el impedimento que puede impedir estos dos fines, lo que se logra dando principio a la reducción de dichos indios apaches.

Si mi juicio fuera de mayor autoridad, ya la conversión de estos indios estuviera efectuada, pues gobernando este reino el excelentísimo señor Conde de Fuenclara, a la Real Audiencia representé [que] con sólo trasplantar tres presidios en el país mismo de los indios apaches estaban estos precisados a la real sujeción, pues todos se sustentan de la caza de cíbolos, venados y osos, y de otras frutas del campo, lo que no se consigue sin dividirse en cortos trozos, apartándose para este fin tres y cuatro jornadas los unos de los otros, lo que se conoció con las campañas y lo confiesan los mismos indios. Esto supuesto, con la residencia de los presidios en aquel país, ni les fuera posible la división ni el logro de poder mantenerse, teniendo las continuas recorridas de los soldados. Y así consternados de la necesidad se dieran a partido y a cuanto quisieren los capitanes de los presidios, reduciéndose como corderos en tres misiones, pues no hay para más, según me han dicho los mismos apaches, lo que tengo por cierto por otros principios, para mi, punto menos que evidente.

Y en caso que esto se emprendiera para gloria del Señor, servicio del rey nuestro señor (que Dios guarde) paz de las provincias internas, y laurel que no han conseguido los excelentísimos señores antecesores de vuestra excelencia, siempre será conveniente que cada uno de los tres presidios se sitúe a las treinta leguas de los demás, y en cada uno de los tres una misión, pues repartidas que sean las fuerzas de aquellos indios no concibo alguna sublevación, ni se hallará gente suficiente para ella, principalmente si a las dos leguas de cada reducción se formase el presidio, modo con que los indios le tienen mucho respecto. Y que no llegue el caso de lo que pasó en San Xavier, en donde los soldados se humanaron con tal demasía, que dormían algunos en las casas mismas de aquellos indios, sirviéndoles y cuidándoles en ejercicios a que no debían, y vino a parar en una falta total de estimación y aprecio de aquellas armas. Lo que teniendo yo a la vista me obligó suplicar a vuestra excelencia que trasplantado que fuese el presidio en los Pedernales, o más allá, se buscase sitio apartado para la misión.

No fue mi intento en que ruego, luego se formase alguna población de españoles en los Pedernales, o más allá, si sólo que se situase el presidio en donde pudiese servir para alguna población con la vecindad que se fuese agregando, mercenando a cada uno las tierras y aguas con que se pudiesen mantener, lo que concibo se consiga fácilmente luego que se sepa que ya los apaches no causan extorsión alguna pues no dejo de saber suben a aquella provincia desde la ciudad de San

Luis Potosí; y cuando por algún accidente se vuelve alguno por segunda, entra en el país de San Antonio, donde no piensa en salir.

No puedo omitir el grande beneficio que se infiere a las familias isleñas, y a cuantos hay en el país de San Antonio, con la reducción de los apaches; pues conseguida esta, tendrán manadas, ganados mayores y menores, siembras de trigo y otras semillas que hoy no tienen ni pueden, por estar reducidos a sólo las bandas del río de San Antonio sin posibilidad de formar un rancho en otra parte. Mas todas estas utilidades, con la seguridad de sus vidas, acaso no serán bastantes para que vote aquella vecindad que es conveniente la trasplantación del presidio. Y así averiguado que sea por vuestra excelencia el que el país de San Antonio mejora de defensa, estará de más el que dé su parecer aquel vecindario, que no conoce otros enemigos que los apaches, todo lo que siendo cierto, y no teniendo por ahora otra cosa a que deba responder. A vuestra excelencia suplico se sirva de dar las providencias que llevo pedidas, o las que tuviere por más conveniente al servicio de ambas majestades que es justicia que pido, y en lo necesario.

Vuestra Fray Benito Fernández de Santa Ana,
México, y febrero 23 de 1750

Al señor auditor

Fray Mariano's Letter to the Viceroy, 1752

Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores y Viana arrived in San Antonio in 1733, where he served at San Antonio de Valero, except for two years at San Juan Capistrano (1737–1739). He founded the three San Xavier missions (1748–1749). In 1750, he succeeded Fray Benito Fernández as president of the Querétaran missions in Texas and held the position until his death early in 1763.

In this letter to the viceroy Fray Mariano recounts the circumstances that led to the tragic murders at mission Candelaria and the investigations that followed. As represented by the father, Captain Felipe de Rábago y Terán's licentious behavior and undisguised hostility towards the missionaries set a miserable example for his men that had tragic consequences, and the captain's attempt to blame the innocent Cocos in order to cover up his own failure of command or, perhaps, outright complicity in the murders capped the litany of misdeeds at his presidio. Rábago y Terán was named captain of the proposed presidio by a royal patent dated March 6, 1750. He arrived at his destination in December 1751, and the murders occurred less than a year later. On February 7, 1753, he turned over his command to Captain Miguel de la Garza Falcón and retired to the presidio of Sacramento, Coahuila, to take charge of that garrison until the conclusion of a judicial inquiry. Eight years of investigations into the murders ended in his acquittal.

There is an obvious bias in Fray Mariano's wording, reflecting the tensions of the rivalry that grew between the missionaries and the military during the eighteenth century as the latter's authority increased. His account quite possibly contains exaggerations, in an effort to portray the presidio and its captain in the worst possible light. Nevertheless, the sorry affair exhibits the presidio in Texas at its nadir and probably contributed to the contempt of unpacified Indians toward the Spaniards, which would have future repercussions such as the attack on the San Sabá mission a few years later.

Your Excellency:[1]

I received your excellency's [letter] via the captain of San Xavier, Don Felipe de Rábago y Terán. Because Father Fray Miguel Pinilla[2] has excommunicated the captain, officers, and soldiers of that presidio, your excellency or-

1. The viceroy was Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, Conde de Revillagigedo, whose term of office was from July 9, 1746 to November 9, 1755.

2. Fray Miguel Pinilla, who was assigned to the mission of Candelaria, was appointed chaplain to the presidio on December 10, 1751, following the arrival of Captain Rábago y Terán.

ders me to remove the father missionaries [of San Xavier][3] and replace them with others from the nearest mission, in order to avoid other demonstrations and prevent further troubles. All of this had already been accomplished by other means when I received your excellency's letter. God was pleased to take to himself one of the six ministers who belonged to those conversions, and another died like a fugitive,[4] both losing their lives through treachery. Of the remaining four [missionaries], three fled for fear of suffering the same fate.[5] Just one has remained there to assist the Indians of the San Xavier mission, which is the only [mission] that remains inhabited today. He is unable to get any other religious to go to those missions, because all live in fear due to the death of their brother. The missions are not only deserted, but also without hope of being able to educate the Indians in a Christian manner with the respect they are due.

I feel obliged to advise your excellency of this, so that the synods and other parties governing those missions may decide what should be done before all is lost—for that is the outcome to be expected from all that has happened at San Xavier since the founding of the new presidio. Even before the captain arrived to construct the presidio, he entered into dishonest relations with the wife of Juan Joseph Ceballos in the presidio of San Antonio. For that reason he brought the family to those lands, but because Ceballos defended his honor during the first days of the journey, the captain placed him in heavy restraints and carried him like a beast to San Xavier, separated from his wife and with great public humiliation amidst all the troops.[6] Ceballos, however, was able to escape from the prison in San Xavier and took refuge in the mission of Candelaria. In taking him from the mission the captain violated the immunity of the church, showing extreme contempt for the missionaries. The missionaries threatened [the captain] with spiritual censure until he returned the fugitive, which he did in an improper manner.[7] However, fuming with anger over this episode and seeing that the prob-

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3. Six missionaries were assigned to the three missions on the San Xavier River: Fray Joseph González López, Fray Mariano de Anda, Fray Joseph Pinilla, Fray Miguel Pinilla, Fray Joseph Ganzábal, and Fray Félix Gutiérrez Varaona

4. The missionary who was murdered at his mission (Candelaria) on May 11, 1752, was Joseph Ganzábal. The second victim was Juan Joseph Ceballos.

5. According to a letter written by Captain Rábago on June 3, to the guardian of the College of Querétaro, there were two missionaries left at San Xavier: Fray Francisco Mariano de Anda and Fray Joseph López. By the time Fray Mariano penned this account to the viceroy only Fray Anda remained.

6. Juan Joseph Ceballos enlisted in Rábago y Terán's company when the latter arrived in San Antonio. The affair between his wife and the captain became public knowledge shortly after the company left for San Xavier. When the cuckolded husband protested to the commander, the latter had him put in chains—in spite of the fact that Ceballos was ill with a fever—and conducted him thus to the new post. The attempted intervention of the chaplain only provoked the captain to further malevolent abuse; with the poor husband chained to the walls of his cell, Rábago joined the wife in carnal pleasure in his presence.

7. Ceballos escaped on Christmas Eve 1751. Upon learning of his flight the next morning Rábago, accompanied by some of his soldiers, rode into the chapel without dismounting,

lem and source of such scandal had been removed from him—because Padre Procurador Fray Joseph Pinilla had privately reprimanded the woman and persuaded her to return to her home—the captain drew up a document in the woman's name and forced her to sign it. In the document the protection [of the presidio] was likewise requested for the woman so that she would not have to leave as ordered, since [that order] was the revenge of four priests whose dishonorable intentions she was unwilling to comply with. The captain showed me the document, which was obviously false. The accused priests had never communicated with her, and two of them had never even seen her. Seeing that I considered [the document] worthless, the captain backed away from his attempts to [convince] me, but we do not know what he may have reported to your excellency.

From such awful beginnings the captain went on to devise worse developments. Not wanting to provide the missions with the necessary soldiers to assist with the care of their livestock, the improvement of their fields, and the education of the Indians, he has neglected the missionaries far too much, and not a day dawns without new attempts at mortifying and dishonoring them. The most scandalous part of all is that without restoring the reputations of the apostolic missionaries, he provoked your excellency's letter with the statements made by Don Toribio de Guevara.[8] It is certain, your excellency, that over and above the absolute and audacious way in which this captain behaves, he is establishing a control so despotic that everything that does not submit to his will is taken as a serious insult to his pride. Because of his concern that no one else have authority there, it appeared to him that the father Fray Miguel Pinilla compromised his dignity in having decided privately, charitably, and prudently to admonish a young woman—at the request of her own husband, who had complained to the priest as one would normally to the captain—to convince her to discontinue her dishonest behavior with Nicolás Carbajal, corporal of the company and personal assistant to the captain.[9] Thus, even though the truth of the transgression was evident to [the captain], Carbajal appeared before him and the priest demanding that, in accordance with justice, if what was said were true he should be punished, and if not the father should restore his reputation. [Carbajal's] wily move left the minister defamed with the label of gossiper and public slanderer, news that spread throughout the presidio.

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seized Ceballos, and carried him back to the prison. Fray Pinilla notified the commander of the gravity of his offense and demanded the return of the prisoner and a public apology for his error. On December 27, the captain returned Ceballos to the father but refused to apologize.

8. Toribio de Guevara and Nicolás Carbajal, two of the chief offenders, were dispatched by the garrison in the wake of the excommunication.

9. Following the disclosure of the Ceballos scandal, behavior within the presidio sank to new depths of depravity. According to the Franciscan historian Father Agustín Morfi, "Girls, whether single or married, without distinction of caste, were made to serve the captain in his pleasures." Not only were wives and daughters of neophytes abused, but the few Spanish women and girls of the presidial families as well. The woman in question here was the wife of a soldier named Arocha.

To protect his own reputation and that of his position the minister was obliged to request that the captain grant royal assistance in imprisoning the corporal. In the meantime, as chaplain of the presidio and acting provisionally as ecclesiastical justice, the other [civil justice] being [unavailable], he charged [Carbajal] with the crime and indicted him. The captain refused to render assistance. Given the publicity that Carbajal had already generated, however, it was necessary for the priest to pursue the matter, and he [threatened] the captain with spiritual censure to force him to provide the royal support. Seeing that he was obligated [to comply], the captain decided to impede [the process]. By means of his lieutenant-sergeant-treasurer and Carbajal, he arranged for twenty-eight other soldiers to ask him, in writing, to order that the father no longer minister in the presidio nor enter it by day or by night, because the acrimonious priest had discredited everyone, revealed confessional secrets, and [committed] other transgressions that they attributed to him and accused him of, without fear of God. The captain gave the order by means of an *auto*, which your excellency can verify and the father will send, if that is your superior will.[10]

Not content with having issued the decree, the same captain went to inform the father of it in person, with witnesses to assist him. [The father] did not want to hear anything of it and advised [the captain] that he would incur excommunication if he persisted in this cause. This warning notwithstanding, the captain insisted on sending the lieutenant and other soldiers to inform [the priest] of the *auto* ordering his dismissal and to provide him with the written complaint. In order to satisfy your excellency in this case, the father received [the complaint]; he then proceeded, by way of remedy and to check such outrageous abuses of authority, to declare and make evident the censures that they had incurred, recording them on a tablet. The tablet, however, was received with such irreverence that a soldier broke it to pieces on the sergeant's order.[11] The captain immediately sent a note to the father in which he called him ignorant, among other offensive insults, and demanded absolution for himself and the rest of the accused; but because his manner was so irreverent, the father delayed for four days. After the father delivered an apostolic admonition, they requested [absolution] more submissively and were all absolved.[12] Don Toribio de Guevara and Nicolás Carbajal did not receive this benefit. On the same day that the father issued the excommunication they had incurred, the captain roused the entire company, assembling them to the sound of a drum. He made various demonstrations such that the entire company wanted to leave because the priest did not absolve them. The captain calmed them down, even plotting with the soldiers to authorize Don Toribio to go inform your excellency of everything. Don Toribio traveled by way of the pre-

10. The *auto* was signed and dated on February 15, 1752.

11. Fray Pinilla drew up the edict of excommunication on February 19, and Fray Joseph Ganzábal delivered it to the presidio, where he read it to the astounded garrison.

12. Between February 20, the day following Pinilla's signing of the edict of excommunication, and March 1, all the soldiers with the exception of Guevara and Carbajal had been absolved, and Fray Ganzábal administered the Sacrament of Penance on March 1.

sidio of San Antonio[13] and was informed by the chaplain [there], the cleric Don Francisco Manuel Polanco, that he had given the title of juez eclesiástico to the father Fray Miguel Pinilla. With the chaplain, Don Toribio composed the certification that he carried and presented to your excellency. This contained the basic argument that the dean and *cabildo* of the vacant see of Guadalajara had given the said chaplain the authority to appoint an assistant [in times of] sickness and absence. As your excellency can verify from the same dispatch that [Polanco] sent as testimony nine days before the declaration of censures proceeded, he made the appointment that he declares for the record in his certification. However, as that authority does not extend to the presidio of San Xavier, nor are such appointments to be made in the rest of the presidios overseen by the clerics, I advised him myself that [the appointment] had no validity. Not only did he fail to act regarding Fray Pinilla, he did not even acknowledge the notice. Thus the report they sent to your excellency that [Fray Pinilla] had not celebrated Mass for them was not so far from the truth, although during the time cited by the captain and Don Toribio it is certain and indisputable that he did not leave off celebrating even one feast day.

From your excellency's letter, one infers that the captain forewarns you of even greater problems to follow. Not knowing what influence he attributes them to and experiencing every day the grievous ill will with which he regards all the missionaries, I feel obliged to advise your excellency that the mission Indians of Candelaria rebelled, as is common for all reductions at the beginning. When things calmed down, however, the captain ordered that no Indian could enter the presidio with weapons. Two Cocos didn't understand this; one accidentally carried his bow and arrows into the presidio, and the captain beat him. [The two Cocos] roused the entire rancho, including women and children, [and convinced them] to leave for the wilderness. The captain was advised of this so that he could bring them back, but his effort was so ineffective that the soldiers never even caught sight of the people, who traveled on foot, burdened with their clothing, children, and other hindrances. A few days later the rumor spread that the Cocos were attacking the countryside, because one night a ladino Indian from the mission of Candelaria said he had seen them. On these grounds alone the captain sent letters to the captain at this presidio and the one at La Bahía requesting that they send him soldiers so he could go punish the Indians. This did not seem to be a good idea to either of the captains, however, and they refused. The rumor that the Cocos wanted to make war continued and, without even one of them being seen in the vicinity, the captain increased his appeals to the other presidios, making the hostility that was feared in San Xavier seem incredible. The rumor was cleared up, however, and the entire land quieted down when the true causes of the war were discovered.

On the night of last May 11, Padre Procurador Fray Miguel Pinilla and Fray Joseph Francisco de Ganzábal,[14] accompanied by the fugitive Juan Joseph Ceba-

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13. Guevara and Carbajal were charged not only with reporting the excommunication, but seeking absolution of the men. Money was collected from the garrison in order to make their journey possible.

14. Joseph Francisco de Ganzábal had previously served at Mission Concepción in San Antonio from 1744 to 1747. In 1748, he had traveled to Mexico City to present the plan of the

llos, were all in the cell at the mission of Candelaria. A gun was aimed through the door and took the life of Ceballos with two shots. At the sound of the gunshot and the other that followed the two religious became frightened, and when Fray Ganzábal stood up to ask what [the noise] was, the [attackers] shot him in the heart with an arrow, from which he died a short time later.

Two days before these sacrilegious murders a ladino Indian fled from the same mission of Candelaria.[15] He was the one I mentioned before who said he had seen the Cocos. Being from the town of San Juan Capistrano, he showed up there five days later, on the night before the news of the misdeeds reached me. The said Indian revealed [the murders] to his own [people], from whom it then spread to another nearby pueblo.[16] Even though everyone was saying that the Cocos had performed the misdeeds, because of the circumstantial evidence that the Indian could not have known about them if he had fled two days beforehand, the captain of this presidio proceeded to apprehend him officially. Without any pressure, the [Indian] confessed that he and three other soldiers had done [the deed], all of which that captain has already reported to the governor of the province.[17] Although [the governor] asked the captain of San Xavier to arrest the three accomplices [the captain] does not appear to have done so with proper dispatch because one culprit was taken prisoner here. Notwithstanding [the captain's] request to me by letter after the murders for Indians from these missions to make war against the Cocos, the only result of this information is that peace has reasserted itself in this land that had earlier been feared and considered so hostile.

It also happened that the religious, having learned that [the accused] had been incited to kill [another of them], fled in terror, and the missions have been reduced to just the one at San Xavier. The goods and livestock from all [the missions] have been scattered throughout the wilderness because the captain did not want the soldiers to take care of them. For the same reason the fields are abandoned, because the wild Indians are as yet incapable of carrying out these duties by themselves. In other circumstances it would be simple to bring [the Indians from] the mission of San Ildefonso, whose ranchería is nearby. They would have been

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San Xavier missions to the viceroy. Once they were established, he was assigned to San Ildefonso.

15. This was a Sayopin Indian named Andrés from San Juan Capistrano in San Antonio, who had been living at San Xavier.

16. This refers to the mission of San Francisco de la Espada.

17. According to the testimony of the Indian Andrés, he had met his co-conspirators at Las Animas Creek, where he had gone to hunt turkey. The soldiers—Martín Gutiérrez, Carrillo, and one who was unidentified—were waiting for Fray Miguel Pinilla, who habitually went there in the evening to fish, in order to kill him. They offered Andrés a horse if he would join them in their plot to kill the priests and Ceballos. At dusk the soldiers disguised themselves as Indians with paint and skins and armed themselves with firearms and bows and arrows taken from the Cocos a few days previously. Leaving their horses on the banks of the San Xavier, they stole to the mission, where they found the priests and Ceballos at dinner. Gutiérrez and Andrés fired the first two shots that killed Ceballos, and it was Andrés who shot Fray Ganzábal. Afterwards, Andrés joined his wife and they fled to San Antonio, while the soldiers returned to the presidio.

brought easily if the captain had wanted, inasmuch as his minister went to see them many times, but he did not do it for lack of soldiers. In the same way, the mission of Candelaria can be aggregated again—between the two [missions] there are about two hundred souls only [recently] baptized, and the fathers' zeal in seeking them will not cease.

It being your excellency's pleasure and satisfaction—inasmuch as everything I have said is the whole truth, as is fitting for a minister of the Gospel and which will become obvious to your excellency's sovereign understanding if you deign to hear this clear evidence—I await the resolution that we request of you with such urgency. Your excellency was gracious enough to grant us the construction of this presidio, to which your excellency's Catholic zeal and the evangelical goals of our institute look for the conversion of the heathens and the well-being of so many souls who have already been reduced. For this, I entreat the divine Majesty for every happiness in your excellency's important life for many years. Mission San Antonio, July 13, 1752.

Your excellency. Your most humble and dedicated chaplain kisses your excellency's foot.

Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores

AGI, *Audiencia de México, leg. 617.*

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Excelentísimo Señor:
Por mano del capitán de San Xavier don Felipe de Rábago y Terán recibí una de vuestra excelencia en que me ordena que por haber excomulgado el padre fray Miguel Pinilla al capitán, oficiales y soldados de aquel presidio, y que porque no haga otras demostraciones, y también para atajar mayores daños, se separen todos los padres misioneros, se pongan otros de la más inmediata misión todo lo que estaba ya ejecutado por diverso modo cuando recibí la de vuestra excelencia: porque de seis ministros que pertenecen a aquellas conversiones, fue Dios servido llevarse para si uno; otro fue muerto con [como] un refugiado, a quienes alevosamente quitaron las vidas, y de los otros cuatro, tres han salido huyendo, por temor de no padecer el mismo fracaso, y apenas ha quedado allá uno en la asistencia de los indios de la misión de San Xavier, que es la única que hoy en día ha quedado poblada, y no habiendo podido conseguir de otro religioso alguno pase a aquellas misiones, porque todos viven muy temerosos por la muerte de su hermano. Y las misiones estan no solo despobladas, sino sin esperanza de poder educar cristianamente y con el debido respecto a los indios.

Me veo obligado a avisar a vuestra excelencia para que en los sínodos y demás cosas de aquellas misiones disponga lo que se debe ejecutar antes que todo se pierda, pues esta será la providencia que se puede esperar de los acaecimientos que en San Xavier han sucedido con la fundación del nuevo presidio. Aun antes de entrar el capitán a la erección de aquel presidio, y desde este de San Antonio, trabó trato deshonesto con la mujer de Juan Joseph Ceballos, y por eso cargó con la familia para aquellas tierras; pero a las primeras jornadas, defendiendo Ceballos su honor, le puso en graves presiones y le llevó como res a San Xavier separado de

su esposa y con público escándalo de toda la compañía, pero pudiéndole Ceballos en San Xavier hacer fuga de la prisión, se refugió en la misión de la Candelaria, y el capitán por extraerlo, violó la inmunidad de la iglesia con sumo desprecio de los misioneros; los que le conminaron censuras hasta que por indebido modo restituyó al refugiado. Pero quedando ardido del lance, y viendo que se le quitaba el tropiezo y origen de tanto escándalo porque el padre procurador fray Joseph Pinilla con privada corrección persuadió a la mujer se volviese a su casa, dicho capitán formó un escrito en [nombre] de la mujer, que le hizo firmar a fuerza, en que se pedía así mismo amparo para que la mujer no saliera ordenada pues era venganza de cuatro padres misioneros con quienes no había querido condescender a sus deshonestas pretensiones. Este informatorio me lo enseñó así el capitán y viendo no se le hizo aprecio por ser notoriamente falso, pues los religiosos acusados jamás la habían comunicado y los dos de ellos ni una vez la habían visto, cejó para conmigo de su intento; pero no sabemos lo que a vuestra excelencia habrá informado.

De tan malos principios fue dicho capitán deduciendo peores progresos; porque sin querer atender a las misiones con los soldados necesarios, al cuidado de sus ganados, cultivo de sus labores y educación de los indios, desatendió demasiado a los misioneros, sin que la de [cada] día faltasen nuevos motivos de mortificación y desdoro de sus personas. Pero entre todos ha sido el más ruidoso el que sin reparar en el crédito de los ministros apostólicos, dió motivo a la carta de vuestra excelencia con los informes que le hizo don Toribio de Guevara. Es cierto excelentísimo señor que sobre el absoluto y resuelto modo con que este capitán se porta, funda un dominio tan [despótico], que todo lo que no se sujeta a su gusto es, para la soberanía que obstenta, un descomunal agravio. Y siendo punto suyo que allí no mande otro, le pareció que el padre fray Miguel Pinilla le vulneraba su decoro, con haberse determinado privada, caritativa y prudentemente a corregir una mujercilla de quien se le quejó como a capitán su propio marido, para que no prosiguiese en el trato deshonesto que tenía con Nicolás Carbajal, cabo de la compañía y especial privado del capitán; y así no obstante que a este le constaba la verdad del delito, [com]pareció dicho Carbajal en su presencia y la del padre, pidiendo como de justicia que si era verdad lo que se decía que se le castigase, y sino que el padre le restituye[se] de su crédito. De cuyo juicio salió el ministro infamado con la nota de chismoso e infamador público, que difundida por el presidio.

Obligó al padre por su crédito y el de su estado, a pedir al capitán le impartiese el auxilio real para detener preso a dicho cabo, ínterin que como capellán del presidio, y con voces de juez eclesiástico por haber allí otro, le hacía la sumaria y calificación del delito. [Negose] el capitán a darlo; pero como ya era en las circunstancias de publicidad que el mismo Carbajal le había dado, indispensable proseguirlo, le [conminó] el padre al capitán censuras, para que diera el real auxilio. A lo que viéndose ya obligado arbitro impedirlo [sugiriendo], por medio de su cajero teniente sargento y Carbajal, a otros veintiocho soldados le pidiesen por un escrito el que por ser el padre mordaz, haberles quitado a todos el crédito, y revelado el sigilo sacramental, con otros delitos que le imponen sin temor de Dios, y le acusan, que mandase que dicho padre ya no administrara más en el presidio, ni entrase en el de día ni de noche: todo lo que proveyó y mandó dicho capitán por auto de que constara a vuestra excelencia y el padre entregará si es de su superior agrado.

Y no contento con haberlo proveído, pasó el mismo capitán en persona y con testigos de asistencia a intimárselo [al] padre, el que no quiso de ningún modo oírlo advirtiéndole que incurría en las excomuniones de la cena si proseguía en aquella causa, y no obstante esta advertencia, insistió el capitán en ella enviando al teniente y otros soldados para que le intimasen el auto de su privación y proveído del escrito; el que habiéndolo recibido para satisfacer a vuestra excelencia en este caso, procedió por vía de remedio, y para atajar tan violentos atentados a declarar y hacerles patentes las censuras que tenían incurridos, fijándolos en tablilla; pero fue recibida con tan poca reverencia que por orden del sargento la rompió un soldado. Al punto mandó el capitán un escrito al padre tratándolo de ignorante y con otros dicterios injuriosos, y pidiéndole la absolución para él y los demás incursos; pero siendo tan irreverente el modo, se le difirió hasta los cuatro días, que haciéndoles el padre una exhortación apostólica la pidieron con más rendimiento y fueron todos absueltos. De este beneficio careció don Toribio de Guevara y Nicolás [Carbajal] porque el mismo día que el padre les hizo patente la excomunión que tenían incurrida, el capitán conmovió toda la compañía, y juntándola a son de caja hizo varias demostraciones, como que la compañía quería salirse fuera porque el padre no los absolvía, y que él los apaciguaba hasta conspirar a los soldados que diesen poderes a don Toribio para que fuese a informar a vuestra excelencia de todo. Pasó este por el presidio de San Antonio, e informado del capellán clérigo don Francisco Manuel Polanco que había dado título de juez eclesiástico al padre fray Miguel Pinilla, compuso con él la certificación que llevó y presentó a vuestra excelencia. Tuvo esta el fundamento de que dándole el dean y cabildo sede vacante de Guadalajara al dicho capellán facultad para nombrar un teniente en sus enfermedades y ausencias, como puede constar a vuestra excelencia del mismo despacho que remitió testimoniado nueve días antes de proceder a la declaración de las censuras, dió el nombramiento que en su certificación dice como consta del mismo; pero por no deberse extender dicha facultad para el presidio de San Xavier ni haber práctica de tales nombramientos en los demás presidios que administran los apostólicos, le avise yo mismo que era de ningún valor, y no solo no obró en virtud [del] padre Pinilla, pero ni tuvo siquiera su noticia. Y así no fue tan ajeno de la verdad este informe que hicieron a vuestra excelencia como el que no se les había celebrado misa, pues del tiempo que el capitán y don Toribio acusan, es infalible y cierto que no se les dejó de celebrar ni un solo día de fiesta.

Por carta de vuestra excelencia infiere que el capitán le previene pueden suceder mayores ruinas; y no sabiendo a que influjo las atribuya, y experimentando cada día la grave ojeriza con que a todos los misioneros mira, me veo obligado a avisar a vuestra excelencia como habiendo tenido los indios de la misión de la Candelaria un motín de los ordinarios que tienen al principio todas las reducciones, pero apaciguado del todo, mandó el capitán que ningún indio entrase en el presidio con armas, lo que mal entendido de dos cocos, que por accidente llevaba uno sus flechas, el capitán le dió unos palos y ellos levantaron todos el rancho y mujeres y muchachos marcharon para el monte. [Avisó]sele al capitán para que los devolviera, pero lo hizo con tan poca eficacia que ni llegaron los soldados a ver todo el pueblo que iba a pie y cargado de su ropa, niños, y otros embarazos. A pocos días se soltó la voz de que los indios cocos hostilizaban la tierra, y fue porque una noche dijo un indio ladino de la misión de la Candelaria que los había

visto, y sin más fundamento despachó el capitán exhortos al de este presidio y al de la Bahía para que le diesen soldados con que ir a castigar los indios; pero a ninguno parecio buena providencia y los dos se lo negaron. Prosiguió la voz de que los cocos querían hacer guerra, y sin haberse visto alguno de ellos por todos aquellos contornos, el capitán multiplicaba exhortos a los otros presidios, y ellos hacían increíble la hostilidad que en San Xavier se temía; pero toda esta voz se serenó y quedó aquietada toda la tierra con haberse descubierto los agentes de la guerra.

Estos, la noche del día 11 de mayo próximo pasado, estando los padre procurador fray Miguel Pinilla y fray Joseph Francisco de Ganzábal y en su compañía el refugiado Juan Joseph Ceballos, todos en la celda de la misión de la Candelaria, abocaron por la puerta un trabuco que con dos balas quitó a Ceballos la vida, y al [estruendo] de este y otro que dispararon seguido, se asustaron los religiosos, y parándose el padre Ganzábal preguntando que era aquello, le dieron un flechazo en el corazón de que murió a poco rato.

Dos días antes de estos sacrílegos homicidios se había huido de la misma misión de la Candelaria un indio ladino que fue el que antes he dicho que vió a los cocos, y siendo del pueblo San Juan Capistrano, a los cinco días reamaneció en el, la noche antes del día en que me vino la noticia de las desgracias. Y habiendo dicho indio esparcido entre los suyos y de estos dimanándose a los de otro inmediato pueblo, no obstante que todos decían haberlas ejecutado los cocos, por el indicio tan vehemente de que no podía saberlas el indio estando dos días antes huído, el capitán de este presidio procediendo de oficio pasó [a] aprehenderlo, y sin apremio alguno confesó que el y otros tres soldados lo habían ejecutado. De todo lo que ya este capitán tiene dada cuenta al gobernador de la provincia, y aunque al capitán de San Xavier le exhortó prendiese a tres cómplices porque el uno cayó aquí preso, no parece que lo ha hecho con la eficacia debida, y solo ha resultado de esta noticia que no obstante haberme pedido por carta después de las muertes, indios de estas misiones para llevar a sangre y fuego a los cocos, ponerse en paz la tierra que antes se temía y ponderaba tan hostilizada.

También resultó que habiendo sabido los religiosos que a otro le habían incidiado para matarlo, azorados se han ido saliendo huyendo, y han venido a quedar las misiones reducidas a sola una que es la de San Xavier, y los bienes y ganados de todas dispersos por los montes; porque el capitán no quiere cuidar de ellos los soldados, y por la misma causa quedan abandonadas las labores, por ser aún incapaces los indios bosales para correr con estos cuidados por si solos. En otras providencias sería fácil traer la misión de San Ildephonso que no tiene lejos su ranchería, y con facilidad se hubiera traido si el capitán quisiera, pues varias veces fue su ministro a verlos, y no lo hizo por falta de fuerzas. Del mismo modo se puede volver a agregar la misión de la Candelaria, porque estando en una y otra como doscientas almas solo bautizadas, no dejará el celo de los misioneros [de buscarlas].

Siendo del agrado y complacencia de vuestra excelencia pues siendo todo lo que llevo dicho tanta verdad, como la que debe profesar un ministro del evangelio, y que se hará patente a la soberana comprehensión de vuestra excelencia si se digna de oír sus claras pruebas, espero se [reduzca] el fin para que con tanta instancia le pedimos, y la benignidad de vuestra excelencia se sirvió de concedernos la erección de este presidio, al que el católico celo de vuestra excelencia y el apos-

tólico de nuestro instituto mira, que es la conversión del gentilismo y bien de tantas almas que estaban ya reducidas. Para lo que [suplico] a la majestad divina que la importante vida de vuestra excelencia en toda felicidad por [muchos años] misión de San Antonio y julio 13 de 1752.

Excelentísimo Señor. [Besa el pie] de vuestra excelencia su más [rendido] [cierto] y capellán.

Fray Mariano Francisco de los Dolores.

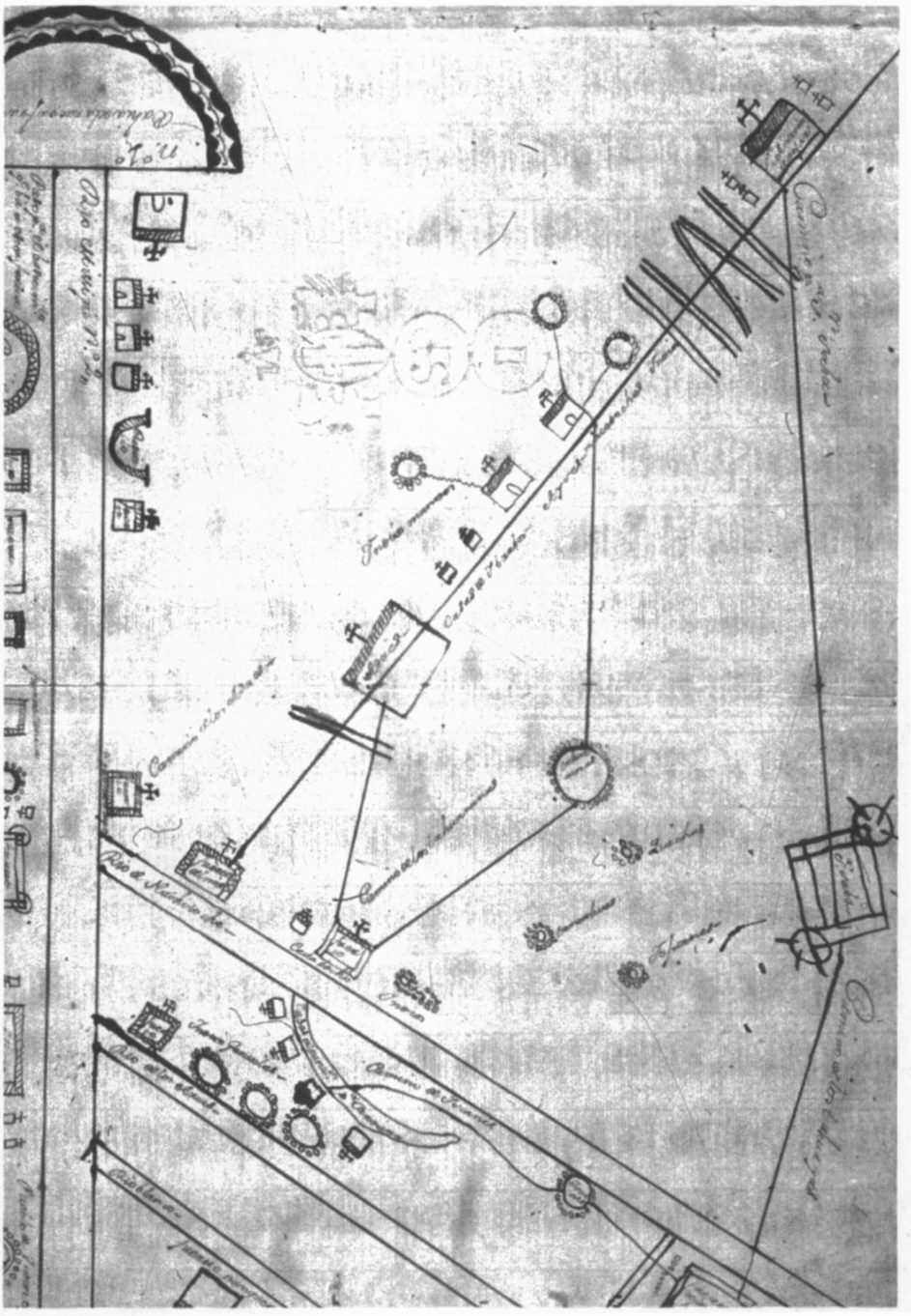
Fray Molina on the San Sabá Massacre, 1758

Fray Miguel Molina was the only missionary to survive the 1758 massacre at San Sabá, where the first mission for Apaches in Texas had been founded the year before. The establishment there was the culmination of twenty-four years of agitation by the Querétaran fathers for Apache missions in Texas. He penned this eyewitness account of the tragedy at the behest of Colonel Diego Ortiz Parrilla, commandant of the nearby presidio of San Luis de Amarillas.

Fray Molina's account is significant to presidial history for several reasons. It closes the chapter on Apache depredation in the province, which up to this point had constituted the only serious internal threat, and marks the first confrontation of Spaniards in Texas with Comanches and Wichitas. It also signals a new era of large, confederated tribes, plentifully supplied with French firearms, who would halt further Spanish expansion in the province and require the Spaniards to develop new military strategies. A full treatise of the history of the San Sabá mission and presidio is Robert S. Weddle's The San Sabá Mission.

Fray Miguel de Molina was born in 1720 in Onda, Bishopric of Orizuela, Spain. After serving at the friary of Santa Catalina in Onda, he left for Cádiz in 1748. He left a year later on August 24, 1749, with the first group of missionaries headed for Mexico and the new College of San Fernando. His murdered companion Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros was born in Cartagena, Spain, on July 29, 1699. He came to New Spain as a youth and received his early education at the College of Santa Cruz, where he took his vows on July 14, 1721. For some thirty years he labored in various missions on the northern frontier, including a stint in the east Texas missions at the time that the presidio of Tejas was suppressed in 1729. He retreated with the other Querétaran friars to San Antonio, where his signature is found in mission records dating to 1731, and apparently proceeded to San Juan Bautista shortly thereafter, because by 1734 he was in Mexico representing the interests of that mission. In 1751, he was elected president of his college but resigned the position before his term was up in order to found Mission San Lorenzo for the Apaches near San Juan Bautista in 1754. Named as the superior to the ministers destined to establish the mission at San Sabá, he arrived there on April 18, 1757, and was martyred on March 16 of the following year. The second murdered religious, Fray Joseph de Santiestevan, was born in Muniara de Solana, in the kingdom of Navarra, in 1718. Donning the Franciscan habit at Pamplona, he was attached to the Franciscan province of Burgos until 1748, when he traveled to Cádiz. He left there on December 5, 1749, with the second group of missionaries destined for Mexico and the new College of San Fernando.

Report made by the reverend father preacher Fray Miguel Molina to the reverend guardian and discretorium of the College of San Fernando regarding the deaths of



The presidio of San Sabá, 1763. (Archivo General de Indias, M&P, México 527)

the fathers Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros and Fray Joseph de Santiestevan, his companions at San Sabá.

LETTER OF COLONEL ORTÍZ PARRILLA

To the very reverend father guardian and discretorium of the Holy Apostolic College of San Fernando:[1]

I am writing to promptly notify your reverences of the sacrilegious and treacherous cruelty perpetrated by the heathens known as Tejas, Comanches, Tancagues, and others of this northern land[2] on the lives of the reverend fathers Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, Fray Joseph de Santiestevan, and others who lived with them at the site designated as one of the planned missions for the infidels of the Apache nation. I enclose an authentic copy of the report presented by the father preacher Fray Miguel Molina, which seems a sufficient instrument from which to evaluate the event. Although the *autos* drawn up about the matter record other details pertaining to the barbarians' cruel intentions, their numbers, their excellent firearms, and their resplendent equipment, as well as other assaults that some individuals of this presidio have experienced in the fields during the past month, I have not considered them significant for the consideration of your very reverend fathers. They are, however, very suitable for informing the captaincy general of these kingdoms,[3] to whom I send them on this occasion.

The body of the reverend Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros was pierced by two bullets and a lance thrust; that of the reverend Fray Joseph de Santiestevan was separated from his head, which was found next to him, unmutilated. Both were buried in the cemetery of the church as the most appropriate place that I found

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1. The guardian of the College of San Fernando at the time was Fray José García, who held the position from November 15, 1755 to November 25, 1758.

2. The Caddoan-speaking Tejas had generally maintained a peaceful relationship with the Spaniards. They had never before threatened a Spanish outpost outside their own territory. The Tancagues (or Tonkawas) were the amalgamated Tonkawan-speaking bands of central Texas, such as the Sanas, Yojuanes, and Mayeyes, who had likewise been friends of the Spaniards and for whom the mission of San Francisco Xavier had been founded in 1749. Both groups had been allies since they were first encountered by the Spaniards. The Comanches were Shoshonean speakers who had moved onto the plains from the northern Rockies about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Although they had been harassing the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of New Mexico since the early part of the century, this was their first attack against a Spanish settlement in Texas. Also part of this alliance were Bidais and Taovayas. The former were Atakapan-speaking neighbors of the Caddoans, for whom San Ildefonso on the San Xavier (Gabriel) River had been founded. The Taovayas were a Wichita tribe of Caddoan speakers who probably originated in Kansas and Nebraska. By the early eighteenth century they had been forced into southern Oklahoma by the Comanche and the Osage, and by the time of this campaign, had established a permanent village on the Red River.

3. Parrilla probably refers to Governor Barrios of the province of Texas as the nearest military authority, although by terms of the viceregal order that established the presidio, it was under jurisdiction of the viceroy himself inasmuch as it had not been determined whether the presidio fell under the jurisdiction of the province of Texas, New Mexico, or Coahuila.

among those ruins. Although I reconnoitered and searched the site just a few hours after the enemies had abandoned it, I found no part spared from the fierce fire, nor any articles that had not met with equal ruin.

Once the wound from a bullet lodged in his right breast had greatly improved, the reverend Fray Miguel Molina led a squad from this presidio [San Luis de Amarillas] to the mission of San Antonio with the goal of making a complete recovery, which the skill of the religious surgeon maintained there can provide.[4] In my company at this presidio is the reverend father preacher Fray Francisco Aparicio[5] of the Holy College of Querétaro, who was then sent [as a replacement] by his prelate, the reverend father visitor Fray Mariano de los Dolores.

Your reverences will consider the love I professed for the fathers and how much sorrow I bear and the pains it will cost me to preserve this presidio from a similar tragedy—which, as they have discovered, it would not be very difficult for the enemies [to inflict], due to their growing numbers and the firearms that they handle skillfully. However, in the midst of these precautions that are so important, I shall satisfy your very reverend fathers' worthy mandates whenever it serves you to advise me [of them].

May our Lord protect your very reverend fathers. San Luis de las Amarillas, April 8, 1758.

I kiss the hands of your very reverend fathers. Your most devoted and obedient servant,

Diego Ortiz Parrilla[6]

REPORT OF FRAY MOLINA

I, Fray Miguel Molina, of the regular observance of our Sainted Father San Francisco, apostolic preacher, and son of the College of San Fernando of Mexico City, am assigned as missionary father to one of the planned missions at the Río de San Sabá. Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, commander of this

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4. Presumably this was Fray Santiago Peláez, who accompanied Colonel Ortiz Parrilla's campaign of the following year in the capacity of surgeon.

5. Fray Francisco Aparicio had been appointed as a new missionary for San Sabá and apparently was already in San Antonio when news of the disaster was received. He was immediately dispatched by Fray Mariano de los Dolores to help. Fray Francisco had been in Texas before, however, as his name is affixed to mission registers in 1752. He stayed in San Antonio at Concepción through 1760, according to the same records.

6. Diego Ortiz Parrilla, a peninsular-born Spaniard, enlisted in the army in 1734 and saw service in Spain until 1740, when he was sent to Cuba to fight against the English. He was transferred to Veracruz, where he held the position of captain of the dragoons until 1749. After quelling an Indian revolt in Puebla, he was appointed governor of Sinaloa and Sonora and captain of the presidio of San Miguel de Horcasitas (1749–1753), then promoted to colonel in 1752. On May 17, 1756, the viceroy named him captain in charge of removing the populace from the presidio of San Xavier and establishing the new presidio of San Sabá.

territory, by means of an *auto* dated [March] 21, has charged and requested me to relate whatever I might know of the woeful event that occurred on [March] 16 at the site that the reverend father president Fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, the reverend father preacher Fray Joseph de Santiestevan, and I occupied while laying the foundations of missions among the heathen Apaches.

In compliance with the colonel's decree, on this the twenty-second day of the same month, I hereby certify as necessary and swear *in verbo sacerdotis* that on the said day, just a little after sunrise, when the aforementioned father president had already celebrated Mass and while the aforementioned Fray Joseph de Santiestevan was beginning his, an outcry or raging commotion was heard from outside the compound, about a musket shot away at the area of the crossing or ford of the river, which flows northward there. Some women and men among the inhabitants of that site then shouted as well, saying that there were Indians. With this news, I immediately proceeded to the church to advise the father who was starting Mass of the warning, so that he would not continue any further with [the service], which, as I said, was just beginning. Halting immediately, the father removed his sacred vestments and remained in the church. I promptly withdrew to the room of the father president, where some people had gathered together—others having availed themselves of the other offices for protection—because the Indians, with one great rush and discharge of their rifles, had surrounded the stockaded compound and its buildings.

Having observed the precautions that we took for our defense, however, and having failed to find the gate open—which left them unable to carry out their tyrannical plans with the ease they had expected and without any trouble and risk—the barbarians employed [the stratagem] of offering us peace and good friendship. They assured us of this from outside, with some Castilian words and with many gestures and motions. Convinced [of their sincerity], the corporal of the guard, Asencio Cadena, and another soldier, the son of Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, entered the reverend father president's room to apprise us of [the Indians'] good purpose and reasonable intentions. The corporal assured us that the declarations of the Indians were sincere because he knew that they were Tejas, Tancagues, Vydays [Bidais], and other Indian nations from the interior with whom he had dealt peacefully on many occasions. With that [assurance], the father president and I went to the courtyard and saw with true wonder and fright that all that could be seen anywhere were Indians armed with rifles and dressed in the most hideous clothing. In addition to having painted their faces red and black, they had adorned themselves with the skins of wild beasts, the tails of the animals hanging and dangling from their heads, deer antlers, and other embellishments of various animals; some [Indians] had plumes on their heads. All were armed with rifles, sabers, and lances with pikes. I observed and remarked also that they brought youths armed with bows and arrows, for the purpose of teaching them and encouraging them in their cruel and bloodthirsty ways of living, no doubt.

Once these wily enemies observed the confidence placed in them, many dismounted from their horses and, without waiting for the gate to be opened, removed the crossbars with their hands. As many as would fit—some three hundred, more or less—entered the stockade. They also employed the stratagem of reaching out their hands to ours and making other demonstrations of civility and

friendliness, to which we all responded with declarations, courtesies, and flattery. As I also noted that many leaders were advancing, making the same gestures, I advised and persuaded the father president to order that they be given several handfuls of tobacco and other things that they like. This was quickly done in profusion—I myself presented four handfuls to an Indian who never dismounted from his horse and whom the others recognized as their great chief. He was of the Comanche nation, according to what the same barbarians said. This Indian was ceremonially dressed in vestments of war, with a red coat from a French uniform, and was well armed. Of a horrible countenance, he was extremely serious; indeed, he accepted the handfuls of tobacco I offered with a sneer and too much circumspection, without dismounting or making any gestures of gratitude. For this [affront] I was much aggrieved, and even more so when I realized that without pausing or taking heed of the peace they had offered us, [the Indians] stole the pots and equipment from the kitchen, the cloaks from the soldiers, and the horses that were in the corral.

They asked for more horses. When told there were none, they asked whether the presidio had many. The fathers and soldiers who were present answered that yes, there were many, and there was a great deal of everything [there]. We thought it appropriate to give this answer to the barbarians so they would understand that [the presidio] was lacking in nothing for its defense. When we asked our astute enemies whether they came with the intention of going on to the presidio to visit the captain, they responded that, yes, they would do so, but that they should be given a paper [pass]. Seeing nothing wrong in this and judging that this might succeed in causing them to quit the site, which they still had surrounded—and overwhelmed by the ravages of their robbery and the arrogant search they made of all the rooms and offices—the father president decided to give them the paper. A leader of the Tejas seized it, the same one who went to the corral and took a horse from among those that had been left. He chose the father president's mount, saying that he was taking it in order to carry the paper to the presidio. When the father president opposed [the selection] and resisted him, the Indian raised his rifle and put it up to the horse's head as if to shoot it. Thereupon the [father president] left [the horse] to him and returned to his conversation with some Indians who were telling him things about the regions of Texas that, because he had been there, he had knowledge of.

[Meanwhile,] the barbarians continued their siege and search of the offices without ceasing in their robbery and hostility. Others talked with me and the rest of my companions, trying to convince us with their statements that they intended only to fight the Apaches because these had killed some of their [people], and they asked about the [Apaches] who were in that mission. As soon as they declared their intention of killing Apaches, however, we managed to hide those who were there inside the father president's room, where the door was constantly guarded to prevent any entry.

I further testify that a short time after the Tejas Indian left the site of the mission with a large number of Indians, he returned, saying that he was not permitted to enter the presidio; on the contrary, three of his companions had been killed and he had been knifed. The father president and I responded that he had appeared with many people, behaving aggressively, and that, if he wanted to return, the fa-

ther president would accompany him. To this he answered that he would return with the father. With this decision, he ordered a horse that had been left for him and another belonging to a soldier to be saddled. The father president and the soldier Joseph García mounted to accompany the Indians. I observed that the father president, looking for the chief he was to accompany, did not find him, nor did [the chief] appear within the mob and multitude that was in the courtyard. The father president headed for the gate, in order to go look for [the chief] outside the stockade. As he approached the gate, a shot was heard and the said father moaned. Immediately, others fired at the mounted soldier, involving everyone in a brutal battle. This just assured me of the enemies' lies and deceit and confirmed the suspicions I had of their evil intention, and that [the tale] recounted by the cunning Tejas chief about the presidio and the dead Indians was a lie and a hoax. I managed to withdraw to the father president's quarters with other persons who did the same, although some found other places of refuge.

I further certify that, in the same instant that [the Indians] fired the shots at the father president and the soldier Joseph García, they set fire to the four sides of the stockade with great violence and extensive placement of firewood. The other refugees and I witnessed it through the embrasures of the room. For this reason I believe, and you can be sure, that they had begun to prepare themselves for their cruelty from the beginning. They went into action as soon as they had the firewood ready, the offices identified, and the trails secured with their multitudes—for in my opinion, according to what I observed and noted throughout the camp that they occupied, the number of barbarians grew to more than two thousand during the more than half-hour delay that they created with their deceit and strategy. We fired on them through the embrasures of our locked room, [but] they were prepared; thus we stayed there until after midday, while the enemy was occupied in the pillage and looting of supplies stored for the intended mission Indians, confident that the fire set everywhere would consume and finish us without any further effort on their part. They became careless, allowing us to move to another room adjoining the church in order to escape the other that was already going up in flames. When the enemy noticed our activity, however, they renewed their attack, firing rifles at us and stoking the embers from the burned room, trying to make us leave the church, which, although also on fire, was less damaged. We stayed there until after midnight, when we all managed to escape, with the exception of Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, who was not able to because of a grave wound in the thigh. I also certify under the same terms that although we succeeded in escaping, it was not because the enemy had abandoned that terrain, but because of their carelessness and bad conduct or their fear of an attack from the presidio. They guarded the roads and fields and prepared to make another similar attack on the presidio the following day, as I later learned from individuals who witnessed it and stated so formally. Everyone from the mission was included among the people gathered in the church and the adjacent room, with the exception of the reverend father president Fray Joseph de Santiestevan, Lázaro de Ayala, Enrique Gutiérrez, and Joseph García, who perished during the initial cruel and haughty attack by the barbarians.

In addition, I certify that on that morning when we were in the room where we initially took [refuge], at about eight in the morning, more or less, the soldier

Joseph Vázquez arrived at the door, asking for confession and for [the door] to be opened. This was done because he was recognized between the wall boards. He entered, bleeding from a grave wound to the chest, nude, and extremely ill-treated. He said that he was one of the soldiers whom the colonel had dispatched to reinforce the mission as soon as he learned that there were hostile Indians in it. On the way a large number of [Indians] attacked them with a rifle barrage, and his companions had died at the hands of that enemy mob, it not being easy to escape from them with one's life. He also believed the presidio to be in great peril and danger because that entire armed horde was traveling toward it. When I asked him how it had been possible for him to reach here, he said that because he had fallen to the ground and had already been stripped by the Indians, they did not notice that he was alive. He took advantage of this oversight and, crawling in some places and walking in others, reached the mission stockade. There, he was discovered by the enemy, most of whom were occupied in opening bundles of clothing and boxes from the storeroom and taking their contents away. Two [of them] threw him against the burning [stockade] wall, from which he escaped with only one hand injured by the fire.

I further attest that during the confinement or assembly of the people from the mission I learned that, amidst the shots fired by the barbarian Indians when they arrived at the mission that morning, Andrés de Villarreal had been wounded by a bullet that was still lodged under his arm. In the same episode, even before they arrived at the site of the mission, some of the same enemy Indians had stripped the wife of Juan Antonio Gutiérrez. Juan Leal, who was on the banks of the river near where the infidels crossed, was beaten with their lance poles. They had intended to kill him but spared his life. They carried him and the aforesaid woman to the mission so that the two might experience there the cruelty planned for everyone and [to prevent them from] revealing beforehand the bloodthirsty intentions with which [the Indians] arrived in this country.

I traveled southward away from the unfortunate mission, constantly searching for hidden paths and trails, until I arrived at this presidio on the morning of [March] 18. I found it on the alert and expecting an attack from the Indians, because they were still in the vicinity, to the east and north. It has been a patent miracle [that I] have been spared [thus far] from such barbarians, who came well armed and with the cunning and deceit that I have already described. Even with the greatest intentions and the best conduct, whoever lives in this country will not be free from the need for caution or from the adorned and armed multitudes of these enemies of the law, religion, and mankind as long as all the intermediate [areas] between this river and those inhabited by our people remain unpopulated. On this occasion about two thousand [Indians] attacked, and a conservative estimate of the number of barbarians who came equipped with firearms would exceed one thousand. It is likely, however, that in another [assault] more of these numerous nations would unite and enter the region. Having already declared war, and being anxious to rob and pillage, they do not have to hold back from waging it or from creating whatever means and expedients their diabolical inclinations devise.

For this reason I think it is impossible for the Apache Indians to settle down and establish residence on the Río de San Sabá or for many leagues around it.

Even if the king's armies favor them with the greatest assistance, they are not protected or helped. Being so clearly familiar with the risk and the rancor of their enemies, [the Apaches] have to stay away from the [river]—as they are now doing, for it is known that they live far away [from here] and nearer to our settlements on other rivers. I am of the opinion that to insist on their putting down roots in this land would be inhumane. Experience has shown us that it is neither appropriate nor just to make them do so, exposed [as they would be] to inquietude, affliction, and harsh treatment from a larger number of barbaric and cruel warriors than all the Apaches with whom we have dealt can put together. Although it has been a bit more than two months since I arrived at this destination, in compliance with the order that I had from my college I have not ceased keeping myself well informed of the events, issues, and business of the Apache Indians or of the pretexts with which they have deferred their reduction and settlement in this land, and I believe that the strongest motive for the reluctance they show must be the terror and fear that their enemies occasion. They have not said so under formal circumstances, but that would be so as not to reveal their terror or show their misgivings and fear, since they are so proud, haughty, and vain, as is known. Nevertheless, I am sure that some of them have said as much many times among our people, combining these reasons with others such as ice storms, fogs, cold, and the constant winter winds of this country, which do not allow them to maintain their horses and other beasts. Since we ourselves have seen the harshness of the climate and the deterioration of the horses, and have experienced the cruel design and spiteful intention of the Apaches' enemies, we should credit [their fears] and not leave off from seeking relief for them in other distant places where they may maintain themselves without having this very just deterrent and cause for deferring their conversion. I will always be of this opinion, for it is extremely dangerous at this presidio, in spite of the caution and discipline with which it is maintained and governed.

I also affirm that Colonel Don Diego Ortiz Parrilla has anxiously desired that the site for the residence of the apostolic fathers be closer to the presidio, and that the deceased father president applied himself to no other concerns than the conversion and religious instruction of the infidel Apaches, removing himself from the occupations and undertakings of cultivating the soil and otherwise managing the land until such time as other circumstances that are more favorable than those experienced since [our] entrance and establishment in [the land] permit these actions. This point was addressed and discussed the afternoon before the unfortunate occurrence at the destroyed mission, to which the said colonel traveled. Other points and matters pertaining to security and a better situation were also touched upon and would have been put into practice on the day of the tragedy had it not transpired so unexpectedly. There was a parcel of land near that scorched place that the father president had wanted to sow, in order to test the quality of the soil; he abandoned the idea, however, as a result of the deliberations made that afternoon.

In the same way, I certify that the site had the protection of two stone mortars, bullets, powder, muskets, and seventeen men, including the Indians assigned to that place. Had there been seventy men, the same misfortune would have occurred; the astute mode in which the enemies introduced themselves, as well as

their numbers and arms, would have assured their triumph and the pillage they were after. The luck of the deceived and the error and misconduct of the wary enemy are only a check against such surprises.

This is all that I am able to explain and certify in the formal terms expressed.

Royal presidio of San Luis de las Amarillas, March 22, 1758.

Fray Miguel Molina

Archivo Franciscano, Caja 6.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Relación que hizo el reverendo padre predicador fray Miguel Molina al reverendo guardián y discretorio del colegio de San Fernando, sobre las muertes de los padres fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros y fray Joseph de Santiestevan, compañero suyo en San Sabá.

CARTA DEL CORONEL ORTÍZ PARRILLA

Al muy reverendo padre guardián y discretorio del santo apostólico colegio de San Fernando:

Para noticia puntual de vuestras paternidades muy reverendas, en el sacrílego alevoso rigor que en las vidas de los reverendos padres fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros y fray Joseph de Santiestevan, y de otras personas que en su compañía habitaban el lugar destinado a una de las pretendidas misiones para los infieles de la nación Apache, perpetraron los gentiles reconocidos por tejas, comanches, tancagues, y otras de la tierra dentro de esta parte del norte, incluyo copia auténtica de la certificación que presentó el reverendo padre predicador fray Miguel Molina, pareciéndome suficiente instrumento para calificación del suceso; pues aunque otras particularidades de él constan en los autos formados sobre el asunto, por corresponder a los crueles intentos de los bárbaros, a su muchedumbre, sobresaliente armamento de fuego, brillante equipaje y otros asaltos que en los campos experimentaron algunos individuos de este presidio en el mes próximo pasado, no los he considerado importantes en la atención de vuestras paternidades muy reverendas, aunque muy propias de la instrucción de la capitanía general de estos reinos, a quien las remito en esta ocasión.

El cadáver del reverendo padre fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, atravesado de dos balas y una lanzada, y el del reverendo padre fray Joseph de Santiestevan, dividido de la cabeza, que se encontró junto a él entera, fueron sepultados en el cementerio de la iglesia por el más proporcionado lugar que encontré entre aquellas ruinas; pues aunque pocas horas después de haber desamparado el sitio los enemigos le reconocí y registré, no hallé parte preservada del voraz fuego ni efectos que no hubiesen padecido igual desgracia.

El reverendo padre fray Miguel Molina condujo una escuadra de este presidio a la misión de San Antonio, después de muy mejorado de la herida de una bala que le alcanzó sobre la tetilla derecha, con el fin de su total alivio, que puede facilitarle la destreza del religioso cirujano que allí se mantiene. Y en este presidio, y en mi compañía, se halla el reverendo padre predicador fray Francisco Aparicio,

del santo colegio de Querétaro, a quien envió luego su prelado, el reverendo padre visitador fray Mariano de los Dolores.

Vuestras paternidades muy reverendas considerarán por el amor que profesaba yo a los padres con cuánto dolor quedaré, y los cuidados que me costará el preservar este presidio de semejante tragedia, cuando no les sería muy dificultoso a los enemigos que han descubierto, por su crecido número y las armas de fuego que manejan diestramente. Pero en medio de estos cuidados tan importantes, tendré el de satisfacer los estimables preceptos que vuestras paternidades muy reverendas se sirvieren imponerme en cualquiera tiempo.

Nuestro Señor guarde a vuestras paternidades muy reverendas [ilegible] que repito. San Luis de las Amarillas, y abril 8 de 1758.

Beso las manos a vuestras paternidades muy reverendas, su más afecto y obligado servidor.

Diego Ortíz Parrilla

INFORME DEL FRAY MOLINA

Fray Miguel Molina, de la regular observancia de nuestro santo padre San Francisco, predicador apostólico e hijo del colegio de San Fernando de esta Ciudad de México, destinado para ministro misionero de una de las misiones pretendidas en este río de San Sabá: Obedeciendo a la providencia del señor coronel don Diego Ortiz Parrilla, comandante en este terreno, que por auto del día 21 del que sigue, de ruego y encargo me hizo, hoy que contamos 22 días del mismo mes referido, en orden a que declare y exponga lo que supiere del lastimoso suceso acaecido el día 16 del corriente en el puesto que ocupábamos el reverendo padre presidente fray Alonso Giraldo de Terreros, y el reverendo padre predicador fray Joseph de Santiestevan, y yo, en ínterin se conseguía la fundación de misiones en la nación de los gentiles apaches.

Certifico en cuanto sea necesario, y juro *in verbo sacerdotis*, que a poco después de haber salido el sol dicho día, habiendo celebrado ya misa el expresado reverendo padre presidente, y estando a los principios de ella el mencionado padre fray Joseph de Santiestevan, se oyó a la parte de afuera de la cerca de aquel sitio, como a distancia, el tiro de una escopeta, por la parte de los pasos o vados del río que allí corre a la del norte, una gritería o algazara furiosa, y que luego gritaron también algunas mujeres y hombres de los habitadores de aquel puesto diciendo que eran indios, con cuya noticia pasé prontamente a la iglesia a noticiarla al padre que estaba principiando la misa la novedad que se advertía, para que no prosiguiera respecto el estado en que la tenía, que como llevo dicho era el del principio; y habiéndolo hecho el referido padre, se desnudó de la sagrada vestidura y se quedó en la iglesia. Yo me retiré prontísimamente al cuarto del padre presidente, en donde se acogieron algunas personas, habiéndose valido otras de las demás oficinas para su resguardo, porque los indios, con un gran tropel y la descarga de fusil, cercaron todo el lugar de la estacada y habitaciones.

Pero los bárbaros, habiendo observado nuestro cuidado y el que se ponía para la defensa, y no habiendo encontrado la puerta abierta ni la facilidad que creyeron para el logro de sus tiranos intentos sin algún trabajo ni riesgo, se valieron de ofre-

cernos la paz y una buena amistad, y esto lo aseguraban desde la parte de afuera, con algunas voces de la lengua castellana y de muchos ademanes y movimientos. Por lo que persuadido a ello, el cabo de la escolta Asencio Cadena y otro soldado hijo de Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, entraron al cuarto del reverendo padre presidente a darnos la noticia del buen fin de los indios y de la sana intención que traían, y nos aseguró dicho cabo que las expresiones de los indios serían ciertas porque el conocía que eran tejas, tancagues, vydays, e indios de otras naciones de la tierra adentro, a quienes había tratado de paz muchas ocasiones. Con lo que salió el padre presidente al patio, y también salí yo, con admiración y espanto verdaderamente al ver que por todas partes no se veía otra cosa que indios armados de fusiles y vestidos del más horroroso traje, pues a más de la pintura de sus rostros de los colores encarnado y negro, estaban adornados de pieles de fieras, de las colas de ellas que les pendían y colgaban de la cabeza, de astas de venados, y de otras fingidas de varios animales, y algunos con plumas sobre la cabeza, y todos armados de fusiles, de sables y lanzas con chuzos que llaman comunmente. Y reparé y advertí también que traían muchachos armados de los arcos y las flechas, que sería con el fin de instruirlos y animarlos, sin duda, para sus rigores y sangrientos modos de vivir.

Y habiendo ya observado los cautelosos enemigos la confianza que de ellos se hacía, se desmontaron muchos de sus caballos, y sin aguardar a que les abriesen lo hicieron ellos, quitando con sus manos las trancas de la puerta, y habiéndose introducido todos cuantos cabían en el interior recinto de la estacada, que serían como trescientos poco más o menos, se valieron también de la estratagema de alargar sus manos a las nuestras, y de hacer otras demostraciones de cumplimiento y agasajo, a que correspondimos todos con expresiones, cortesías, y halagos. Y habiendo yo notado también que venían muchos capitanes haciendo iguales demostraciones, aconsejé y persuadí al padre presidente a que les mandase dar algunos manojos de tabaco y otras cosas de las que ellos estiman, lo que luego se ejecutó pródigamente, pues yo mismo dediqué cuatro manojos a un indio que nunca se desmontó de su caballo, y a quien reconocían los otros por el capitán grande, y era de la nación comanche según dijeron los mismos bárbaros. Este indio era respetuoso, bien adornado de aquellas vestiduras de guerra, y con casaca encarnada de las de los uniformes de Francia, bien prevenido de armas, y de un rostro horrible, y sumamente serio, pues habiéndolo yo presentado los manojos de tabaco, los admitió con falsa risa y demasiada circunspección, sin [desmontarse] ni hacer otras demostraciones por lo que me desconsolé mucho, y más cuando ya tenía visto que sin [detenerse] ni reparar en la paz que nos habían ofrecido, robaban las ollas y menajes de la cocina, las capas de los soldados y los caballos que estaban en el corral.

Y pedían más caballos, porque habiéndoles dicho que no los había preguntaron si tenía muchos el presidio, a que los padres y soldados que estaban presentes dijimos y respondimos que sí había muchos, y que de todo había gran provisión, cuya respuesta nos pareció conveniente darles a los bárbaros para que estuviesen en la inteligencia de que nada faltaba para el resguardo. Y habiendo preguntado a los astutos enemigos si venían con ánimo de pasar al presidio a visitar al capitán, respondieron que sí lo harían, pero que les diesen un papel y que no advirtiendo en ello inconveniente, juzgándolo antes por acertado para desposeerlos de aquel puesto que todavía tenían cercado, y lleno ya de perjuicios con los ro-

bos y el registro que con arrogancia hacían de todos los cuartos y oficinas, se resolvió el padre presidente a darles el papel, que tomó un capitán de la nación Tejas, el mismo que pasó al corral y sacó un caballo de los que habían dejado, y era de la silla del padre presidente, diciendo que lo tomaba para llevar el papel al presidio. Pero habiéndosele opuesto y resistido a ello el mismo padre presidente, se armó luego el indio de su fusil y se lo puso en la cara para dispararle al caballo, por cuya demostración se lo dejó. Y se volvió a la conversación con algunos indios que le contaban de los países de Tejas algunas cosas de que el padre tenía noticias por haber estado en ellos.

Y prosiguiendo los bárbaros en su cerco y registro de oficinas, sin dejar el robo y la hostilidad. También otros hablaban conmigo y con los demás compañeros, procurando con sus expresiones hacernos creer que sólo traían intento de pelear con los apaches, porque les habían muerto algunos de los suyos, y preguntaban por los que había en aquella misión. Pero como desde luego declararon su ánimo de matar a los apaches, se había procurado esconder y ocultar a los que allí estaban dentro del cuarto del padre presidente, a donde se les estorbó la entrada con mantener gente siempre a la puerta.

Y certifico también como, después de un corto tiempo que el indio teja salió del puesto de la misión con un crecidísimo número de indios, volvió diciendo que no se le deja entrar en el presidio, y que antes le habían matado a tres indios compañeros suyos, y que hasta le habían dado una cuchillada; que el padre presidente y yo le respondimos que habría entrado con mucha gente, manifestándose mal, y que si quería volver le acompañaría el padre presidente, a que respondió que sí volvería con el padre. Y con esta resolución mandó ensillar un caballo que le habían dejado, y otro de un soldado, y se puso el padre presidente a caballo y el soldado Joseph García para acompañar a los indios, y advertí que, buscando el padre presidente al capitán que había de acompañar, no se encontraba ni parecía dentro de la chusma y multitud que estaba en el patio, por lo que el padre presidente se encaminó hacia la puerta para salir a buscarle afuera de la cerca; y que estando inmediato de la puerta se oyó un tiro y quejarse al dicho padre, y luego dispararon otros sobre el soldado que estaba a caballo. Y principiando una cruel guerra con todos, por lo que yo me acabé de asegurar de la ficción y falsedad de los enemigos y me certifiqué en los pensamientos que tuve de su mala intención, y de que era falsedad y enredo lo que contaba el cauteloso capitán teja del presidio y de los indios muertos, y procuré retirarme a la misma habitación del padre presidente con otras personas que también lo hicieron aunque algunos tomaron otros refugios.

Y también certifico que en el instante mismo que dispararon los tiros al padre presidente y al soldado Joseph García, prendieron fuego por las cuatro partes de la estacada con la mayor violencia y con la mayor prevención de leña, que yo y los demás refugiados vimos desde las troneras del cuarto, por lo que creo y se debe asegurar de que desde luego empezaron a asegurarse para su rigor, y que le practicaron luego que tuvieron la leña pronta y bien reconocidas las oficinas y asegurados los caminos con su muchedumbre pues, en mi concepto, llegaría a ser el número de bárbaros el de más de dos mil, según registré y advertí por el campo que ocupaban en el tiempo de más de media hora que dieron lugar con fingimiento y estratagema. Que haciéndoles fuego desde el cerrado cuarto por las troneras que tenía, y que se prepararon, nos mantuvimos hasta después de medio día porque

los enemigos, ocupados en el pillaje y saqueo de los efectos que estaban almacenados para los indios que se pretendía poner en misión, y confiados de que el fuego prendido en todas y por todas partes había de consumirnos y acabarnos, sin otra diligencia suya se descuidaron y nos permitieron pasarnos a otra habitación, pared en medio de la iglesia, para separarnos de la otra que ya iba feneciendo entre las llamas. Pero advertida esta diligencia por los enemigos, nos volvieron a cargar de nuevo, dándonos fuego de fusiles y atizando el que tenían encendido en aquella habitación, procurándonos apartar de la iglesia que estaba menos arruinada aunque también prendida del fuego, en donde nos mantuvimos hasta más de la media noche, que logramos salir todos a excepción de Juan Antonio Gutiérrez, que no lo pudo hacer por la grave herida que tenía en un muslo. Y certifico en los mismos términos que aunque logramos esta felicidad, no fue por el desamparo que los enemigos hicieron de aquel terreno, sino es por su descuido o mala conducta, o porque temerosos de algún asalto del presidio, se aplicaron a los caminos y campos, y a prepararse para hacer otra tanta ruina el día siguiente en el presidio, como tuvieron ánimo según he sabido después por las personas que así lo advirtieron y reconocieron con formalidad. Y que las personas que estábamos acogidas a aquel lugar de iglesia y cuarto inmediato éramos todos los de la misión, a excepción del reverendo padre presidente, el padre fray Joseph de Santiestevan, de Lázaro de Ayala, de Enrique Gutiérrez, de Joseph García, porque estos perecieron al primer rigor y orgulloso movimiento de los bárbaros.

También certifico que aquella mañana, hallándonos en el encierro del cuarto que primero tomamos, como a las ocho, poco más o menos, de la mañana, llegó el soldado Joseph Vázquez a la puerta, pidiendo confesión y que le abriesen; y habiéndolo ejecutado, porque se conoció por entre las tablas, entró desangrándose de una grave herida que tenía en el pecho, desnudo y sumamente maltratado, y diciendo que él era uno de los soldados que el señor coronel había despachado de refuerzo a aquella misión luego que supo que había indios en ella, y que en el camino le acometieron un número crecido de ellos, haciéndoles fuego con fusilería. Y que sus compañeros habían muerto a las manos de aquel tropel de enemigos, porque no les sería fácil escapar las vidas de entre ellos, y que también consideraba en grandes aprietos y fatigas al presidio, porque toda aquella gente armada se encaminaba hacia él. Y habiéndole preguntado que cómo le fue posible llegar hasta allí, dijo que porque caído en suelo y desnudo ya por los indios, no debieron hacer caso de su vida, y el se aprovechó de este descuido y, arrastrando por unas partes y por otras por su pie, llegó a la estacada de la misión, a donde le descubrieron los enemigos que estaban los más ocupados en abrir fardos de ropa y cajones del almacén y sacar lo que tenían afuera, y que entre dos le tiraron a la cerca, que estaba ardiendo, de donde escapó con sólo una mano lastimada del fuego.

Y también certifico que en aquel encierro o concurrencia de las personas de la misión supe que los indios bárbaros habían herido, en la descarga que dieron cuando llegaron a la misión aquella mañana, a Andrés de Villarreal con una bala que aún tenía debajo del brazo; y que en el mismo lance, y aun antes de llegar al puesto de la misión, habían desnudado unos indios de los mismos enemigos a la mujer de Antonio Gutiérrez; y que a Juan Leal, que cerca de ella estaba en las márgenes del río por donde los infieles pasaron, lo apalearon con las astas de las lanzas y lo intentaron matar, pero que lo dejaron con vida, y junto con la dicha

mujer los llevaron a la misión para que allí experimentaran el rigor que pretendían con todos, y no descubrir antes el sangriento ánimo con que llegaron a este país.

Y que fuera ya de aquel desgraciado lugar, me encaminé por la parte del sur, buscando siempre ocultos caminos y veredas, hasta que el día 18 por la mañana llegué a este presidio, que encontré en disposición de defensa, con el cuidado todavía del ataque de los indios, porque aún estaban en las inmediaciones por la parte del oriente y norte; y que ha sido un milagro patente el que se haya preservado de tantos bárbaros que venían de mano armada y con la cautela y fingimiento que ya llevo expresado, de cuyas circunstancias de cautela y muchedumbre, revestidos y armados los enemigos de la ley, de la religión y de los hombres, no se podrán libertar los que habitaren este país, aunque intervengan las mayores intenciones y mejor conducta, a menos de que no fueran poblados todos los intermedios que hay desde este río hasta los que están habitados de nuestras gentes. Porque si en esta ocasión acometieron dos mil, poco más o menos, que es el número que prudentemente vendría de bárbaros pertrechados de tantas armas, que pasarían de mil, es verosímil que en otra sea mayor la junta y la entrada de estas numerosas naciones porque, declarados ya en la guerra y ansiosos del robo y pillaje, no han de cejar en hacerla ni en producir cuantos medios y arbitrios discurra su diabólica inclinación.

Por lo que discurro que ha de ser un caso muy imposible el que los indios apaches se avecinden y radiquen sus poblaciones en este río de San Sabá ni en muchas leguas de su contorno, aunque los favorezcan las armas del rey, ni se les apadrine y asista con los mayores alivios; pues por lo mismo de haber conocido ellos tan evidentemente el riesgo y el rencor de sus enemigos, han de apartarse de él como están haciéndolo, pues se saben que viven distantes y más inmediatos a nuestros poblados de otros ríos, y soy de sentir que deja ya un lance de inhumanidad con ellos el tratarles de la radicación en esta tierra, porque la experiencia nos advierte que no es conveniente ni justo el que la hagan, expuestos a la inquietud, a la desgracia y al rigor de más número de guerristas bárbaros y crueles que pueden componer todos los apaches que se han tratado. Y aunque ha poco más de dos meses que yo llegué a este destino por la obediencia y precepto que para ello tuve de mi colegio, no dejo de estar bien instruido de los lances, sucesos y pasajes de los indios apaches, y de los pretextos con que han diferido su reducción y vecindario en esta tierra, y creo que la más fuerte razón que en ellos habrá para la renuencia que demuestran ha de ser la del terror y espanto que les ocasionan sus enemigos, pues aunque ellos no lo hayan dicho así en las ocasiones de formalidad, habrá sido por no descubrir su terror ni manifestar recelos ni miedos, cuando ellos son tan orgullosos, altivos y engreídos como se sabe, no obstante que me consta muy bien el que algunos de ellos lo han proferido así muchas veces entre nuestras gentes, juntando estos motivos con los de los hielos, nieblas, fríos y vientos continuados del invierno en este país, que no les permite la conservación de sus caballos ni otras bestias. Y habiendo visto nosotros esta [rigurosidad] del tiempo, el deterioro de los caballos, y experimentado el cruel designio y rencorosa intención de los enemigos de los apaches, debemos dar a estos algún crédito, y no dejar de buscarles consuelo en otras distancias donde puedan conservarse y no tener el retrayente y causa tan justa para diferir su conversión. De cuyo dictamen seré siempre, como de que este presidio está arriesgadísimo,

sin embargo del cuidado y arreglo que con él se tiene, y sobre que se encamina su gobierno.

Y también certifico que el señor coronel don Diego Ortíz Parrilla ha deseado con ansia que el puesto de la habitación de los padres apostólicos estuviese más inmediato a su presidio, y que el padre presidente difunto no se dedicase a más cuidado que al de la conservación y catequismo de los infieles apaches, apartándose de las ocupaciones y empresas de cultivar tierras y hacer otras maniobras en el terreno, hasta que el tiempo lo permitiese con otras más adaptables circunstancias que las que han experimentado desde el ingreso y establecimiento en él, sobre cuyo asunto se habló y trató la tarde antes del desgraciado acontecimiento en la misión destruída, a donde pasó el dicho señor coronel, y se tocaron otros puntos y materias para la seguridad y mejor situación, que se habrían puesto en práctica el día de la desgracia si no hubiese sucedido tan inopinadamente. Y que un pedazo de tierra que cerca de aquel abrazado puesto quería sembrar el padre presidente para experimentar la calidad de la tierra, se había dejado ya, por las reflexiones que la dicha tarde se hicieron.

Y en la forma misma certifico que aquel puesto tenía prevención de dos pedreros, balas, pólvora, escopetas y diecisiete hombres, incluídos los indios destinados a aquel lugar, y que si hubiesen sido setenta hombres habría sucedido la misma desgracia en fortuna, porque el astuto modo de introducirse los enemigos, su muchedumbre y armamento, les hubiera conseguido su triunfo y el saqueo que solicitaban, pues para tales sorpresas solo es contrarresto la felicidad de los engañados y el error y mala conducta de los cautelosos enemigos.

Que es todo cuanto puedo exponer y certificar, en los formales términos expresados.

Real presidio de San Luis de las Amarillas, y marzo 22 de 1758.

Fray Miguel Molina

Glossary

adelantado. The individual responsible for the conquest or opening up of a new area—normally at his own expense. In return he usually continued as the Crown's governor with specified privileges.

agave. Plants of genus *Agave,* also known as century plant.

aguardiente. General term used for distilled liquor. See *mescal.*

alcalde. Municipal officer with administrative and judicial functions.

alcaldía mayor. Administrative district of an alcalde mayor, who was the principal municipal official of a city or district.

alférez. The lowest-ranking commissioned officer, roughly equivalent to an ensign or second lieutenant in the army; sometimes referred to as *teniente.*

alférez reformado. A lieutenant whose company has undergone reform, cutback, or abolishment. In any case, the reformado often received the salary of a retired officer.

alguacil (*alguacil mayor*). A constable, usually on a municipal level. An alguacil mayor was the chief constable.

almaceneros. A term used to describe a powerful group of merchants from Mexico City who provided loans and monies for the founding and continuation of presidios.

almud. A dry measure frequently used in relation to agricultural production of corn, beans, or the like. The measure usually was equivalent to five liters, but it varied throughout colonial New Spain.

angelus. Prayer commemorating the incarnation; said at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening. It was usually announced by the ringing of a bell.

apoderado general. An authorized representative of a province.

arroba. Common unit of weight equal to 25 pounds.

arzobispo virrey. An archbishop who also served as viceroy. While royal patronage gave the Crown authority over the Church in the colonies, it also allowed the Church to function as an arm of the state; thus, it was not uncommon for clergy to serve in government positions.

atole. A porridge made from corn flour.

audiencia. A judicial and legislative council that administered royal affairs over a substantial geographic area. Judicially, it was subordinate only to the Council of the Indies. In a legislative role, it acted in conjunction with the viceroy.

auditor de guerra. Special assistant to the viceroy in military affairs; he often was an oidor of the audiencia himself. In matters of military justice, he served as legal counsel to the viceroy.

auto. Judicial or administrative decree.

ayuntamiento. The municipal corporation or town council charged with local municipal government.

bachiller. Recipient of the lowest university degree; often a parish priest.

barranca. Deep ravine or canyon.

barretero. An ore digger; a mining laborer.

batea. Wooden tray or trough used for panning gold.

batequi. Well or water hole. Along the coast of the Gulf of California, it is employed specifically to denote freshwater springs that occur below the high-tide line.

caballería. Military unit on horseback; cavalry.

cabecera. Administrative head or central town of a region or mission district; headquarters; chief mission in a district.

cabildo. Municipal government.

cabo. Corporal; squad leader.

cacique. Indian chieftain.

cámara. Chamber, board, or council.

camino real. Patrolled route or road linking places where the Crown had operations.

capitán de caballos. Captain responsible for a company on horseback.

capitán general. Captain general; chief military officer. In the colonies the title belonged to the viceroy, although in a province the superior commander was so called. In frontier areas this rank was often filled by the governor of the province. Of necessity, the rank was sometimes a brevet type.

capitán propietario. Refers to a landowner on the frontier who, in times of need, acted as a military leader. Because frontier regions often lacked professional military personnel to protect settlements, citizen militias engaged in military operations.

capitán protector. A presidial captain whose responsibility was to protect Indians from mistreatment by Spaniards or hostile Indian tribes.

capitán vitalicio. Captain-for-life. As presidial commander, the captain often held civil authority as alcalde mayor of a region, as was the case in Sinaloa during the period 1660–1734.

carga. Unit of weight equal to about 150 pounds; the average load of a pack animal.

carrizo. Bamboo-like cane or reed grass that grows wild near springs, marshes, and rivers. In northern New Spain, especially Sonora, it was commonly used for the construction of ceilings and roofs.

casa profesa. House for professed fathers of the Society of Jesus; also headquarters of the Jesuit provincial in Mexico City.

castellano. Commander of a castle or fortification, usually at a seaport or on the coast.

catán. Indian cutlass; a long, thin fish.

caudillo. Leader or commander; military rank could vary.

cédula. Royal decree; order.

chochomite. A variant form of *chomite,* a Nahuatl term for woolen skirt.

cíbolo. Bison; American buffalo.

ciudad. City or town. A ciudad was a civil community of substantial size possessing a charter that gave it more rights and privileges than a villa or pueblo.

cochineal. An insect that commonly infects the nopal cactus in warmer climates. A valuable red dye can be made from the dried bodies of this insect.

colegio. School or college; often a seminary for educating religious.

comisario de justicia. Deputy magistrate.

comisario general. Head of all the missionaries.

comisario prefect. head of all the missionaries of a certain region, chosen from among the friars of a certain college.

compadre. Godfather; one belonging to the *compadrazgo,* or god-parentage, a very important social institution that established ties between parents of a baptized child and the child's godparents. Also a term commonly used to describe a special friend.

compañía volante. Military unit on detached or roving duty; a "flying company."

congrega. A new type of encomienda particular to Nuevo León during the eighteenth century. Congregas replaced the encomienda after abuse of that institution led to its abolition.

consulado. Merchant guild.

contador (*contador de cuenta*). Accountant, bookkeeper, treasurer. The *contador general de real tributos* was a royally appointed accountant responsible for monitoring the collection of tribute. A *contador mayor* was the chief treasurer of a royal accounting office. *Contaduría de Real Hacienda* was an office of the royal treasury responsible for accountancy of royal financial matters.

convento. Community or dwelling place of religious men or women.

cordillera. Mountain range or chain of separate mountains.

cordón. Troop or defensive line of enlisted soldiers assigned to protect a particular location, usually within an area where they can communicate with one another.

corregidor. Local political official. In most cases, the same as an alcalde mayor.

cortadillos. Small charges used to ignite the powder for a cannon blast.

coyote. Person of mixed blood having mestizo and mulatto ancestry.

custodia. Group of friars and friaries smaller than a province, or the head of such a group.

decano. Senior oidor of an audiencia.

diezmo. A tithe; church tax of 10 percent.

diligencia. General title or category of documents. They could be either administrative or judicial.

doctrina. A new conversion or mission; doctrina connotes an incipient congregation that is in the process of learning Christian doctrine, usually taught by means of the catechism.

encomienda. A grant of specified land and Indian labor made to a colonist; in return the grantee, an encomendero, agreed to provide for the Indians' welfare and instruction in Christianity.

entrada. Expedition into unknown or unsettled areas. Often associated with the military when the purpose was to confront unpacified natives.

epazote. From the Nahuatl word *epazotl,* an aromatic medicinal herb that grows throughout northern Mexico. It is used for the expulsion of worms from children.

escribano de cabildo. The secretary or notary of a town council.

establecimiento de paz. A native settlement that the Spaniards considered pacified.

estancia. Landed property; a livestock ranch.

fanega. Common unit of dry weight that varied according to the produce being measured.

fiscal. Attorney; official of lower rank (highly variable).

fortaleza. Military stronghold or fort; also called a *fuerte* or *castillo,* meaning castle. These are distinguished from presidios, which were garrisons specific to frontier regions.

fuerte. A military stronghold. See *fortaleza.*

fusil. A firearm lighter in weight and smaller in bore than a musket and equipped with either a snaphance or flintlock. The origin of the firearm has been ascribed to both Italy and France sometime during the sixteenth century. Although the Spaniards also manufactured fusiles, their use was not prevalent on the frontier; those that were found on the frontier were generally of French manufacture and were favored items in the Indian trade.

género. A monetary unit worth 1½ pesos.

genízaros. Refers to plains Indians who, after capture or ransom, were incorporated into colonial society. They were often settled to act as a buffer against depredations on the frontier.

gente de razón (*hombres de razón*). Literally, "people of reason." Denoted social or economic superiority, usually reserved for Spaniards or Europeans, distinguishing them from Indians, who were considered uncivilized and therefore called *gente sin razón,* "people without reason."

gentiles. Indians who had not been converted to Christianity.

gobernación. The government; also an area controlled by a governor.

hacienda. Literally, a "doing," which might be a ranch, factory, or investment. Commonly, a large privately owned estate, usually in a rural setting. See also *real hacienda.*

indios de rescate. General term for Indians who were incorporated into colonial society after capture or ransom.

hechicero. A native sorcerer or shaman; a medicine man.

informe. A formal statement or report.

juez comisario. An official representative who was given authority in judicial affairs.

juez general. A title given to an official who was responsible for leading an investigation or commissioned to lead an official inspection or visita.

juez pesquisidor. A judge who conducts inquiries or investigations.

juez receptor. A judge in charge of collecting evidence or proof of payments.

junta. A gathering of people or committee formed for a specific purpose.

junta de guerra. Council of war. A committee of the Council of the Indies that supervised all aspects of military and naval affairs regarding the Americas, including military finances. It was composed of the president and three councilors of the council itself as well as four members of the *consejo de guerra,* an advisory council based in Castile.

junta general de guerra y hacienda. Committee of the Viceregal Audiencia in Mexico that advised the viceroy and oidores on all important military and fiscal matters.

junta superior de la real hacienda. The highest advisory council regarding fiscal affairs, supervising the final auditing of treasury income and expenditures. It was composed of the viceroy, members of the audiencia, and treasury officials.

justicia. Magistrate; officer of the law.

justicia mayor. Judge; member of a cabildo or town council who acted as the governor's deputy.

juzgado de indios. A special court created in New Spain in 1573 to handle affairs dealing with the abuse of Indians.

ladino. A Spanish-speaking Indian.

latifundio. A vast rural landholding.

Leyes Reales. Used in reference to the "New Laws" of 1542 that theoretically abolished Indian slavery and protected Indians from other injustices.

libra. Common unit of weight equal to slightly less than one modern pound.

licenciado. One who has become lettered through study at a university and has been awarded a specific degree.

lobo. Person of mixed Indian and mestizo ancestry.

macana. A heavy club.

madrina. Godmother.

maestro de campo (*maese de campo*). Field commander; superior military official in charge of a regiment, usually in the infantry.

marco. Unit of monetary weight equal to about 230 grams. A *tomín* was equal to about 0.6 grams. A *grano* was the smallest unit of monetary measurement equal to about 0.05 grams.

mayordomo. Municipal official attached to the cabildo and serving as the custodian of civic property. Also, a superintendent or foreman of an hacienda.

mescal. A generic term for the distilled liquor made from various species of the genus *Agave. Bacanora* is mescal made from *Agave angustifolia. Lechuguilla* is distilled from *Agave palmeri.*

mestizo. Person of mixed European and Indian blood.

ministro de doctrina. Title of a priest serving at a mission.

mitre. Bishopric; popular colloquial term for bishop.

mojarra. A common name for the variety of fish belonging to the species *eucinostomus.* It is a silvery, high-bodied fish with a deeply forked tail.

mulatto. Person of mixed European and African ancestry.

Nao de Filipinas. Literally, "sailing ship of the Philippines"; the Manila galleon.

nopal. Nopal or prickly pear cactus.

norteños. Literally, "those who are from the north."

oidor. Member of an audiencia who served as a judge. An oidor often performed other duties, the most important being the administration of residencias.

padre procurador. Religious charged with financial and temporal care.

paisano. Countryman; a Spanish settler or resident.

paraje. Stopping place; also a campsite on a major trail or wagon road or a minor settlement.

partido. Administrative district within a province or *intendencia.*

personero. Administrative agent usually given authority to manage the affairs of a superior.

peso. Spanish colonial monetary unit. There were several types of pesos (*de oro, de minas,* etc.) but the most common was the silver peso with a value of 8 reales.

pichilingue. A Spanish derogatory name for a Dutchman.

pieza or *piezas.* Derogatory term frequently used to refer to Indian captives; literally, "pieces" or members of a band or group of Indians.

piltontle. A general Nahuatl term for animals of small size.

pinole. Ground cornmeal or parched wheat. Carried dry and consumed after mixing with water or other liquid.

pita. Pita is another term for the agave used to make *pulque,* soap, thread, and rope. Also refers to cloth made from agave fiber.

plaza. Military post; a military position in a presidio.

plaza de armas. Usually a designated area where soldiers gathered and where arms and munitions were stored.

población. Small town or village; a populace.

podatario general. Individual who had the authority to represent another person in addition to administering and executing his affairs.

pozole. A soup made with barley, beans, or hominy with vegetables and sometimes meat.

presidiales. Soldiers belonging to a presidio. Refers to the regular army personnel stationed at a presidio.

procurador. Attorney; generally, the city or municipal attorney. In religious and military matters, the person in charge of financial and temporal administration.

provincial. The religious superior in charge of overseeing all activity of a province.

quebrada. Broken, rough, uneven terrain with frequent arroyos or canyons.

quintal. Unit of dry weight roughly equal to 100 pounds.

quinto real. Royal fifth; the royal tax levied by the Spanish treasury on mining production.

ranchería. An Indian settlement in which dwellings were usually not permanent and were scattered some distance from one another. A native encampment.

rancho. Small privately owned farm or ranch.

real. Any place flying the royal banner; a military force or any place it might be stationed (as distinct from *real de mina*).

real acuerdo. Royal agreement; accord; members of a tribunal assembled in the form of a court.

real de mina. Town or district specializing in mining.

reales. Monetary units worth ⅛ of a silver peso.

real hacienda. Royal treasury.

real tribunal y audiencia de cuentas. Official council that audited all royal accounts.

reducción. Area or village in which Indians were collected for intensive missionary effort.

regidor. Member of the cabildo.

reglamento. A regulation or rule given by royal authority.

reino. Kingdom; archaic term for a province or district.

remuda. Exchange or re-exchange. In military terms, a relay of horses.

repartimiento. Labor draft used to employ Indians in various activities in agriculture, mining, and ranching.

residencia. An official review held at the time an officeholder came to the end of his term.

sargento mayor. Major; the third in command of a regiment. In frontier areas, often filled by a nonprofessional who was often in command of local forces under the lieutenant captain general.

sargento mayor de armas. Officer in charge of military weaponry.

secretario de gobernación y guerra. Notary and advisor to the governor of a province. The person holding this position certified all official documents issued in the governor's name.

señoreaje. Special tax levied at royal mints.

tapisque. Nahuatl term incorporated into Spanish, referring to the forced labor drafts of Indians under the repartimiento system.

teniente. Literally, a lieutenant. A soldier authorized to exercise the powers of a ranking person in whose place he served.

teniente alcalde mayor. Assistant to the alcalde mayor.

teniente coronel. Lieutenant colonel; second in command of an infantry or cavalry unit.

teniente de alcalde. Municipal officer who served as deputy mayor.

teniente mayor. Lieutenant major.

tepusque. From the Nahuatl word *tepuzqui* meaning copper; referred to copper coins minted during the colonial period, often without royal permission.

tierra firme. A maritime term referring to the mainland.

tierras de pan llevar. A standard Spanish phrase for agricultural lands in a community.

tinajas. Large earthen jars used for carrying or storing water.

tlatole. (Nahuatl) Conference, discussion; message stick. The word was frequently used by missionaries and Spanish officials in reference to Indian convocations designed to stir up rebellion.

tomín. Unit of monetary weight equal to ⅛ of a peso de oro.

vale. Farewell or valediction; also approval or acceptance.

vaquero. Cowboy.

vara. Common unit of linear measure of approximately 33 inches. A *legua,* or Spanish league, consisted of 5,000 varas. A *tercio* is one-third of a vara.

vecino. Citizen of good standing; usually a property owner.

villa. Chartered settlement with royally defined privileges; town.

visita. (1) Official visit or inspection made for the purpose of gathering information. (2) A visiting station, church, or settlement on the circuit of a priest or missionary.

visitador. Person making the visita; an inspector.

visitador general. Individual making an inspection of an entire kingdom or province. The inspection could be conducted by an oidor of the Viceregal Audiencia. Ideally, however, such a general inspection would be presided over by a person appointed in Spain who had no ties of any sort to the colony.

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