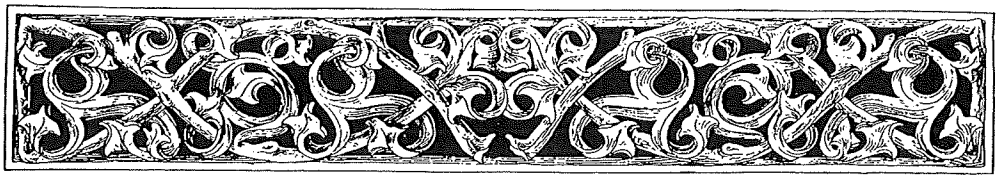

The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain

A Documentary History

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

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

The University of Arizona Press
Tucson

XI

Investigation by Juez Pesquisidor Rodríguez Gallardo of Indian Prisoners at Pitic

(1748)

Agustín de Vildósola's tenure as governor of Sinaloa-Sonora was almost as controversial as that of his predecessor, Manuel Bernal de Huidobro. Hailed as a champion of the Jesuits when he took office, he quickly began to quarrel with individual missionaries. He also skirmished with Huidobro's partisans in colonial government, including several presidial captains. Meanwhile, the Seris continued to carry out sporadic hostilities while the Apaches ravaged Sonora almost at will.

Because of those problems, the Spanish government appointed a prominent lawyer from Mexico City to investigate Vildósola's administration and report upon the state of Sonora in general. That lawyer was Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, who left Mexico City with his new commission as juez pesquisidor *and visitador general on February 21, 1748. When Rodríguez Gallardo reached the northwestern frontier, he interviewed numerous citizens, military men, and colonial officials. His conclusions were that Vildósola was an inefficient administrator who had misused funds, left his account books in disorder, and used the new presidio of Pitic for his own private gain. Accordingly, the visitor general removed Vildósola from office and dispatched him to Mexico City. Rodríguez Gallardo's more general report, entitled* Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora, *1750, was edited and published in Spanish by Germán Viveros.*

Among the most unusual and interesting charges against the governor, however, was his abuse of Indian prisoners at Pitic. Other presidial commanders such as Tuñón y Quirós had turned soldiers into their personal labor force. Vildósola, however, employed Indians as well, most of whom were Yaquis and Mayos or Pimas from Onavas. The Yaquis and Mayos were probably seized during the 1740 Yaqui Revolt or the unrest that followed. The Opatas may have been arrested during Salvador Martín's campaign against witchcraft in Onavas in 1743. As Rodríguez Gallardo points out in his summary of the investigation, however, the Pitic archives contained no documentation concerning what crimes the prisoners were accused of or what sentences they received. As a result, Rodríguez Gallardo returned most of them to their villages and sent the more dangerous ones to the Apache frontier.

Gallardo's Investigation of Prisoners

The following three documents provide a fascinating glimpse of Sonoran society in the mid-eighteenth century. Rodríguez Gallardo discusses how the Indians were paid in clothing, not wages. Beldarraín elaborates upon this practice, providing detailed descriptions of the types of clothing the Indians wore. A veteran of the Sinaloa presidio, Beldarraín also notes what tasks the Indians performed, what rations they were given, and what wages they generally received along the frontier. Finally, the list of Indian prisoners gives the names and pueblos of origin of the Indians themselves. Together, these documents reveal much about daily life among the Indians of Sonora—what they ate, what they wore, what jobs they did. The documents also demonstrate once again how chronic labor shortages often led presidial captains and colonial officials to ignore royal regulations and manipulate presidios to their own ends.

Your Excellency,

One of the expressly stated duties of this inquiry is to investigate what type of work the Indians have been performing while detained or held prisoner at the royal presidio of San Pedro de la Conquista. Of no lesser importance is my obligation to examine these cases in order to suitably pronounce judgment upon them without losing sight of all the benefits the wretched Indians may gain from such work or of the protection furnished them under the same royal laws. My investigation revealed that the archive of the presidio did not contain a single deposition, legal decision, register of sentences, or slightest document from which one could determine the reasons for or duration of imprisonment. According to the sworn statement of Governor Vildósola's legal representative, many prisoners have been detained for serious crimes. That being so, the governor should not have dispensed with legal formalities. Yet the only record produced was a list of servants affirming that the Indians were such. As it turned out, the statement of the governor's representative at the outset of this investigation expressed some doubt as to whether the Indians in question were prisoners or servants. After only a preliminary interrogation, however, this question was resolved in favor of the Indians.

All the lofty authority of the Real Audiencia, over which the most excellent viceroys preside, is devoted to the inspection of prisons and to the examination of legal cases without discrimination, despite the fact that the cases may have originated with the most wretched and abject people.[1] Such cases are even considered

1. The Audiencia of Mexico was the ultimate court of appeals for criminal cases in the viceroyalty of New Spain. Important civil suits, on the other hand, could be appealed to the Council of the Indies in Spain. Special attention was supposed to be paid to the defense of Indian rights, especially in the early years of the viceroyalty, when two days a week were reserved for suits involving Indians. By the 1570s, however, cases between Indians, or between Indians and Spaniards, were placed under the jurisdiction of a special court, the *juzgado de indios*. The viceroy was president both of the juzgado de indios and of the Audiencia of Mexico itself.

The viceroy was also in charge of supervising prisons in New Spain, designating oidores (members of the audiencia) to inspect those institutions. In Mexico City, for example, oidores were charged with visiting Indian jails every Saturday.

the most important and receive the greatest attention in the higher courts. This is a consolation those who live in remote and distant places do not have. I therefore judged it more than necessary to dedicate myself to the alleviation and consideration of these Indians, who were kept prisoner only through a respect for authority and by force of arms. But in my investigation of the eighty-two prisoners (or involuntary detainees, as they are called), my full attention could not be given to the examination of cases nor to the testimony contained in those cases that supposedly had been turned over to the captaincy general, because none were available. The only exceptions were five indictments that contained a number of additional defendants. Consequently I found it necessary to have recourse to extralegal and less reliable information. For that reason, it has been more difficult to justly decide the cases of these miserable Indians.

Based upon what I would qualify as sufficient information, I also proceeded to ascertain the occupations and working conditions of the prisoners. The very testimony of the party under investigation reveals that the prisoners worked in the fields, hacienda, orchard, and in other domestic and menial tasks in which only the governor had an interest. Furthermore, the prisoners were not paid a daily wage, nor were they given anything more than their ration of food and clothing. The only exception to this was a voucher for three months' wages, which the governor ordered paid to them upon their release. This information appears in the statement of the governor's legal representative in folio fifteen. I doubt whether the distribution of clothing alone is equivalent to a daily wage. Nonetheless, I can assure your excellency that in this area as elsewhere if the *hacendados* were allowed to choose between paying the Indians a daily wage or providing them with the clothing they usually wear, there would be no one who would not opt for the second choice, even more so if the hacienda owners could add the convenience of assuring the presence and labor of the Indians. Thus only this last circumstance makes the conscripts or day laborers so desirable in the haciendas.

Also, according to the statement of the governor's representative himself contained in folio fifteen, there appear to have been certain excesses in the work load. The information is convincing that punishments have been immoderate as well. I had all of these considerations in mind when I decided to release the Indians and return them to their respective towns with the approval of the reverend father missionaries. This decision applied only to those prisoners who had not been involved in any serious crime and who were assumed to have been condemned and judged guilty for the purpose of involuntary labor. I also learned that others apparently charged with the same crimes had met with a better fate and were maintaining themselves quietly and peacefully in their villages. Imprisoning them at the presidio of Pitiquí [Pitic] might reverse such civilized behavior, which should be assiduously preserved at all times. In exasperation they might seek the opportunity to escape. Their flight, being considered a crime, might then encourage them to commit graver offenses, turning them into vagrants and fugitives, always on the run.

Those whom it did not seem advantageous to return to their villages, I decided to send to the presidio of Fronteras so that they could be distributed along the Apache frontier. According to the report the captain of that presidio gave me,

Cuquiarachi and other villages are today empty and deserted.[2] They need to be repopulated in order to better curb the invasions of the enemy. Employing the extensive authority your excellency has vested in me, I have decided the fates of all the prisoners except for a very few, who remain imprisoned while awaiting action in their cases or information concerning their crimes.

Recently I have had in my presence the person who has charged his majesty for transporting and supporting the prisoners from the time of their apprehension and during the year 1742, the first year they spent at the presidio.[3] In light of the fact that his majesty has not profited from the work of these Indians, I therefore decided to bring this matter to your excellency's attention so that you could resolve and determine whether these expenses should be paid. Concerning the presidio, a separate ledger reveals that nothing has been expended or retained for its construction. According to one of the entries in the governor's sworn brief, however, the contractor Don Francisco Ortuzar clearly indicates that the reason given for remitting the Indians and keeping them in chains was to employ them in the construction of the two new presidios. And even though the Indians did not work for the governor during their first year, they did so during the succeeding years. Therefore it seems to me that his majesty should not share in the expenses of maintaining these prisoners.

Concerning the case against Sergeant Don Salvador Martín for his excessive punishment of those accused of being witches, I would like to suspend judgment until the proceedings have been remitted to me.[4] The legal representative assures

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2. Spanish and later Mexican officials were obsessed with populating their northern frontier in order to defend it against hostile Indians such as the Apaches or expansionist Europeans such as the French, British, and Russians (see Moorhead *Presidio*; Weber, *Mexican Frontier*). One way to do so was to encourage settlement around presidios and military colonies. Another was to send rebellious mission Indians to exposed and dangerous settlements such as Fronteras. In 1749, for example, Rodríguez Gallardo proposed to eliminate the threat posed by the Seri Indians once and for all by deporting all Seris from Sonora by sea and shipping them to islands in the Caribbean. His successor, Governor Diego Ortiz Parrilla, modified that Draconian solution somewhat by arguing that only the adults should be exiled. Seri children, on the other hand, should be distributed among depopulated Opata communities along the frontier such as Cuquiarachi (see Viveros, *Informe*; Sheridan, "Cross or Arrow?").

3. Since most of the Indian prisoners were Yaqui or Mayo, they probably were apprehended because of their participation—real or imagined—in the 1740 Yaqui Revolt.

4. In August 1743, Vildósola dispatched his lieutenant, Sergeant Salvador Domingo Martín Bernal, to arrest a group of Pima men and women from the pueblo of Onavas accused of being *hechiceros*. The men were Blas el Cabo, Javier Tarramurra, Javier Baquero, Diego Bajonero, Diego Cabudac, Pedro Ganari, Juan Manuel, Simon Cocinero, Martin Musicopa, Lorenzo (the son of the fiscal mayor), and two other individuals known only as Domingo and Mateo. The women were Ana, the wife of the alcalde, and two other women identified only as Ana and Magdalena. Martín forced the accused to surrender to him a whole series of objects supposedly used in their witchcraft. These objects included a dead turtle, numerous figurines, stones, and feathers, baskets and strings of various plants and roots, especially *yerba del manzo* (*Anamopsis californica*), and various other charms and powders, all labeled as "diabolical instruments" by Martín. At least some of the accused were punished by receiving one hundred lashes "*bien dados*," by having the hair of their heads and

me that he has forwarded and dispatched these documents to the capitanía general of your excellency. These documents should contain the sergeant's motives, [illegible], and the manner and form in which he proceeded. Even if the sergeant now has [illegible] that he did not draw up the proceedings, I should convince myself that the documents supposedly remitted by the governor give an account of all that took place and was done.

This is everything of which I propose to inform your excellency. May his divine Majesty guard your important life for many years.

Licenciado Joseph Raphael Rodríguez Gallardo[5]

DEPOSITION

Testimony of Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín, lieutenant of this royal presidio

At this royal presidio and on the stated day, month, and year [August 1, 1748], I, the juez pesquisidor and visitador, summoned Don Juan Tomás de Beldarraín[6] to appear before me. He is a person who has my absolute confidence and, having held the position of alférez, he now serves as the interim lieutenant of this royal presidio. Since he swore in the name of God and by the

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bodies singed off, and by having three marks burned into their backs by glowing brands. This was the "excessive punishment" Rodríguez Gallardo was charged with investigating. The original documents regarding this case are in AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1282, ff. 402–5, 409–10. Flavio Molina provides a Spanish transcription and analysis of a portion of those documents (see Molina, "Instrumentos de hechicería").

5. Joseph Raphael Rodríguez Gallardo was born in Campeche but he grew up in the city of Mérida on the Yucatán Peninsula. After graduating from the Jesuit colegio there, he pursued studies in canon law and law at the Universidad de México. Upon matriculating, he began a long career as a lawyer and public official, serving first as an assistant to the fiscal of the Viceregal Audiencia, a post that may have familiarized him with the problems of the northern frontier. In January 1748, Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo appointed him *juez comisario*, visitador, and pesquisidor of the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora. One of his primary responsibilities was to investigate the administration of Vildósola, and, if necessary, remove the governor from office, which he did. He was also charged with a more general task, however, that of proposing solutions to the broader problems of the northwestern frontier, particularly Indian hostilities and rebellions. The result was his famous *Informe sobre Sinaloa y Sonora*, written in 1750 (ed. Viveros). When he returned to Mexico City after his inspection was over, Rodríguez Gallardo was appointed *contador general de reales tributos*, a post he occupied for fifteen years. He resigned in 1769 in order to travel to Spain to defend himself against charges of slander in a lawsuit involving the Archbishop of Mexico City and the expulsion of the Jesuits. In 1775, he returned to Mexico City to resume his duties as contador. He died there on July 6, 1781.

6. Juan Tomás de Beldarraín was a professional military officer who began his career as a member of the Sinaloa presidio stationed in Sonora. In September 1750, he participated in Ortiz Parrilla's invasion of Tiburón Island as commander of more than 400 Upper Pima auxiliaries led by Luis Oacpicagigua from Sáric. The next year, he fought Oacpicagigua during the Upper Pima Revolt. In 1752, he was appointed captain of the new presidio of Tubac, where he died in 1759.

holy cross to respond truthfully to everything that he was asked, I have accepted his testimony regarding the matters that were presented in today's *auto*.

When asked about the salary earned and the hours worked by the tapisques [Indian laborers], the lieutenant responded that it is public knowledge that in addition to their allotted rations, the tapisques earn 12 reales a week, which comes to 6 pesos a month or 72 pesos a year. If the Indian is a *barretero* (ore digger) who works in the mines, then he may earn between 7 and 10 pesos a week, depending on the work and the amount of ore he has dug. As for the tapisques' regular work schedule (which is also public knowledge), it is from sunrise to sunset. This schedule never varies, and the Indians are quite accustomed to it. The barreteros, however, work only half a day due to the harshness of the work.

When asked at what time the Indian prisoners of the royal presidio were sent out to work and at what time they were locked up, the lieutenant stated that as alférez of the company who had been assigned to this royal presidio and also as a settler of the area, he knows and certifies the fact that the prisoners who wear shackles always set out to work at the crack of dawn, in other words, at daybreak. Yet the prisoners who do not wear shackles usually leave an hour before daybreak. All the prisoners are gathered to return when the *angelus* tolls or even a little earlier.[7]

When asked what type of work or services were performed by the prisoners, the lieutenant stated that they have been building a dam and an irrigation ditch in order to channel water to the orchard and cultivated fields belonging to the governor. In addition, the prisoners fence, plow, and cultivate the orchard, and do whatever needs to be done in the cornfields and wheat fields, such as planting or harvesting. They also are constructing workshops to make wine, or carding, spinning, and weaving cloth on looms. One of the Indians is a blacksmith, and he is assisted by other prisoners at the forge. The prisoners also make a liquor [*aguardiente*] known as *mescal*[8] from the countryside. The governor runs a few small nearby mines, and the lieutenant has seen one of the prisoners working as a barretero. He does not know, however, whether other prisoners have also worked in those mines. Inside the presidio itself there are milling stones [*rastras*], cupels, and workshops for processing silver. The lieutenant therefore supposes that the Indians are also employed in this line of work, but he is not sure and has not actually seen them doing so. He has seen three or four prisoners working as sheepherders. Finally, he states that he has seen one of the prisoners accompanying the mule train that brings provisions to the presidio. Even though a little sugarcane is

7. The angelus—a prayer commemorating the incarnation—was said at six in the morning, at noon, and at six in the evening. It was always announced by the ringing of a bell.

8. *Mescal* is a generic term for the distilled liquor made from various species of the genus *Agave*. In Sonora, the most famous mescal is *bacanora*, made from *Agave angustifolia*. That species of agave grows in the Río Sonora drainage and may have been available in the Horcasitas area. Along the northern San Miguel watershed, however, the most common mescal is *lechuguilla*, distilled from *Agave palmeri* (see Conrad Bahre and David Bradbury, "The Manufacture of Mescal in Sonora, Mexico"; Nabhan, *Gathering*; Sheridan, *Where the Dove Calls*).

processed in the area, the lieutenant has not seen any prisoners working at this task and is not certain whether they do.

The lieutenant was also asked whether the Indians had been given anything to wear, what type of clothing it was, and whether he thought it was commensurate to the salary they should receive. He responded that the Indians' clothing usually consists of a loose shirt [*cotón*] made of sackcloth [*sayal*] or coarse cotton [*patío*], which costs at most 20 reales, a blanket worth 3 pesos, a piece of cloth usually made of coarse cotton that they wear instead of trousers and that cannot be worth more than another 3 pesos, and a hat that is worth about the same. However, the justicias or prison bosses [*mandones*] are given wool cloaks [*capotes de paño*] worth about 24 pesos, as well as cloth overcoats [*gabán de paño*], shoes, socks, cloth trousers, hats, and coarse cotton shirts with printed cotton sleeves [*mangas de ruán*]. All of these items are prudently regulated, and depending on how often they are supplied, which is more or less once a year, the cost does not exceed the 72 pesos of their salary. And although it may be true that the prisoners' wives are given skirts [*naguas*], cloth shawls, and vests [*cotones*] that they wear as blouses, and that their children are also supplied with clothing, it is also true that these Indian women work at making tortillas and grinding *pinole*,[9] and that the children carry water and do other similar jobs. Consequently what is supplied to the Indian women should not be counted against the salaries of their husbands.

It is also true that when their rations run out, the Indians come around during the week asking for more pinole and other things, which are given to them. This happens regularly when there is a shortage of corn. Because corn is their basic staple, the ration they receive during such shortages may not be enough. Moreover, they usually consume their ration of meat in two days.

Their funerals and weddings, which are provided to all except the prison foremen, are paid for as well. Such events do not occur every day, however, so the expenses do not add up to 72 pesos a year. One must also consider that the work these Indians perform is more arduous than work in other places. Furthermore, if the shipment of supplies to this royal presidio is delayed for more than a year, the clothing allotment for the Indians is also delayed. Nevertheless, the witness points out that although these Indians are not actually paid for their work, one can rest assured that, unlike most other places, the Indians are versed in Christian doctrine because of the special attention that is given to their education and religious instruction.

When asked whether prisoners were punished when they first arrived or for attempting to escape, the lieutenant stated that during the time he served at the royal presidio, there were no escapees nor did he see anyone being punished.

The lieutenant has stated that this is all he knows about the matter. After his testimony was read to him, he confirmed it by signing his name next to mine at the bottom of this official sworn statement. The witnesses have signed in my presence as well.

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9. Pinole was a staple of the Sonoran diet. It was made by parching wheat seeds or corn kernels, grinding the seeds up, and then mixing them with water when consumed.

Licenciado Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo
Juan Tomás de Beldarraín
Witness: Juan Vicente Arregui
Witness: Bernardino de Escalante

PRISONERS AT PITIC, 1748

List of Indian prisoners who have worked and continue to work in various occupations and jobs

1. Agustín Tatabutemea from the pueblo of Huirivis[10]
2. Ignacio Alejandro from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo,[11] hereby named to oversee the rest of the prisoners
3. Felipe Chismeje from the pueblo of Torim[12]
4. Lorenzo Baromaza from the pueblo of Potam[13]
5. Felipe de Santiago Tacococai from the pueblo of Rahum[14]
6. Lorenzo Abamea from the pueblo of Torim
7. Francisco Jibibeamea from the pueblo of Etchojoa[15]
8. Calixto Moli from the pueblo of Rahum
9. Juan Francisco Veramea from the pueblo of Vicam[16]
10. Luis Jisamea from the pueblo of Torim
11. Gerónimo Siautemea from the pueblo of Huirivis—escaped
12. Alonso Yautemea from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
13. Vicente Tarmariz from the pueblo of Etchojoa
14. Esteban Cobotimea from the pueblo of Potam
15. Juan Diego from the pueblo of Tesia[17]—escaped
16. Diego Tiabuamea from the pueblo of Etchojoa
17. Juan Tehuano from the pueblo of Etchojoa

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10. One of the eight Yaqui mission pueblos, Huirivis was located west and south of the old channel of the Río Yaqui. After the Yaqui shifted course sometime in the early nineteenth century, Huirivis was abandoned until the development of irrigation canals in recent years allowed it to be reoccupied. Along with the other seven missions, Huirivis has become one of the eight sacred towns of Yaqui mythology.

11. Cohuirimpo was a Mayo mission pueblo along the Río Mayo.

12. Torim was another of the eight Yaqui mission pueblos. It was also the site of a large Jesuit granary used to store foodstuffs not only for the Yaqui missions but for the missions of Baja California as well.

13. Potam was another of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

14. Rahum was the westernmost of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

15. Etchojoa was a Mayo mission pueblo along the Río Mayo.

16. Vicam was another of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

17. Tesia was a Mayo mission pueblo along the Río Mayo.

18. Ignacio Alamea from the pueblo of Etchojoa
19. Francisco Mamesuai from the pueblo of Bacum[18]
20. Francisco Cabezón, Pima, from the pueblo of San Francisco[19]
21. Miguel Ubamea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
22. Juan Jecahua, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
23. Mateo Osimea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
24. Luis Caut Jisuame, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
25. Calixto Anuamea from the same pueblo
26. Matías Usacamea from the same pueblo
27. Vicente Siguijuinse, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Rahum
28. Francisco Matuamea, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Bacum
29. Manuel Subau, Yaqui, from the same pueblo
30. Juan Alamea from the same pueblo
31. Francisco Gogoli, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Torim
32. Francisco Alamea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
33. Simón Moymea, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Huirivis
34. Lucas Matusai, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Vicam
35. Gerónimo Puiteme from the same pueblo and nation
36. Santiago, Opata, from the pueblo of Arizpe[20]
37. Esteban Mapuamea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Etchojoa
38. Ignacio Jecagua, Mayo, from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
39. Ignacio Jinsemea, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Rahum
40. Gregorio Siraquisuamea from the same nation and the pueblo of Bacum
41. Francisco Alamea from the same nation and pueblo
42. Angelo Siarigua, Pima, from the pueblo of Santa María[21]
43. Ignacio, Pima, fiscal from the pueblo of Onavas[22]
44. Diego Humari from the same nation and pueblo
45. José Bastuca from the same nation and pueblo

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18. Bacum was one of the easternmost of the Yaqui mission pueblos.

19. San Francisco was a Lower Pima community located along the Río Sonora between Pitic and Ures.

20. Arizpe was an Opata community along the northern reaches of the Río Sonora. A mission was established there by the Jesuits in 1646. In 1776, Arizpe became the capital of the newly created Provincias Internas, thereby serving as the most important military and administrative center in northern New Spain. Ten years later, following another reorganization of the frontier provinces, the settlement was designated capital of the Intendancia of Sonora-Sinaloa. It remained so until the capital was moved south to El Fuerte in 1824, three years after Mexican independence.

21. The Santa María referred to here might be either of the Upper Pima communities of Santa María Magdalena or Santa María Suamca. In the next section, however, the author clearly distinguishes between Indians from the Pimería Alta and Pimas—those from the Pimería Baja. In this case, then, Santa María is most likely a Lower Pima community, possibly Santa María del Pópulo de Tónichi, which was located along the middle Río Yaqui north of Onavas.

22. Onavas was a Lower Pima community located along the middle Río Yaqui. A mission was established there by the Jesuits in 1622.

46. Javier Sihuagui from the same nation and pueblo
47. Miguel Humari from the same nation and pueblo
48. José Sogui from the same nation and pueblo
49. Blas Sarín from the same nation and pueblo
50. Martín Baimaruco from the same nation and pueblo
51. Agustín from the same nation and pueblo of Buenavista
52. Ignacio from the same nation and the pueblo of Pitiquí[23]
Javier Sandía escaped about a month and a half ago, and he is from the pueblo of San Marcial[24]
53. Mateo Angelo, Pima, from the pueblo of San Joseph[25]
54. Javier from the same nation and the pueblo of Santa María
55. Francisco, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Bacum
56. Miguel Tejedor, Pima from the pueblo of Buenavista[26]
57. Salvador, Opata, from the pueblo of Baviácora[27]
58. Javier Forsi, Pima, from the pueblo of Onavas
59. Juan Minero from the same nation and pueblo
60. Bautista Jautemea, Mayo, from the pueblo of Cohuirimpo
61. Lorenzo Baromasa, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Potam
62. Antonio Sibuqui, Pima, from the pueblo of San Joseph

These are the ones who are kept and who work unchained, but are still considered detainees and treated as prisoners.

The following is a list of the Indians who wear shackles and also work with them on:

1. Luis Siborsa from the Pimería Alta and the ranchería near the pueblo of Santa María Suamca[28]

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23. It is possible that the Pitiquí referred to here was the Upper Pima community of Pitiquín [Pitiquito] along the Río de la Concepción. Since the author usually reserved the term "Pima" to mean a Lower Pima, however, Pitiquí is probably Pitic, the Lower Pima settlement that became the site of a new presidio in 1741.

24. San Marcial was a Lower Pima community along the Río Mátape south of San José de los Pimas.

25. San Joseph is probably San José de Pimas, a Lower Pima community along the Río Mátape. It might also have been San José de Gracia along the Río Sonora between Pitic and Ures.

26. Buenavista, located on the margins of Yaqui and Lower Pima country along the Río Yaqui upriver from the Yaqui missions, was founded by the Jesuits in 1619. Following the Yaqui Revolt of 1740, a detachment of soldiers from the presidio of Sinaloa was stationed there for a time, but Buenavista did not become a separate presidio itself until 1765.

27. Baviácora was an Opata community located along the Río Sonora upriver from Ures. The Jesuits established a mission there in 1639.

28. Santa María Suamca was an Upper Pima community located along the upper Santa Cruz River, which was called the Río Santa María until the late eighteenth century. Kino declared Santa María a mission in 1698, but no Jesuit resided there until Padre Ignaz Keller arrived in 1732.

2. Nicolás from the Pimería Alta and the pueblo of Caborca[29]
3. Miguel, Pima, from the pueblo of Nacameri[30]
4. Francisco, Pima, from the pueblo of San Joseph de los Pimas
5. Martín, Tarahumara, from the pueblo of San Andrés[31]
6. Sebastián from the same nation and pueblo
7. Matías from the same nation and pueblo
8. Tomás, from the Peñol of Babaroco, who, it is said, has acknowledged the pueblo of Santa Ana[32]
9. Alonso from the same nation and pueblo
10. Martín from the same nation and pueblo
11. Juan Antonio, Pima, from the pueblo of Maicoba[33]
12. Matías from the same nation and pueblo
13. Francisco from the same nation and pueblo
14. Ignacio Tacuri, Eudeve, from the pueblo of Opodepe[34]
15. José Coicha from the same nation and pueblo
16. Ignacio from the same nation and pueblo
17. Antonio Ignacio de Gautasegua, Mayo, from the pueblo of Nuri[35]
18. Juan Reyes, Lower Pima, from the pueblo of Buenavista
19. Miguel Tosamasai, Yaqui, from the pueblo of Bacum
20. Ignacio Mendizabal, Mayo, from the pueblo of Navojoa[36]

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29. Caborca was an Upper Pima community along the Río de la Concepción. Kino established a mission there in 1693.

30. Nacameri was a bi-ethnic Lower Pima and Seri community along the Río San Miguel. A mission was established for the Lower Pimas there by the Jesuits in 1638. The Jesuits then resettled Seris in the area during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1825, Nacameri's name was changed to Rayón, its present designation.

31. San Andrés was probably San Andrés de Sírupa, a hotbed during the 1697 Tarahumara Revolt located along the Río Papigochic in the northwestern corner of the Tarahumara Alta.

32. The Jesuit mission of San Joaquín y Santa Ana was located along the Río San Pedro, a tributary of the Río Conchos, in the Tarahumara Alta. The Peñol of Babaroco must have been a prominent landmark in the surrounding region.

33. Maicoba was a Lower Pima community in the foothills of the Sierra Madre. The Jesuits established a mission there in 1676.

34. Opodepe was an Eudeve mission community located along the Río San Miguel. A mission was established there by the Jesuits in 1649.

35. Nuri was a community of Nebomes—a Lower Pima group—situated along the Río Nuri, a tributary of the Río Yaqui. The Jesuits founded a mission there in 1622. Even though it was some distance from the Mayo heartland along the lower Río Mayo, Nuri was close to the headwaters of the Río Cedros, a tributary of the Mayo. Numerous Cáhita-speaking groups related to the Mayo occupied the Cedros region at contact. By the mid-eighteenth century, they had either disappeared or been assimilated by the Mayo themselves. Consequently, it would not have been uncommon for communities like Nuri located along an ethnic frontier to have Indians from other groups residing there.

36. Navojoa was a Mayo mission pueblo along the lower Río Mayo.

The following is a list of the mulattoes and those of higher status (called *gente de razón* to distinguish them from the Spaniards) who are imprisoned with shackles:

1. Francisco de la Fuente y Valenzuela, settler at the *real* of Los Alamos
2. Miguel Orduño from the same settlement
3. Joseph Ignacio Valenzuela, also from the *real* of Los Alamos
4. Francisco Marastegui from Sinaloa

Of these four, only the last one has worked.

This is the list of the prisoners who have worked. Yet when the time came for the legal representative to sign his name to it, he claimed that this list and the master list from which it was obtained included the names of some servants who are free and who work on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless, there was not a single specification, distinction, explanation, or annotation made on the master list to this effect. Thus, in accordance with yesterday's *diligencia*, all those listed herein were handed over to the lieutenant of this royal presidio as prisoners. However, I deemed it convenient to make a note of his claim so that the legal representative would sign it. As the diligencias indicate, all those listed herein will have to make an appearance in order to determine who is a voluntary servant, who is a detainee, and who is a prisoner.

Royal Presidio of San Pedro de la Conquista, July 22, 1748.

Licenciado Joseph Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo
Tomás Pardo de Macías
Juan Tomás de Beldarraín
Juan Vicente Arregui

AGN, Inquisición, vol. 1282, exp. 11, ff. 420–422, 386–388, and 374–375.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Excelentísimo señor,

Siendo uno de los expresos especiales encargos de la pesquisa el indagar en que se habían ocupado los indios que se mantenían detenidos o presos en el real presidio de San Pedro de la Conquista, y no menos de mi obligación el examinar sus causas para providenciar lo conveniente, sin perder de vista la mucha recomendación que se granjean por miserables los indios y el patrocinio que las mismas leyes reales le ministran, resultó de la primera obligación el que en el archivo no había testimonio ni aún sola razón de los autos, ni libro de entradas, ni el menor documento por donde pudiese comprender el motivo y tiempo de la prisión. Siendo así que según declaración del apoderado, muchos se hallaban presos por delitos graves (que de ser así no debiera haberse dispensado la formación de causas) y sólo se manifestó una tabla de sirvientes en que se hallaban asentados como tales. De suerte que al primer paso resultó la duda según la representación de la parte de si serían presos o sirvientes, pero con sólo el careo quedó este punto deslindado a favor de los mismos indios.