

CAMPAIGNING ON THE UPPER GILA, 1756

JOHN L. KESSELL

JUST WEST of the Continental Divide, where the headwaters of the Río Gila break out of the imposing Sierra de Mogollón, the two commanders joined forces. Captain Bernardo Antonio de Bustamante y Tagle, trail-dusty after the long ride from Chihuahua, reined up with sixty presidial regulars and as many tough Tarahumara Indian archers. From Sonora, tracking hostiles en route, Captain Gabriel Antonio de Vildósola, fifty regulars, one hundred and forty Opata Indian auxiliaries, a party of armed settlers, and a Jesuit chaplain had gauged their march to arrive at the rendezvous by the appointed day, November 24, 1756.

Over three hundred fighting men in all, they made their base camp on the shallow Gila near present-day Cliff, New Mexico, with feed, wood, and water close by. This site in the pleasant, unpeopled valley, with its meandering river and its cottonwoods now all but bare, they knew as Todos Santos. The assembled regulars, whose irregular uniforms bore the stamp of frontier cavalry, had been recruited for this joint campaign from Guajoquilla, Agua Nueva, and Janos in Nueva Vizcaya, and Fronteras and Terrenate in Sonora, so that no one garrison on the cordon was left severely undermanned. These were *soldados de cuera*, troops born in the saddle who took their name from the heavy, sleeveless, multi-layer leather coats they wore, the best of which were made in New Mexico of buckskin. For additional protection they carried oval bull-hide shields. When fully armed the frontier horse soldier wielded a steel-tipped lance, a short sword for close quarters, a

brace of pistols, and a regulation, muzzle-loading musket, or *escopeta*, which he was reluctant to fire. So long as a soldier could brandish his loaded musket, even the bravest Apache had respect for him. Once he fired however, any of his adversaries who survived was capable of launching a deadly barrage of arrows while he reloaded. Hence the Indian auxiliaries, outnumbering the presidials almost two to one, Tarahumara and Ópata who could match the Apache arrow for arrow.¹

The forty-eight-year-old Bustamante, ranking officer of the combined expedition, owed his position more to blood than merit. A peninsular Spaniard and relative of New Mexico Governor Juan Domingo Bustamante, he had served without apparent distinction as lieutenant of the Santa Fe garrison and as lieutenant governor of the province. He had supervised the reestablishment of Sandía pueblo, brought in a few trespassing Frenchmen, and tried vainly to keep the Navajo at Cebolleta and Encinal.² In 1750 when Comanche ambushed a large hunting party of Pecos Indians killing a hundred and fifty of them, then ambushed the Spaniards sent out in response killing ten of them, Bustamante at the head of seven hundred men had ridden forth to punish the barbarians. The following account of what happened to don Bernardo while camped on the Arkansas River is based upon a sarcastic report by two Franciscans, obviously no admirers of the lieutenant governor.

Early one morning as the commander lay in bed *como si estuviera a el lado de su muger* (as if he were at his wife's side) a Comanche war party descended on the sleeping camp and ran off 1,131 horses. On pain of death Bustamante forbade pursuit, and instead returned to Santa Fe bragging of a victory. Almost on his heels came the Comanche to barter. Brazenly these Indians poked fun at the Spaniards and told how a mere ten warriors and twenty women had done the deed!³

Shortly thereafter don Bernardo left New Mexico to assume command at Cerro Gordo in Nueva Vizcaya.⁴ When that presidio was deactivated he received orders to build a new one for a sixty-man mobile company at Guajoquilla, today's Ciudad Jiménez in southern Chihuahua.⁵ As far south as his garrison was—nearly five

hundred miles from Todos Santos—Captain Bustamante had to reckon with the Gila Apache. To halt their frequent incursions he urged construction of another presidio, to plug the gap between El Paso and Janos, thereby preventing “numerous outrages of robbery and killing.”⁶ The other alternative was to carry the message of Spanish steel to the very lairs of the enemy. For that purpose, don Bernardo had ridden to the Gila in 1756.

His second-in-command, Captain Gabriel de Vildósola of Fronteras, enjoyed all the advantages of blood and station that Bustamante did, but he had talent too. Son of a hot-headed ex-governor of Sonora, the thirty-four-year-old Basque had earned a considerable reputation as an Indian fighter. He was in fact soon to be hailed “scourge of the Apache, hero of the entire province, and shining ornament of the Spanish military.”⁷ He may have brought with him to the Gila his young protégé, a fatherless lad by the name of Juan Bautista de Anza.

THOUGH Bancroft claimed for it “the first definitely recorded exploration of the region,”⁸ the Bustamante-Vildósola expedition was not without precedent. Nine years earlier the Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo had ordered a massive general campaign to crush once and for all the Gila Apache and their confederates, by which he meant all the hostiles—Western Apache, Yavapai, and others—who lived in and raided from the so-called *Apachería*, an immense crescent of territory stretching from the middle Río Grande west to the lower Colorado. Until the Spanish military cleared out this great rats’ nest, the king was wasting his *cédulas* when he called for colonization on the Gila and the Colorado, for reconquest of the apostate Hopi pueblos, and for a highway of communications between New Mexico and Sonora. On raid after raid hostile bands descended to steal and burn, then vanished into the fastness of their wild country; only to come again the next season, as one contemporary put it, “like the waves of the sea.”⁹

The 1747 campaign was meant to make the frontier safe for expansion. The viceroy’s goal of perhaps a thousand men in the

field required the cooperative effort of three provinces and five presidios—Santa Fe, El Paso, Janos, Fronteras, and Terrenate. So strongly did he feel about the campaign that he decreed a fine of six thousand pesos (about ten years' salary) as well as perpetual loss of rank for any presidial captain who defaulted; and for the governor of New Mexico an eight-thousand-peso fine and dismissal, or worse. As commander-in-chief he named the senior captain, Alonso Victores Rubí de Celis of El Paso, and as principal consultant, or *comisario*, for the campaign the prominent and controversial New Mexico friar Father Juan Miguel Menchero.

This was to be an all-out effort. Indicative were the viceroy's instructions to the captain at Terrenate: recruit as many Indian auxiliaries as you can, not only Upper Pima, but also Sobaípurí, Pápago, Cocomaricopa, Níxora, and all other tribes who hate Apache. The whole frontier was asked to contribute provisions. As usual the viceroy enjoined participants to offer the hostiles a chance to accept the Faith and settle down; if they refused—as he knew they would—then give them no quarter, have at them *a sangre y fuego*.¹⁰

At first the strategy called for a simultaneous invasion of the Apachería from all sides with the various contingents joining forces deep in enemy territory. But when the governor of New Mexico, Joaquín Codallos y Rabal, defaulted, the original plan of attack was scrapped. Codallos, who earlier had assured the viceroy "I shall do blindly all that is ordered of me,"¹¹ suddenly shifted priorities when Ute and "Chaguago" Indians savagely attacked Abiquiú. He simply did not have at his disposal the military resources to cope with the northern crisis and at the same time take part in the viceroy's pet project. Therefore, instead of dispatching thirty soldiers, forty settlers, and sixty Indians to rendezvous with Captain Rubí de Celis on the Mimbres River September 30, Governor Codallos girded against the northern raiders and set about gathering testimony to calm an angry viceroy.¹²

With the New Mexico contingent out of the picture, the remaining four commands combined for a march in force through the Apachería. In the grumbling, swearing, laughing expeditionary

force of seven hundred rode a young militia captain from El Paso, later colonial New Mexico's foremost cartographer. As engineer, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco was charged with mapping their route.¹³ Though neither the map nor any of the campaign journals demanded by the viceroy has come to light, it is possible from other contemporary sources, sketchy though they are, to piece together the expedition's futile operations.

Provisioned for a four-month campaign, they advanced up the Río Grande to the Jornada del Muerto and from there struck west for the Río Mimbres. Herding well over a thousand remounts, and strung out as they skirted the mountains, they gave clamorous notice of their presence. From the Mimbres Valley the expedition crossed over to the Gila, probably passing by the future site of Silver City. Small detachments operating from the main body charged into canyons and assaulted rocky summits in an effort to trap hostile bands. Although no body counts are available, they evidently took some captives.¹⁴

Descending the Gila into present-day Arizona they came upon and named the Río San Francisco. Following its course upstream the Spaniards and their mixed Indian allies campaigned north across the Mogollón Plateau. Now in the very heart of hostile territory, the seven hundred found no one to punish. The Apache, no fools, had temporarily vacated their haunts and were raiding the frontier with impunity.¹⁵

The big expedition of 1747 had a secondary objective: to explore approaches to the provinces of Zuñi and Hopi. Ever since the Great Revolt of 1680 the Hopi had thumbed their noses at Spanish domination. Though most Spaniards took for granted their eventual reconquest, a question of religious jurisdiction had arisen. Who would actually lead these wayward souls back to the lap of the Holy Mother Church, the Jesuits of Sonora or the Franciscans of New Mexico? Father Menchero, representing the latter, meant to insure a victory for the friars. When the weary column wound down out of the mountains onto the North Plains in the vicinity of Zuñi Salt Lake, no one knew just where they were. Menchero urged them on. When they came to a trail the irrepressible Fran-

ciscan volunteered to reconnoiter it with the Captain of Fronteras and a small detachment. It led to Ácoma. Doubling back with Ácoma and Laguna auxiliaries to guide them, Menchero and company rejoined the others and all moved on to Zuñi.¹⁶

There they found a large delegation of Hopi *principales* waiting for them. Having got word that Spaniards were coming, perhaps to build presidios in Hopi territory, these representatives had hastened to Zuñi to prostrate themselves before Captain Rubí de Celis and the friars "promising to do whatever was desired of them, and giving assurance that already they were completely loyal, even as before their rebellion."¹⁷ The Hopi performance was convincing, but the weather proved even more so. Fierce cold and heavy snows caused Rubí de Celis to cancel the proposed excursion to Hopi.¹⁸ At Zuñi he mustered out his Pima auxiliaries who made a beeline south for their desert thereby demonstrating the feasibility of a direct route between New Mexico and Sonora.¹⁹ He then ordered the rest of the expedition eastward toward the Río Grande. The Hopi went home smug.

The weather did not improve. Drifting snow impeded the progress of men and horses. By early December the half-frozen hundreds had reached the Río Grande near Albuquerque. Their only thoughts were of home. At this juncture Governor Codallos, having met the northern challenge, decided to join the general campaign. In a selfish effort to favorably impress the viceroy he sent his lieutenant governor, the trusty Bernardo de Bustamante, and a hundred and fifty-five men slogging through snow and ice to catch up with Rubí de Celis.²⁰ At Sevilleta, north of Socorro, they did. Rubí had absolutely no use for them then, and he told them so. Back in Santa Fe Bustamante reported that despite the foul weather he had, both going and coming, observed military regulations "with vanguard and rear guard and the remounts always close, night and day, with the necessary men for their protection and a change of pickets each of the four watches."²¹

The costly, little-known general offensive of 1747, "Father Menchero's campaign" as the people called it, had kept an estimated seven hundred men in the field for three months and a

thousand miles. Evidently the first large-scale, concerted effort against the Western Apache—a quarter century before the *Provincias Internas*—the 1747 campaign has been virtually ignored, probably because it failed so miserably.

“They returned,” wrote one high-ranking Jesuit bitterly, “without having gained a single advantage.”²² The harassed missionaries of Sonora, who had contributed Indian auxiliaries, horses, provisions, and money, complained that the Apache raiders were now bolder than ever. In 1754 the departing governor of Nueva Vizcaya warned his successor, “Today one cannot venture beyond the outskirts of Chihuahua without danger of enemy attack.”²³ The bishop of Durango, whose immense diocese included the beleaguered northwest, reported his revenues from tithes down fifty per cent on account of Indian depredations.²⁴

SOME OF THE MEN who camped at Todos Santos with Captains Bustamante and Vildósola late in November of 1756 were veterans of Father Menchero’s campaign. They had no illusions about the enemy. This time there was no talk of crushing the Gila Apache at one blow. They would search out and destroy hostiles wherever they found them, from the Gila Wilderness west to the San Simón Valley, in the hope that, as the Jesuit chaplain put it, “through punishment, the enemy’s boldness will be checked.” In other words, an eye for an eye.

The reports Bustamante and Vildósola submitted to headquarters, that is to the governors of Nueva Vizcaya and Sonora, have been lost or buried in the archives.²⁵ We have only the chaplain’s account. Not the routine daily log of a military man, the observations of Father Bartolomé Sáenz lack the continuity that would permit a precise camp-by-camp retracing of the expedition’s exact route. Yet he included much that would not have concerned a soldier.

Addressing himself to a Jesuit superior in Mexico City, Father Sáenz tried to provide information that would prove useful “should the reduction of this bellicose Apache nation ever be achieved.” Of

more interest to him than tallying Apache Indians killed or captured was the countryside itself, the varied scene of cactus and piñon pine, of impassable gorge and saline flat. He stressed the region's potential, limited though it was, and told of likely mission sites, of mesquite beans and mescal, of the fish in the Gila and the beaver on its banks. He commented on the Apache way of life and on the visible remains of earlier occupation. He was fascinated by a doll found in the debris of an Apache camp and by stone ruins and painted potsherds. As his horse sweated and stumbled under him he pondered the origin of the ancients who had built along the Gila. And he, like so many travelers after him, was led to speculate. Finally, with tongue in cheek, he told how the Sierra de Mogollón got its name.

For the swarthy, pock-marked, forty-one-year-old Father Sáenz, a Spaniard by birth, life on the frontier had been a constant trial. Some eight years earlier he had arrived at the notorious mission of Caborca in the Sonoran Desert. Try as he might he could not win the confidence of the fickle natives. Day after day they opposed him, till finally he broke under the strain and begged to be recalled. His superiors considered the case, then entrusted him to the good-natured missionary at Guevavi near present-day Nogales, Arizona, for occupational therapy. A few months later, a new man, he accepted the mission of Cuquiárachi south of today's Douglas.²⁶ There, with the presidials at Fronteras as neighbors and with his Ópata charges seemingly content, Father Sáenz might have looked forward to an uneventful ministry—but for the Gila Apache.

Time and again they swept down to terrorize his mission. One San Juan's Day eve four of his Ópata were outside sawing boards for a new cart. Before they knew it, the Apache had them: three died, one got away.²⁷ On the trail to Todos Santos in 1756, Bartolomé Sáenz no longer needed therapy. By this time, he was a veteran.

For weeks they chased Apache on the upper Gila. Then in column they swung south to San Simón. Ahead in the distance loomed the dark and rocky Sierra de Chiricahua, traditional gathering place of Apache raiders. Looking over their fatigued

men and spent horses, the captains decided against an assault. Instead they declared the campaign at an end, parted company, and rode for their respective presidios with what captives and booty they had. The final tally as recorded by the governor of Sonora credited the campaign with thirty braves killed, two brought back alive, and thirty-seven women and children captured,²⁸ which totals, incidentally, do not square with those of Father Sáenz. Soon Apache spokesmen appeared to negotiate the usual exchanges. To ransom their dependents, the hostiles agreed to deliver up "their wretched Christian captives who wail in barbarous confinement under their crude mistreatment."²⁹

The 1756 Bustamante-Vildósola expedition killed some Apache braves, giving the others something to think about and something to avenge; it brought back Apache women and children for use as slaves or for barter; it proved that Spaniards were men; but as a deterrent to future Apache raiding, it, like Father Menchero's campaign, failed notably. "During November and December . . . 1756," wrote Father Sáenz' superiors in their annual report to Rome,

the Captain of Fronteras penetrated to the most remote places of these Apache, taking many prisoners and leaving not a few of the enemy dead . . . a demanding journey that covered nearly two hundred leagues [over five hundred miles]. With all this, who would have believed it? Hardly had he returned to his presidio when the Apache returned to their attacks on our missions. Although the same captain successfully drove them back again . . . they caused several deaths, committed depredations, stole whatever they found, and everywhere spread new though familiar terror and sudden dread.³⁰

A year later Chaplain Sáenz rode again with Captain Vildósola and Lieutenant Anza on an arduous mid-summer campaign to and beyond the Gila. Again they took captives. When the Jesuit questioned these Apache about the dark-colored blankets and buffalo robes they had in their possession, he was made to understand that these trade items had come from a sheep-raising people seven days to the north. They must mean the Hopi, reasoned Sáenz, who

proceeded in his report to outline a scheme whereby Jesuit chaplains operating from the south with military expeditions might peacefully penetrate and lure back to the Church the apostate Hopi pueblos.³¹ That the king and the Jesuit hierarchy had already conceded the spiritual reconquest of the Hopi to the Franciscans of New Mexico had not apparently impressed Bartolomé Sáenz.

The Gila Apache kept coming. Father Sáenz grew increasingly critical of the inadequate protection afforded his mission by his neighbor Captain Vildósola.³² The retaliatory expeditions seemed only to provoke the Apache further. A bolder solution was needed. Bishop Pedro Tamarón y Romeral of Durango, reviving the one-mighty-blow strategy of 1747, conceived of a great pincers movement that would encompass the entire Apachería. The crux of the bishop's proposal was an invasion of infantrymen—three to four thousand of them!—supported by presidial cavalry. Judged financially and militarily unfeasible, the plan did provide a theoretical precedent for later general campaigns.³³ New Mexico map maker Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, who looked upon the hostile “Province of Gila” as Spain's one great obstacle to expansion north and northwest, offered an alternative. Instead of hit-or-miss expeditions from without, he called for the establishment of three heavily garrisoned settlements within—one in the valley of San Pedro de Alcántara,³⁴ apparently in the vicinity of Todos Santos; a second on the Río Mimbres; and a third on the Río Grande opposite the paraje of San Pascual some forty-five miles north of today's Truth or Consequences.³⁵ Miera's plan too was deemed impracticable.

By the late 1780's a partially effective solution had been put into effect. It involved three proven elements: 1) Indian diplomacy designed to break up key hostile alliances—Gila Apache and Navajo, for example—and set enemy against enemy; 2) a large-scale program of welfare and trade concessions to reward and render dependent those bands who chose to ally with the Spaniards or settle down; and 3) relentless military pursuit of unregenerates. The Western Apache were in a sense controlled,³⁶ and for a generation the frontier breathed easier. But it proved only a respite. In the welter of Independence, Mexico killed the dole and that killed

the peace. When the U.S. Army marched in at mid-century, the region was as much a lair for Apache marauders as it had been a hundred years earlier.

It is not surprising that the soldiers in blue believed themselves the first campaigners on the Río Gila, or that they considered their occasional victories uniquely heroic.³⁷ Colonels Dixon S. Miles and W. W. Loring had never heard of Captains Bustamante and Vildósola.³⁸ They were as ignorant of their Spanish predecessors as was James Ohio Pattie, that footloose braggart who during the mid-1820's trapped beaver on the upper Gila, "a river," in his words, "never before explored by white people."³⁹

That would have amused Bartolomé Sáenz, who observed the same animal on the same river a long time before.

FATHER SÁENZ' superiors filed his brief chronicle in the central archive of the Jesuit Province of New Spain in Mexico City. In 1767 with the summary expulsion of that Order, the Sáenz document and hundreds more bearing upon the northern missions passed to the Franciscans. Late in the century the chaplain's account was copied and included in the so-called "Memorias de Nueva España," a monumental collection sent to Spain as documentation for a proposed general history of the Indies. Today the triplicate set of the Memorias is preserved in Mexico City as the first thirty-two volumes of the Archivo General's Sección de Historia.

In the case of the Sáenz document the eighteenth-century copyist not only left out several lines and altered others, but he also mistranscribed the author's name—Father Sáenz became Father Sánchez. This copy later appeared in print in *Documentos para la historia de México*, Cuarta Serie, tomo 1 (México, 1856), pp. 88-94, inaccuracies and all. Hubert Howe Bancroft, following the *Documentos* version, devoted a paragraph and a long footnote (*North Mexican States*, vol. 1, p. 557) to the Bustamante-Vildósola expedition, citing as his source Father Bartolomé Sánchez.

Meanwhile, the Mexican government had suppressed religious houses and confiscated their archives. Most of the material seized wound up in the newly created Biblioteca Nacional, where the original of Father Sáenz' report remains today, part of the immensely rich manuscript division.⁴⁰

THE CHAPLAIN'S ACCOUNT

Important The Peace of Christ, etc.

My very esteemed Father Procurator and Rector

Juan Antonio Baltasar:⁴¹

Now that Father Visitor Carlos de Rojas⁴² has requested the annual financial statements and letters for Your Reverence, I am taking the opportunity of sending this with the desire that Your Reverence enjoys perfect health, and that the short account you have waited for suffices as best it can. Actually I still do not know if Your Reverence has done me the favor this year of sending all or part of what I requested last year for our dependents.

Having been designated by the Father Visitor, I set out on November 1 [1756] with Captain don Gabriel on an Apache campaign. We proceeded from this presidio of Fronteras⁴³ on a direct line northeastward some eighty-four leagues to the place called Todos Santos.⁴⁴ This is where the Río Gila issues forth from the great Sierra de Mogollón,⁴⁵ of whose interior, until now, nothing has been known, and consequently nothing of the source of this extremely large river. At this rendezvous we were joined by sixty regulars from the presidios of Janos, Agua Nueva and Guajoquilla⁴⁶ commanded by Captain don Bernardo de Bustamante, and sixty Tarahumara archers. Added to those who accompanied us they brought our total strength to one hundred and ten regulars and two hundred auxiliary archers, for we had brought with us one hundred and forty Ópatas and some fifty regulars, ten from the presidio of Terrenate,⁴⁷ and the rest from this presidio of Fronteras, as well as a number of citizens from the Oposura Valley.⁴⁸

In getting to this place [Todos Santos] to join forces on November 24, we had time to spare. It was not wasted however. Instead, the following ranges were reconnoitered in search of the enemy: the Pitaicachi, Embudos, Espuelas, Enmedio, and Las Ánimas, these being southeast of this presidio in the direction of Janos.⁴⁹ Only in the Sierra de las Ánimas were traces of a *ranchería*⁵⁰ found, and although five braves were overtaken, because they were erroneously thought to be an advanced party of Ópata, they managed to get themselves out of the neat circle which our men were already forming.

From the Sierra de las Ánimas via the waterhole in the Playa de Santo Domingo⁵¹ we traveled to the north, beyond that waterhole some thirty leagues through an area without water, until we reached the Río Gila. On this leg of the journey while searching for water in a canyon, enemy tracks were discovered accidentally. Following them, the soldiers succeeded in killing two and in capturing another two in the range they call the Peñol de los Janeros.⁵²

From the Gila we proceeded, more to the east than to the north, some twelve leagues to the waterhole of Santa Lucía⁵³ through rough terrain, and from there six more leagues to the waterhole of Todos Santos. Here it was intended to reconnoiter the Sierra de Mogollón, though the reconnaissance was carried out only in so far as thirty Tarahumara climbed one of the summits near the outlet of the Gila to see if there were a route into the interior along the river bed. They went up at night, and they observed the following day that at a short distance from the outlet two forks of the stream united forming the Gila. The first, of greater volume, flowed from south to north; the second from north to south, and both, once joined, flowed west.⁵⁴ The way along the river bed revealed itself to all appearances impossible because the many boulders would have prevented passage of the horses, and even more so in the narrows that were described up the forks.

At this point a detachment set out to the north for the Río de San Francisco⁵⁵ to find out if by following its bed or banks one could get through either to the northeast, the direction from which it flows, or to the west, toward which it runs. It was found impass-

able in either direction because of the narrow gorge between sheer crags of great height along its banks. During this journey from one river to the other, some twenty leagues, the soldiers came upon the tracks of two rancherías. At the first they were only able to capture a single brave and kill two; at the second, seven women and children (*piezas*) were seized. Both rancherías were in flight, having got word of the nearness of our troops.

From Todos Santos on, one begins to see ruins of ancient buildings with square patios, as well as other vestiges of earthenware jugs, ollas, and pots decorated with a variety of colors of paints.⁵⁶ On the ground I also saw clearly that they had brought an irrigation ditch which carried the water to their fields at that very extensive site. It is large enough for a fine town or mission should the reduction of this bellicose Apache nation ever be achieved. At the place called La Casita downriver to the west there is another similar site, perhaps ten leagues distant.⁵⁷ Here also I saw similar ruins. I am convinced that between here and the Pimería, toward which the currents of this river lead, the Seven Cities, of which there is some knowledge, must have been built.⁵⁸

Ten leagues from this site of La Casita, also downriver, we came upon another similar and extensive one.⁵⁹ Because it was new to as many of us as gathered there, and because it was an excellent wanderers' rest, it was given the name of San Francisco Xavier. Six leagues from here in the same direction, Captain don Gabriel de Vildósola assured me, the levelness of the country along this river was much more apparent. It was not possible to go on down to the confluence of the Gila and the equally large San Francisco, as I wished to, because our main objective remained the same. Thus, the fact that traces of a ranchería had been found in the area between the two rivers caused the commanding captain, don Bernardo de Bustamante, to seek their punishment. This resulted in his capturing eleven women and children and leaving three of the enemy dead in the field.

No less good fortune accompanied Captain don Gabriel operating from Todos Santos on the bank of the Gila nearest the San Francisco along a stretch of some five leagues where the river flows

through a gorge.⁶⁰ Pursuing another ranchería he surmounted the heights and by sheer determination stayed on its trail against a torrent of hardships caused by the rugged terrain, until he succeeded to the greatest degree in the greatest triumph. Indeed, that stronghold only provided the enemy, wishing to flee the assault, with a fatal precipice. There seventeen women and children were captured in addition to those of the enemy who died obstinate in their defense, who apparently were seven in number.

United at the place called La Casita, we continued on to San [Francisco] Xavier. Six leagues from here both a group of fifty Ópata who were accompanying don Gabriel and he himself came upon different tracks, which they followed in two detachments. These tracks led them to the Sierra de San Marcial⁶¹ south of the Gila. Both rancherías, in different places, were assaulted, ten women and children were captured, and three of the enemy were left dead, if not more, because the number only wounded who fled was not calculated.

From San Xavier we swung back to the south to San Simón⁶² where the troops separated because of the impossibility of operating in the Sierra Chiricahua (*Chiguicagui*), an extremely rugged range. We returned to this presidio [Fronteras] with the horses in bad shape on account of the diseased swelling of their feet (*gabarro*) they suffered at the outset of the campaign. Something at least had been done to see if, through punishment, the boldness of the enemy would be checked. Fifteen captive children came to my village of Cuquiárachi to see if any sort of work gang (*pueblo*) could be made of them. Captain don Gabriel determined this, and the governor approved it.

Because the Apache had turned to robbery even during feigned peace and had stolen some cattle from the vicinity of the presidio, once again last February 21 the captain sent word that auxiliaries be recruited from these villages. Proceeding to the Sierra Chiricahua, more than thirty leagues distant, they succeeded in killing seven, counting men and women, and they brought back twenty-one captive children. They say that there were many Apache in this range, and it does not surprise me, because at this season al-

ready the rancherías are gathering in a certain rugged area nearby. The braves come together to plan their campaign, after which they divide up into bands to rob and kill throughout the whole province, just as we have experienced these past years.⁶³ I well know that don Gabriel wants to gather auxiliaries and set out next month on a campaign, though the rigors of winter leave the horses in such bad shape I do not know that they could last long on such a campaign.

The Apache country possesses sites for settlement only along the Río Gila. San Bernardino, fifteen leagues distant from this presidio, would support some population.⁶⁴ The place called San Simón in addition to being alkaline does not accumulate sufficient water for this purpose, although the land is extremely open. It is twenty-two leagues from San Bernardino. From San Simón north to San Xavier on the Gila must be just short of twenty leagues. The Cañada de Guadalupe,⁶⁵ San Luis,⁶⁶ and the Playa de Santo Domingo hardly have enough water to raise cattle alone. Only at the waterhole in the Cañada de Santa Lucía near Todos Santos is there some, as well as decent lands for a small settlement.

Of the various mountain ranges the largest, most massive, and roughest appears to be the Mogollón, although up until now it was thought to be the Chiricahua. The latter range, because it is not a source of water, being located in such a cold place, seems less commendable than the former. Moreover, from appearances, it is plainly just a great lofty spine some fifteen leagues long.⁶⁷

The Apache plant plots of maize from Todos Santos along the entire Río Gila and in the Cañada de Santa Lucía. From the place called La Casita on up the Gila and around Santa Lucía there are already many piñon pines. Mescal⁶⁸ begins at about the half-way point between the Gila and San Simón coming this way. On the plains of the Playa de Santo Domingo and San Simón one finds an abundance of mesquite beans (*péchita*),⁶⁹ and in the rocky places close by the Indians have bored holes in the shape of mortars in which to grind them. In addition, even on the plains themselves they have stones bored in this fashion and metates.

As for game, there are deer, mule deer, pronghorn, rabbits, jack rabbits, and quail. The Gila abounds with two kinds of fish about

three quarters of a vara and even a full vara [about thirty-three inches] long. Although the *matalote* is somewhat bony and also appears to be not very heavy there, the other kind is very easy on the digestion.⁷⁰ I did not see, nor did I learn that they had caught even a single catfish, which is all one finds here in Sonora in the rivers. The Gila also nurtures beaver which gnaw and fell the willows and cottonwoods.⁷¹ Shrub willows also are found along its banks.

The Apache do not seem to have permanent homes; instead, wherever they stop to gather a bit of maize or grass seed,⁷² they build a few little half-huts of no more than branches. In the ranchería that don Gabriel assaulted, a decorated doll of *jigüites*⁷³ and little deer hoofs was found; also many prepared deer skins and buffalo hides which they say are brought by the Comanche, whom the Apache call Natage,⁷⁴ in trade for horses and mules.

The distance from Todos Santos to New Mexico, don Bernardo de Bustamante maintained, he would cover without doubt in three days; and several more experienced persons who had already gone from there to Zuñi said the same thing.⁷⁵ The name Mogollón came to be applied to that range, Bustamante related, because a governor of New Mexico named Mogollón⁷⁶ was on the trail of some horse-stealing Apache who drove them into that range on the New Mexico side. Some citizens who were ahead of him entered the mountains but seeing their extreme ruggedness and that the horses were in there, turned around to get out. Just then the governor arrived. When asked, the citizens informed him that the horses were in a place from which it would be impossible to free them because of bad terrain and because the Apache were many. He scoffed at this reasoning and, attributing it to their cowardice, commanded his soldiers to enter. And with them he went directly to where the horses were. As he got near them, so many Apache sprang forth upon him that he had to depart with the greatest difficulty, fleeing, leaving behind him dead seven of his soldiers. He even lost his hat. This memorable event gave to the range the name of Mogollón.⁷⁷

This is what can be noted. If indeed some of it is worthy of note, it is because of the diligence Your Reverence displays in the ac-

quisition of information that may facilitate the conversion of these heathens whose invasions have ruined the inhabitants of these frontiers. Your Reverence will pardon the nuisance and overlook with your accustomed charity the defects of so prolix a narrative.

May God Our Lord guard the life of Your Reverence many years. I commend myself to your Masses. Village of San Xavier de Cuchuta,⁷⁸ March 6, 1757.

I serve Your Reverence from the heart,

Bartolomé Sáenz, S.J.

*De Ma. Sáenz ex corde
Bartolome Sáenz*


NOTES

1. Max L. Moorhead, "The Soldado de Cuera: Stalwart of the Spanish Borderlands," *Journal of the West*, vol. 8 (1969), pp. 38-55. For an enlightening discussion of arrow-shooting Indian versus firearm-toting Spaniard, see also Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla, 1964), pp. 65-69. The key role of Indian auxiliaries on the northern frontier is spelled out in Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest* (Norman, 1966).

2. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (Santa Fe, 1954), p. 150. Henry W. Kelly, "Franciscan Missions of New Mexico 1740-1760," *NMHR*, vol. 16 (1941), pp. 47-48, 63-67, 266-69.

3. Fr. Juan Sanz de Lezaun and Fr. Manuel Bermejo to Fr. Juan Antonio Abasolo, Santa Ana, Oct. 29, 1750; Biblioteca Nacional, México, Archivo Franciscano, New Mexico documents (BNM), leg. 8, no. 82. Kelly, pp. 181-83.

4. Patente de capitán, Buen Retiro, April 4, 1752; Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain (AGI), Audiencia de Guadalajara (Guad.), leg. 506. By 1752 Bustamante had served twenty years in the frontier military. For another twenty years and more he would remain as captain of the Guajoquilla garrison, even after its move north to San Elzeario in the 1770's.

5. Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, México, Oct. 26, 1753; Archivo General de la Nación, México (AGN), Provincias Internas, tomo 94. Navarro García, pp. 111-12. Francisco R. Almada, *Resumen de historia del estado de Chihuahua* (México, 1955), pp. 110-11.

6. Informe, Bustamante, San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua, Aug. 29, 1754; AGI, Guad., leg. 194.

7. Salvador Ignacio de la Peña, S.J., "Convite Evangélico . . . 1760," cap. 15; University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Film 71. The king confirmed Vildósola as captain of Fronteras in 1754. Patente de capitán, Buen Retiro, Nov. 20, 1754; AGI, Guad., leg. 506. In 1766 during his inspection of the northern presidios, the Marqués de Rubí, who had no praise for Bustamante, described Vildósola as "one of the most commendable officers of these provinces and worthy of being distinguished by some show of the Royal Gratitude." Extractos de revista, Guajoquilla, May 25, 1766, and Fronteras, Nov. 20, 1766; AGI, Guad., leg. 511. For a brief biographical

sketch of Vildósola, see Almada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía sonorenses* (Chihuahua, 1952), pp. 826-27.

8. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States*, vol. 1 (San Francisco, 1884), p. 557, n. 12.

9. Informe, José de Berroterán, México, April 17, 1748; quoted in Navarro García, p. 108.

10. Revillagigedo to Gov. Joaquín Codallos y Rabal, México, June 22, 1747, transmitting campaign plan of the Marqués de Altamira, México, June 14, 1747; Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State of New Mexico Records Center, Santa Fe (SANM), no. 479.

11. Obedecimiento, Gov. Codallos, Santa Fe, July 30, 1747; *ibid.*

12. Diligencia, Gov. Codallos, Santa Fe, Dec. 6, 1747; SANM, no. 483. The raid took place in August; a girl and an old woman were killed and twenty-three women and children carried off. Years later Father Sanz de Lezaun recalled Codallos' ineffective measures to punish the enemy, alleging that Comanche, not "the poor heathen Yutas," had been to blame. Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 3 (Washington, 1937), pp. 476-77. Kelly, p. 180. The name Chaguago, variously spelled, referred to a Ute subgroup.

13. Memorial, Miera y Pacheco, enclosed with his letter to the king, San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua, Oct. 26, 1777; BNM, leg. 10, no. 39. A 1758 Miera map, including the territory traversed by the 1747 expedition, is in AGN, Californias, tomo 39.

14. Eleanor B. Adams, ed., *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760* (Albuquerque, 1954), p. 89.

15. Juan Antonio Baltasar, S.J., in *Apostólicos afares de la Compañía de Jesús [1754]* (México, 1944), pp. 431-32.

16. Adams, p. 89.

17. Fr. Silvestre Vélez de Escalante to Gov. Pedro Fermín de Mendieta, Zuñi, Oct. 28, 1775; BNM, leg. 10, n. 28a; translated in Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (Norman, 1932), pp. 150-58.

18. Menchero to the Vice Comisario General, Santa Fe, Feb. 29, 1748; BNM, leg. 8, no. 52.

19. Vélez de Escalante to Mendieta, Oct. 28, 1775. To further prove the feasibility of travel between New Mexico and Sonora, Vélez told the story of Manuel Tomás, a Christian mestizo servant of don Joaquín Rodríguez, chaplain of the Terrenate garrison in Sonora. While en route to hear a confession one day in 1754 don Joaquín and his party were set upon by

Gila Apache under the notorious chief Chafalote. The lone survivor, Manuel Tomás, was led blindfolded six days north to the hostiles' secluded ranchería near the Río San Francisco. There he was rescued by the lieutenant alcalde of Zuñi, don Marcial Barrera, and a hundred Zuñi warriors operating three days south of Zuñi. Brought to New Mexico, Manuel Tomás was living proof that the journey could be made from south to north.

20. Diligencia, Codallos, Dec. 6, 1747.

21. Derrotero, Bustamante, Santa Fe, Dec. 24, 1747; SANM, no. 483. Jones, pp. 118-20.

22. Baltasar, p. 432. Gerard Decorme, S.J., *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572-1767*, vol. 2 (México, 1941), p. 436.

23. Gov. Alonso de Gastezi quoted in Navarro García, pp. 112-13.

24. Navarro García, p. 113.

25. Not even in the 1770's, 1780's, and 1790's, when other expeditions were projected into the upper Gila country to punish Apache and open communications between Sonora and New Mexico, did anyone cite the precedent of the 1756 campaign. Thomas, pp. 30-56, *et passim*; and George P. Hammond, "The Zuñiga Journal, Tucson to Santa Fé: The Opening of a Spanish Trade Route, 1788-1795," NMHR, vol. 6 (1931), pp. 40-65.

26. AGI, Contratación, leg. 5550. John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691-1767* (Tucson, 1970), p. 97.

27. Bartolomé Sánchez [sic] to Father José Roldán, Cuquiárachi, July 24, 1758; printed in *Documentos para la historia de México*, Cuarta Serie, tomo 1 (México, 1856), pp. 94-97.

28. Gov. Juan de Mendoza to Father Carlos de Rojas, San Miguel de Horcasitas, Feb. 15, 1757; *ibid.*, pp. 84-88. Navarro García, p. 87.

29. Mendoza to Rojas, Feb. 15, 1757.

30. Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., ed., *Misiones norteñas mexicanas de la Compañía de Jesús, 1751-1757* (México, 1963), pp. 38-39.

31. Sánchez [sic] to Roldán, July 24, 1758. Bancroft, p. 558.

32. Except for a brief assignment at the mission of Banámichi, Father Sáenz continued to serve at Cuquiárachi until the Jesuits' rude expulsion in 1767. He died in November 1768 on his way to exile, a victim of the cruel march across Mexico. Alberto F. Pradeau, *La expulsión de los jesuitas de las provincias de Sonora, Ostimuri y Sinaloa en 1767* (México, 1959), pp. 221-24.

33. Adams, pp. 87-94. Navarro García, pp. 122-24.

34. It is possible that the 1747 expedition, of which Miera was a member, reached the Gila Valley near Todos Santos on the feast day of the Spanish Franciscan San Pedro de Alcántara, October 19, and that Father Menchero named the place in honor of that saint.

35. Miera to the king, Oct. 26, 1777.
36. See Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier: Jacobo Ugarte and Spanish-Indian Relations in Northern New Spain, 1769-1791* (Norman, 1968), pp. 115-42, 170-99.
37. See Ralph Hedrick Ogle, *Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886* (Albuquerque, 1970); and Dan L. Thrapp, *The Conquest of Apacheria* (Norman, 1967).
38. Cols. Miles and Loring commanded the southern and northern columns respectively of Col. B. L. Bonneville's 1857 offensive against the Western Apache. Miles' southern column "moved quickly into an unknown country along the upper Gila." Ogle, p. 38. For much of the way in fact Miles retraced the 1756 route of Bustamante and Vildósola. See "A Map of the scout of Lt. Col. Miles's southern column through the country of the Coyotero Apaches in June and July 1857, by B. L. E. Bonneville," Aug. 1857; National Archives, Record Group No. 77.
39. Timothy Flint, ed., *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky* (Chicago, 1930), p. 71.
40. Carpeta 197/875. Father Norman M. Whalen of Benson, Arizona, kindly loaned me his microfilm of the original Sáenz document.
41. The influential Father Baltasar, who had served from 1750 to 1753 as Father Provincial, highest-ranking Jesuit in New Spain, was now rector of the Colegio de San Andrés in Mexico City as well as procurator, or treasurer, of the missions. For a biographical sketch, see Peter M. Dunne, S.J., *Juan Antonio Balthasar, Padre Visitador to the Sonora Frontier, 1744-1745* (Tucson, 1957), pp. 33-44.
42. Father Rojas, missionary at Arizpe, had been named Father Visitor, or superior, of the Sonora missions in 1753. During much of his long career he held some elevated position, including that of Father Visitor General of all the Jesuit missions in northwestern New Spain. Pradeau, pp. 210-14.
43. Thirty miles south of present-day Douglas, the presidio of Fronteras had been erected in the early 1690's to protect the northeastern sector of the Sonora frontier.
44. Todos Santos, in the vicinity of today's Cliff, had been suggested a decade earlier by Vildósola's father as a possible site for a 100-man presidio. Navarro García, pp. 89-90. Though Miera y Pacheco failed to show it on his 1758 map, in the 1760's the name appeared on several maps whose makers seem to have relied on the Sáenz account for their renditions of the upper Gila region. See for example, "Sonorae Tabulam," *ibid.*, no. 65, following p. 112. On Gerónimo de la Rocha y Figueroa's 1784 map of the upper Gila and environs, Todos Santos was again omitted. Thomas, map following p. 252. For a thorough treatment of later U.S. forts and encamp-

ments in the area, see Lee Myers, "Military Establishments in Southwestern New Mexico: Stepping Stones to Settlement," NMHR, vol. 43 (1968), pp. 5-48. A league was equal to about two and a half miles in this case. Eighty-four leagues, or two hundred and ten miles, *on a direct line* would have put the Vildósola contingent well beyond Todos Santos. Counting their deviations, however, they might easily have covered that distance.

45. Father Sáenz included as part of the Sierra de Mogollón the mountains labeled on some present maps the Diablo Range. From his vantage point near Todos Santos he could see only the southern portion of the Mogollón Mountains.

46. The garrisons of Janos, Agua Nueva, and Guajoquilla guarded Nueva Vizcaya; all were located in the present Mexican state of Chihuahua. Janos, founded in 1690, lay some ninety miles south of the midway point between Lordsburg and Deming, New Mexico. It was the next presidio east of Fronteras on the cordon. Agua Nueva was one of the garrisoned haciendas north of Chihuahua City. Guajoquilla, far south, stood within the limits of today's Ciudad Jiménez. The Marqués de Rubí visited them all. For descriptions, see Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *The Frontiers of New Spain, Nicolás de Lafora's Description, 1766-1768* (Berkeley, 1958).

47. Built and manned in 1742, the presidio of Terrenate was located in Sonora on the headwaters of the Río San Pedro some twenty miles due south of present-day Fort Huachuca, Arizona. At the very time that the Bustamante-Vildósola expedition was operating on the upper Gila, Captain Francisco Elías of Terrenate was pursuing a destructive band of Gila Pimas farther downstream to the west. Father Baltasar heard about this expedition too from another Jesuit chaplain. Arthur D. Gardiner, ed., "Letter of Father Middendorff, S.J., Dated from Tucson, 3 March 1757," *The Kiva*, vol. 22 (1957), pp. 1-10.

48. South of Fronteras in the valley of the river now called the Moctezuma, formerly the Río de Oposura, there lived a large Spanish population.

49. The Sierras de Pitaicachi, Embudos, Espuelas, and Enmedio seem to have been close to or parts of the present Sierras de la Cabellera and San Luis lying along the state line between Sonora and Chihuahua just south of the international border, while the Sierra de las Ánimas was the Ánimas Range of extreme southwestern New Mexico.

50. Father Sáenz used the word *ranchería* to refer both to a group of Apache and to the temporary villages or camps in which they lived.

51. In the Playas region south of Lordsburg.

52. Likely the Pyramid Mountains immediately south of Lordsburg.

53. Early U.S. Army maps show the Ojo de Santa Lucía some six to ten miles up Mangas Creek from its confluence with the Gila. It is known today as Mangas Spring. Myers, p. 10.

54. The Jesuit seems to be describing the confluence of Turkey Creek, the northern or smaller fork, and the Gila proper, the larger southern fork, a dozen miles upstream from Cliff. From the top of a prominent peak on the north side of the river, evidently the one climbed by the Tarahumara, the ruggedness of both canyons can be seen. Just downstream from this confluence is the proposed Hooker Dam site.

55. The San Francisco River, a major tributary of the Gila, flows south from extreme west central New Mexico, crosses over into Arizona, and joins the Gila south of the town of Clifton.

56. For a brief general description of the ruins in this area, see A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, Part 2 (Cambridge, 1892), pp. 347-65. Neither Walter Hough's *Antiquities of the Upper Gila and Salt River Valleys in Arizona and New Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 35 (Washington, 1907) nor his *Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the Upper Gila River Region, New Mexico and Arizona*, United States National Museum, *Bulletin* 87 (Washington, 1914) covers the specific sector of the Gila traversed by Father Sáenz, though the various items of material culture discussed and illustrated presumably are similar to those mentioned by the Jesuit. See also Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, "Pueblo Sites in Southeastern Arizona," *University of California Publications in Geography*, vol. 3 (1930), pp. 415-58.

57. Like Todos Santos, La Casita had been suggested in 1746 as a possible presidial site. Navarro García, pp. 89-90. The ruins must have been considerable; some maps of the 1760's show a structure there. Captain Manuel de Echeagaray broke camp at "la Casita de Gila" on October 23, 1788. The very same day fifty-eight years later, Lt. W. H. Emory mentioned in the same area passing by "one of the long-sought ruins." *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 7 (Washington, 1848), p. 64. La Casita stood in the vicinity of present Redrock, New Mexico.

58. Vestiges of ancient civilization along this stretch of the Gila seemed to stimulate the traveler's imagination. Ninety years after Father Sáenz, Emory commented in a similar vein: "We were now approaching the regions made famous in olden times by the fables of Friar Marcos, and eagerly did we ascend every mound, expecting to see in the distance . . . the fabulous 'Casa Montezuma.'" Emory, p. 64.

59. Near today's Duncan, Arizona. In this area Emory passed "the ruins of two more villages similar to those of yesterday." *Ibid.*, p. 65.

60. Evidently this was the "Cañada de Todos Santos" scoured by a detachment of the Cordero expedition in late November 1785. Thomas, p.

289. The canyon though deep is wide enough in places to afford ideal campsites. Much of it will be flooded if Hooker Dam is built.

61. The northernmost portion of the Peloncillo Mountains just across the state line into Arizona, or perhaps the nearby Whitlock Mountains.

62. In the vicinity of modern San Simón, Arizona, in the valley of the same name.

63. Speaking in 1796 of Apache raiding strategy, Lt. Col. Antonio Cordero asserted that "Once an offensive expedition has been decided upon . . . they choose in the interior of some mountain range of the district a rugged terrain which is defended by nature, provided with water and wild fruits, where they leave their families in safety with a small escort. They leave this place divided into small parties . . . and they come together again at the time and place agreed upon, near the country which they have decided to invade." Daniel S. Matson and Albert H. Schroeder, eds., "Cordero's Description of the Apache—1796," NMHR, vol. 32 (1957), p. 345. It would be difficult to imagine a more desirable base of operations from the Apaches' standpoint than the rocky, almost impenetrable Chiricahuas of southern Arizona.

64. In the mid-1770's the presidial garrison of Fronteras was moved north temporarily to San Bernardino, a site west of Douglas, and evidently just south of the international border. During the early Mexican period, raiding Apache caused the abandonment of a large cattle ranch in the area. For a description of "the ruins of the hacienda of San Bernardino" in 1851, see John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua*, vol. 1 (New York, 1854), pp. 255-56.

65. On the 1784 map by Rocha, the Cañada de Guadalupe is a pass through the mountains just east of San Bernardino, the same Guadalupe Pass through which Cooke's emigrant road later wound its way. Bartlett called it "a frightful cañon." *Ibid.*, pp. 252-55; illustration following p. 254.

66. San Luis was on the eastern side of the Sierra de Embudos, part of the present Sierra de San Luis.

67. This would seem to be an accurate rendering in the context of the report, yet the Spanish reads: *De las Sierras la maior mas corpulenta y aspera parece ser la de Mogollon, aunque hasta aora estaba en inteligencia de que lo era Chiguicagui, pero el mismo no ser manantial de Aguas en Parage tan frio parece que no la haze tan recomendable á esta, fuera de que á la vista solo se manifiesta ser un espinazo largo y encumbrado, como 15 leguas.*

68. The Apaches' "principal delicacies," according to Cordero, "are the mescal. There are various kinds taken from the hearts of the maguey, sotol, palmilla and lechuguilla; and it is used by cooking it with a slow fire in a

subterranean fireplace, until it acquires a certain degree of sweetness and piquancy." Matson and Schroeder, pp. 338-39.

69. Father Pfefferkorn who served for more than two decades as a missionary in Sonora described the Indians' preparation and consumption of *péchita* in *Sonora: A Description of the Province*, trans. by Theodore E. Treutlein (Albuquerque, 1949), pp. 71-72.

70. The *Matalote*, perhaps the hump-back sucker or the Colorado River squawfish, was recorded in New Mexican waters from the early seventeenth century. For a discussion of it and other native fish, see *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630*, trans. by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer (Chicago, 1916; reprint, Albuquerque, 1965), pp. 261-62, n. 41. While excavating Santa Cruz de Quíburi on the San Pedro, a major tributary of the Gila, archeologists found the vertebrae of large fish, presumably eaten by both Indian and Spanish residents of the area. These were identified "as belonging to the Colorado River squawfish (often called Colorado 'salmon'). . . . a predatory minnow . . . attaining a reported length of 6 feet and a weight of 100 pounds." Dr. Robert R. Miller, quoted in Charles C. DiPeso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southeastern Arizona* (Dragoon, Arizona, 1953), p. 236. Early Anglo-American travelers were impressed by the abundance of fish in the upper Gila. Emory described a trout-like fish, without scales, that tasted more like catfish. Emory, p. 62; illustration facing p. 62. The Apache, however, were not fish eaters, reported Cordero, "but they kill them also and keep the bones [spines] for different uses . . ." Matson and Schroeder, p. 345.

71. As for the beaver, the Apache esteemed it, wrote Cordero, both "for the taste of its flesh [*sic*] and the usefulness of its hide." *Ibid.* By the mid-1820's the first of a long succession of trappers had begun to exploit the beaver supply on the upper Gila. James Ohio Pattie described at length his party's good hunting. Flint, pp. 71-106.

72. "They likewise make a sort of grits or pinol of the seed of hay or grass which they reap with much care in its season, although in small quantities (since they are not by nature farmers) . . ." Cordero in Matson and Schroeder, p. 339.

73. *Jigüite* is a common name for the Mexican rubber plant, or guayule, and for the related low, bushy mariola found in the Southwest. The name jiguite may also have been applied to the desert rosewood, or as a variant of *jegüite* to some sort of range grass. Apache girls did make grass dolls decorated with "jingles." Morris Edward Opler, *An Apache Life-Way: The Economic, Social, and Religious Institutions of the Chiricahua Indians* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 45-46.

74. The name Natage was more often applied to a group of eastern, buffalo-hunting Apache.

75. An allusion to the general campaign of 1747.

76. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón served as New Mexico's governor from 1712 to 1715.

77. Just why this range became "a majestic monument to the memory of Governor Mogollon" seems to have been entirely forgotten. T. M. Pearce, *New Mexico Place Names: A Geographical Dictionary* (Albuquerque, 1965), p. 102.

78. Cuchuta, some ten miles due south of Fronteras, was one of the two visitas looked after by the missionary of Cuquiárachi.

