

SELECTIONS FROM  
*A FRONTIER DOCUMENTARY:*  
*MEXICAN TUCSON, 1821-1856*

Kieran McCarty  
Mexican American Studies & Research Center  
The University of Arizona

Number 22  
November 1994

ISSN 0732-7749



# MASRC WORKING PAPER SERIES

The goal of the Mexican American Studies & Research Center's Working Paper Series is to disseminate recent research on the Mexican American experience. The Center welcomes papers from the social sciences, public policy fields, and the humanities. Areas of particular interest include economic and political participation of Mexican Americans, health, immigration, and education. The Mexican American Studies & Research Center assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions of contributors to its Working Paper Series.

Manuscripts and inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Antonio L. Estrada,  
MASRC Director, in care of the Center.

Working Papers are available directly from the Center for \$3.00.  
Arizona residents add 5.6% sales tax.

The MASRC Working Paper Series  
© The Arizona Board of Regents

Mexican American Studies & Research Center  
César E. Chávez Building, Rm 208  
The University of Arizona  
Tucson, Arizona 85721-0023  
(520) 621-7551 • FAX (520) 621-7966  
MASRC website: <http://masrc.arizona.edu/>  
E-mail: [masrc@email.arizona.edu](mailto:masrc@email.arizona.edu)



## Emergence of the Frontier Civilian: An Introduction \*

THE MEXICAN PERIOD of Arizona history started much like the “new beginning” in our volume on the Spanish years, 1767-1821, when the spectacular Anza expeditions to California eclipsed routine events on the local Sonoran scene.

Shortly after ushering the Tucson *presidio* into the era of Mexican independence in 1821, Captain José Romero strove to reopen Anza’s historic overland route to California. A regular mail service was implemented.

Like Juan Bautista de Anza before him, Romero also received his lieutenant-colonelcy upon reaching California. His exploits, like Anza’s, enjoyed wide publicity in Sonora, California, and as far away as Mexico City. They succeeded in distracting later historians from a development of much greater moment: the first establishment of representative government within what is now Arizona, and the emergence of the frontier civilian.

Because of frequent Apache incursions from both the north and east, far northern Sonora—including for centuries what is now southern Arizona—was politically referred to as *tierra de guerra*, roughly equivalent to what we would call today “a war zone.” It was completely dominated by the military. Civilian settlers occupied lands and homes only by virtue of subordination in all things to the military activity of the *presidio*. The *presidial* captain was the only authority known to military personnel and civilian alike. In legal cases involving civilians, even with the sophistication of prosecution and defense attorneys, the *presidial* commander was always the judge. In Tucson’s first murder trial in 1814, presented in our first volume (pp. 93-110), details of this arrangement are spelled out.

The development of any form of civilian government within the geographical scope of the present documentary was slow in coming. Its roots began, of course, in events relating to the independence movement in central Mexico.

One of history’s not infrequent paradoxes was that in the autumn of 1820, *the army that set Mexico free* was given to Agustín de Iturbide by the viceroy, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, for the sole purpose of putting down the last of the anti-Spanish insurgents, Vicente Guerrero.

Quite unexpectedly, Iturbide joined his royalist forces with Guerrero’s insurgents at Iguala on the road to Acapulco, leading to the *Plan de Iguala* of February 24, 1821, often referred to as Mexico’s Declaration of Independence. Then, both armies took the road to Veracruz, to meet at Córdoba a sympathetic Spanish liberal of Irish descent, General Juan O’Dónoju, Mexico’s new viceroy. On August 24, 1821, the Treaty of Córdoba was signed by O’Dónoju and Iturbide, making Mexico’s independence official.

The Treaty of Córdoba set off a chain of events in Mexico City that hindered, rather than hastened, any form of representative government on the far northern frontier. Provincial delegations

---

\* Information in this introduction is based on secondary sources, found in a specialized bibliography following the introduction.

appointed from Mexico City were quite ineffective because Mexico City itself was torn apart by factions. Liberals favored a republic, and conservatives wanted a monarchy headed by a European prince. The so-called Iturbide Empire, predictably, lasted only ten months and ended like a Greek tragedy.

Provincial delegations notwithstanding, the only effective political control over the frontier in our region was exerted by Antonio Narbona, a popular commander of the Tucson presidio earlier in the century, and later (1820) adjutant inspector at Arizpe for the commandancy general. On September 6, 1821, at Arizpe, he swore to Mexican Independence at the head of his troops, and with the retreat of his superior, Antonio Cordero, to Durango and the royalists, Narbona inherited the position of political chief and military commander of Sonora.

It was not until the seventh of November of 1823 and the fall of Iturbide that the Constitutional Congress—until then manipulated by the emperor toward centralism with himself in the center—was able to achieve a federalist majority from among the liberals. Fifteen days later, on November 22, 1823, the instrument appeared for binding Mexico's scattered provinces, which were already talking about definitive, but dangerous, separation—one from the other—into a mutually supporting federation.

The document became known as the *Acta Constitutiva de la Federación* and was promulgated on January 31, 1824, dividing Mexico's first federal republic into nineteen states, each with its own government. Sonora and Sinaloa were named Occidente, the State of the West, one state. Their constituent congress at El Fuerte (Sinaloa) was seated on the twelfth of day of September, 1824, something of a record, since it preceded by all of twenty-two days the proclamation of the national constitution itself. As its president, the constituent congress of Occidente elected Manuel Escalante of Arizpe, whose figure would loom large in desert history for more than a decade.

Occidente would have to wait well over a year, until November 2, 1825, for its state constitution to be proclaimed, and a corresponding state government to be established. Consequently, for the sake of law and order throughout the state, the constituent congress arranged for local governments as early as December of 1824. Towns of less than three thousand inhabitants, e.g. presidial towns such as Tucson, would be governed by a mayor of law and order and a town attorney, doubling as town treasurer. December 19 was set for town elections. Local civilian government, conducted by popularly elected officials, operates for the first time in the history of presidial towns on the Apache frontier.

We therefore begin the main text of this book, our first original document, with an insight into the daily life of the "Old Pueblo" through a week-by-week report for the month of January 1825 by the first popularly elected civilian mayor of Tucson.

Kieran McCarty  
The University of Arizona  
Tucson

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following documents have been chosen for Working Paper 22, published by the Mexican American Studies & Research Center at the University of Arizona. They represent only a small part of a much larger documentary collection pertaining to the contextual region of Tucson under the rule of Independent Mexico from 1821 to 1856, when the last Mexican troops left the Tucson presidio. In formation is a complete book, presenting all of the documents at the Center, with their historical context, pertaining to these thirty-five exclusively "Mexican" years in the long history of the Old Pueblo. Under the same title as the present paper, the forthcoming book will tell an unparalleled story of frontier perseverance and heroism, in great part forgotten in our present era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Almada, Francisco R.

*Diccionario de Historia, Geografía y Biografía Sonorenses*. Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1983.

Calvo Berber, Laureano

*Nociones de Historia de Sonora*. Mexico: Librería de Manuel Porrúa, 1958.

Riva Palacio, Vicente

*Resumen Integral de México a través de los Siglos*. Tomo IV. México Independiente, 1821-1855. Escrito por Enrique Olavarria y Ferrari. México: Compañía General de Ediciones, 1974

Vidargas del Moral, Juan Domingo

*Historia General de Sonora*. II. De la Conquista al Estado Libre y Soberano de Sonora. Capítulo XI. Sonora y Sinaloa como Provincias Independientes y como Estado Interno de Occidente. Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985.

Villa, Eduardo W.

*Historia del Estado de Sonora*. Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1984.

## 1

## Tucson's First Civilian Mayor Reports

December 19, 1824, was an unforgettable day in the Old Pueblo. The civilian settlers were directed by the constituent congress of Occidente to elect by popular vote a civilian mayor of law and order for the settlement, legally independent of the presidial commander—a procedure not only unprecedented, but inconceivable for the traditional civilian settler. Some kind of makeshift voting arrangement was rigged, and a certain José León was legally elected as the first civilian mayor of Tucson.

León took office on January 1, 1825. On February 1, he drew up a report concerning local events that transpired during his first month in office. His reference to Tucson as a “republic” gives us an idea of how little the new arrangement was understood, even by the mayor. At the same time, no other document found to date gives us so intimate an insight into the social and cultural life of the Old Pueblo a century and a half ago.

This manuscript is hard to beat as a source of human interest. Events and situations that were taken for granted at the time are totally new and surprising to us. The padre at San Xavier Mission and his running battle with the pueblo's soldiers and settlers over cattle, hotly disputed athletic events between settlers and the peaceful Apaches, running out south of “A” Mountain helter-skelter at midnight to protect their individual mounts, were realities, in short, that made their lives much less drab and boring than we might suspect.

The Republic of Tucson

February 1, 1825

FIRST WEEK OF JANUARY:

During this week shots were heard one night out by the horseherd. Seventy men went to the rescue: soldiers, settlers, and Pimas from El Pueblito.<sup>1</sup> Although we feared it was an Apache attack, nothing happened. Otherwise, we surely would have lost the horseherd, and suffered other casualties, due to the disorder of our defenses. Some went out afoot, some riding bare-back, and some even unarmed. Signs of the enemy were observed.

SECOND WEEK OF JANUARY:

Apaches were sighted in the immediate area. Chief Antuna,<sup>2</sup> assisted by 27 fellow-warriors of his company of peaceful Apaches attached to this post, cut off their trail and recovered 17 animals that these same enemy Apaches had stolen from Sonoita in the jurisdiction of Tubac.

THIRD WEEK OF JANUARY:

During an off-duty contest of footracing, staged between our peaceful Apaches and the local settlers, a suspicion arose that the races had been "fixed." The settlers were angry with the Apaches, and demanded the return of their bets. Every effort was made to calm the arguments and hard feelings, so that peace might be restored on both sides.

FOURTH WEEK OF JANUARY:

Two soldiers and two settlers had a squabble with the father missionary at San Xavier del Bac. With proper permission and accompanied by a mission cowboy, they had gone hunting on mission lands. They came upon a cow and her unbranded calf. One of the soldiers claimed that they belonged to him.

The cowboy reported to the missionary that the hunters were trying to steal the mission cattle. The missionary called them a pack of thieves, denied all their arguments—and even gave one of them a glancing kick in the shins with the toe of his sandal.

The padre claimed that even if the cattle were stolen, the rightful owner would have to prove it. The padre refused to give up either cow or calf, and proceeded to butcher them both at the mission.

---

The original document is in Hermosillo, Sonora. Archivo Historico del Estado. Ramo de Asuntos Indígenas: Apaches.

<sup>1</sup>The section of Spanish and later Mexican Tucson known as "El Pueblito" was the Pima village at the foot of Sentinel Peak on the west bank of the Santa Cruz river. This was the original native village and mission of Tucson, which became a satellite of the village and mission of San Xavier del Bac many years before the presidio and Spanish settlement invaded the east bank of the river.

<sup>2</sup>The Apache military company under Chief Antuna was without a doubt the most important adjunct of the Tucson military force. For settlement of peaceful Apaches at Tucson, see *Desert Documentary: the Spanish Years*, pp.61-64 and pp.134-135.

## 2

## Captain José Romero: New Information

There is no need to repeat here the travel documents of the Romero expeditions to California, 1823-1826. In 1962 they were presented in translation and with excellent notes by Lowell John Bean and William Marvin Mason in *Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California, 1823-1826*.<sup>1</sup>

A document, however, in the Provincias Internas Section (the last document in volume 233) of Mexico's National Archives, concerning Romero's earliest military service record adds half again to our knowledge of Romero and to earlier events conditioning him for crossing the Colorado. This document was also published in table form by James E. Officer in *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856*.<sup>2</sup>

Events immediately leading up to the expedition that left Tucson on June 8, 1823, began earlier when Agustín Fernández, one of Iturbide's delegates to the provincial council of the Californias, authorized one of the Dominican missionaries in Lower California, Fray Félix Caballero, to proceed with Indian guides to Sonora. He left Mission Santa Catalina, near the present international border, on April 4, 1823, and two months later was standing in Arizpe before Antonio Narbona, whom we have already met (September 6, 1821) as the first political chief of the Sonoran frontier under Independence.

The important conclusions we draw from Romero's earliest military record are indirect, but persuasive: first, that it was Narbona who chose Tucson as the starting point for the expedition, and Captain José Romero as its leader. The Tucson escort of a corporal and nine soldiers could also have been handpicked by Narbona, who knew that garrison well as Tucson's most popular commander earlier in the century, and he knew Romero as his ensign in the Tucson company from the beginning of the century.

Then in 1809, Romero was promoted to lieutenant and acting commander of Altar, which kept him in constant touch with Narbona at Tucson—and also with the Yumas on the Colorado River to the west. Romero was chosen by Narbona as expedition leader because of his spectacular ability at making friends with the Yuma chiefs along the Colorado between 1809 and 1812. An ability mentioned in his service record. He describes this activity in his document, and provides us with information important to the expedition. Romero's success on the frontier explains his popularity with Narbona, with whom he certainly discussed plans for the memorable trek to California.

---

<sup>1</sup> Lowell John Bean and William Marvin Mason in *Diaries and Accounts of the Romero Expeditions in Arizona and California, 1823-1826*, Los Angeles: Ward and Ritchie Press.

<sup>2</sup> James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856*, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 1987, p.90.

Opata Company at Bacoachi

December 31, 1817

My name is JOSÉ ROMERO, and I am presently a lieutenant, commanding the Opata Indian company at Bacoachi in the Spanish province of Sonora.

I was born in the Oposura Valley in this same province. My age is forty-one years. My lineage is Spanish. I began my service as a cadet at the royal presidio of Horcasitas, near where I was born.

The total length of my military service to date is twenty-seven years and ten months.

On June 6, 1800, I was commissioned as ensign at the presidio of San Agustín del Tucson.

On July 5, 1809, I became the commander of the royal presidio of Santa Gertrudis de Altar, and was promoted to lieutenant, my present grade.

Three years later, on July 1, 1812, I received my present appointment as commander of the Opata Indian company at Bacoachi, where I have served for five years and six months.

As commander of the Opatas, I spent a year and eleven months repelling Insurgents from the southern fringe of this province of Sonora.

My total battle record in the military is 18 campaigns and 12 skirmishes. Sixty-nine of the enemy lost their lives, and in one of the skirmishes I was seriously wounded.

During my three years at Altar, I was able to make peace with the numerous Yuma nation of the Colorado River, which divides this province of Sonora from that of California, and secured the friendship of their leaders.

## 3

## Eyes and Ears of Occidente on the Gila

On October 8, 1826, a delegation of Gila Pimas passed through the gates of the Tucson presidio. They were always welcome, for they invariably bore news of importance. In fact, in modern military terms, they were an “early warning” system, essential for the safety of the Hispanic settlement of Tucson.

Less than a month later, on November 4, Tucson’s second constitutional mayor, Ignacio Pacheco, informs the state government by means of the present document of the Pima visit and its aftermath. On this date, Pacheco penned the earliest extant record of Mexican awareness of Anglo-Americans in Arizona. Early in the fall of 1826, Old Bill Williams himself was leading a party of beaver-trappers down the Gila toward the Colorado. On the way he accepted the hospitality of the Pimas and, of course, regaled them with the usual gifts—mostly the products of eastern manufacturing: knives, axes, etc. It was his visit that the Piman delegation reported. The aftermath is supplied by Pacheco’s letter, the present document.

What is only suggested in the document, however, is the American interest, not only in beaver pelts, but in mules and horses as well. The value of Old Bill’s gifts far surpassed an overnight stay in a Pima village.

As we shall see in the document, the Americans will ask about mules, even before they ask about beaver. The mule was the backbone of the fur trade as the far superior mode of pelt transportation. Suspicion ran high that even the loyal Gila Pimas were not above playing middleman between, for example, Old Bill Williams and the Papagos—who surreptitiously relieved Mexican ranches of their mules, which were guarded in turn by the Pimas until an American party came along.

Old Bill William’s speech to the Gila Pimas, with gestures of the ocean waves rolling up onto the continent, reflected the lingering fear at the time of the continuing danger of European powers, including Spain, once again invading western North America, and the Gila and Colorado rivers—none of which yet belonged to the fledgling United States. James Monroe’s speech to Congress on December 2, 1823, establishing the Monroe Doctrine bore this out. We are impressed, not only that a distant wanderer like Old Bill knew of the Monroe Doctrine—less than three years old—but that he was using it to forge a link between Native Americans and himself.

## REPORT TO GOVERNOR GAXIOLA FROM TUCSON

November 4, 1826

On October 28, the Gila Pimas, represented by a village governor and two of his men, arrived at this presidio with news of 16 foreigners bearing arms along the banks of their river (Gila). The Gila governor demanded papers of identification, in lieu of which one or two of their number would have to proceed to this presidio of Tucson to report the destination of their party.

Their leader replied that they came only to visit Indians along the Gila in order to obtain mules and horses from them, and to find out where there might be other rivers abounding in beaver.

Manuel de León, our commander, decided to send myself as Mayor, and Lt. Antonio Comadurán with a detachment of seven men, to accompany the village governor and his two companions back to the Gila to meet the strangers—and if they were Americans to confront them with the verbal and written orders of our commander general (Simón Elias González) at Arizpe to present themselves there personally before proceeding further.

We left for this mission on October 30. As the sun was setting on October 31, I came upon seven Indians hunting near the Gila. It was they who informed me that the strangers had left three days earlier, back toward the east.

With Comadurán, I then continued on to the Gila and convoked a meeting of the Pima leaders. They all agreed that the strangers had come with their mules laden with trapping gear for the sole purpose of capturing beaver for their pelts.

They had shown no signs of malice during their four day stay. On the contrary, they were most friendly, and gave many presents of blankets, knives, trays, glass beads, and animals they had trapped.

Their message to our authorities was that they were coming to these villages because Governor Narbona of New Mexico had told them that there were many beaver along these rivers. They had come this first time, only to find out for themselves—and then return with the proper papers to stay awhile. They would bring more presents, for it saddened them to see people so poor, especially since the Indians were such good people.

The strangers then made signs to describe the ocean rolling up on the beach, explaining that people on the other side of that ocean were enemies, enemies of both the white man and the Indian, which made the Indian and the white man brothers.

When the leader of the strangers found out that some Indians had gone to report their presence to the Tucson presidio, he was happy—hoping that they would also report the thievery the Maricopas had inflicted on the strangers, stealing their mules and blankets in broad daylight. A Maricopa dared to steal the captain's own zarape.

One of the strangers pointed a gun at the thief, but the captain ordered him to put the gun down. The Maricopas were obviously trying to provoke a fight. Refusing to fall into the trap, the captain told them he did not need the zarape and had many more to bring them to gain their friendship. When they finally stole his suitcase—containing his clothing, his papers, and letters from

the governor of New Mexico (Narbona), he gave up trying to win them over, and left the village to avoid further confrontation.

The Maricopa who had stolen the suitcase later turned over to me two passports in a foreign language, and a letter and a passport signed by the governor of New Mexico. I herewith enclose copies of these documents, and am sending the originals to the military commander general in Arizpe.

Lastly, I instructed the Gila Pimas that the moment the strangers returned, the Tucson presidio should be advised so as to send word on to the military commander general in Arizpe. Since the strangers seem to be good people, I forbade the Pimas to do them harm, and encouraged them to keep the maricopas from harming these strangers.

IGNACIO PACHECO

EDITOR'S NOTE: This translation was made from a typescript in the Bancroft Library (M-A 19, Pt. 1, 0002). The Bancroft typescript, in turn, bears a note that it was transcribed from the original in the Sonoran State Archives on January 11, 1911 (Bolton?) A recent search has failed to locate the original.

## Republica del Tucson

### Semanario de los Acontecimientos en este Partido y sus Cerros.

Del 1.º día del mes de Enero. En esta semana ocurrieron tiros en la Cavallada de noche, y al amanecer se auxilió con 10. Hombr<sup>es</sup> y Tropas Vecinos y Jimas al Pueblo, atribuyendole a Invasión de Enemigos a q<sup>ue</sup> talis no sea verdad, y se van en el Estado en q<sup>ue</sup> esta la tropa, sin q<sup>ue</sup> mas algunos, empleo o ayde, si hubiera sido hacia la C<sup>on</sup>tra y Enemigos, hubiera avido desgracias, y llorados la Cavallada, y se han aducido Narras y Documentos.

Del 8.º al 16.º. Se advirtieron en las Tierras y Enemigos: El Capitancillo Antonio con 27. Soldados y 11. Guardillos a este establecimiento. Lucha a los Enemigos Apaches 17. Vecinos y Jimas por parte en Sonora Jurisdiccion de Tubac, andando este en estradas.

Del 16.º al 24.º. En una diversion a Caaceras a Sono q<sup>ue</sup> hubo con los Apaches de Sta y el Vecind. hubo en cuestion o estragos de haver sido vendidos, de q<sup>ue</sup> se hicieron los Vecinos defendidos con los Apaches, q<sup>ue</sup> les desolaban las ayueltas, y habiendo un diferen. o disputa se trato de q<sup>ue</sup> quedaran unos y otros tranquilos.

Del 24.º al 31.º. Hubo en cuestion entre dos Soldados y dos Vaicanos con el 8.º. Trozo y San Nav.º el cual sobre q<sup>ue</sup> ellos fueron a buscar que moran en la Sicion a la Dicion con licencia acompañandolos un vaquero y los p<sup>ro</sup>mo. encontraron una braca con la q<sup>ue</sup> se ocupaban a un soldado y la señalaron, y le imputaron el vaquero al 8.º. handaban señalando a la Dicion y tubo el 8.º. Trozo q<sup>ue</sup> trataron a Ladrones a la guerra con grande modo q<sup>ue</sup> no baxo razones q<sup>ue</sup> le combencieron a irse peltando a una apunta q<sup>ue</sup> se, y al 8.º. no quiso d<sup>el</sup> volver a la guerra a la braca, mandandole en la Dicion on diciendo hera tomada a despecha h<sup>ab</sup>ia q<sup>ue</sup> el dueño le justificara como y quando hera suya, y desolverlo.

Tucson

## 4

## First Americans in Tucson

On the last day of this eventful year of 1826, three Americans ride into Tucson. Although the trio has not been identified, they are the first recorded Americans to visit the Old Pueblo. We might presume that they were the first American trappers dutifully informed by the Gila Pimas either to present proper papers or detour to Tucson personally to report their destination. We know that Old Bill Williams had such papers from Antonio Narbona, governor of New Mexico, and avoided the trip to Tucson quite legally. We might conclude that the newcomers lacked papers, and thus had to send a delegation to Tucson. At least, thus were the orders communicated to the Gila tribe by Tucson. These same orders had actually originated much earlier in a circular sent to all frontier posts by Simón Elias González, military commander general at Arizpe.

The American visit was recorded on January 4, 1827, by Juan Romero, Tucson's third constitutional mayor. He had replaced Ignacio Pacheco three days before, and sent in his routine report concerning December of 1826.

Besides recording the American visit, Romero also confirmed that American fur traders were indeed receiving stolen mules and horses. He also solved the mystery of Maricopa hostility encountered by Old Bill Williams. Foreigners were looked upon as potential spies traveling downriver to give away Maricopa secrets to their mortal enemies, the Yumas.

Tucson

January 4, 1827

REPORT TO FRANCISCO IRIARTE, GOVERNOR OF OCCIDENTE:

On the 26th day of December, two Indians from the Gila river came in to report that two parties of Americans had visited their river to trap beaver. The Indians were Gila Pimas, and escorted the Americans back up the river, because the Maricopas wanted to kill them. The Maricopas also wanted to attack the Papagos who were protecting the Americans.

The Gila Pimas have requested that for the safety of the Americans, licenses not be issued them to trap along the Gila. The Maricopas, due to their eternal war with the Yumas, will surely try to kill all Americans. The Papagos accompanied the Americans to protect them from the Maricopas. After the Papagos had returned to their own country, the Maricopas followed the Americans, and verified that the Papagos had turned over stolen animals to them.

On the last day of December, three Americans appeared at this presidio to present their passports. They did this in obedience to a letter signed by our commander, Manuel de Leon, which the Papagos had presented to the Americans. The Americans proceeded no further than this post.

JUAN ROMERO (rubric)

EDITOR'S NOTE: Translated from the original, signed and rubricked by Juan Romero. Hermosillo, Sonora. Sonoran State Archives, Asuntos Indigenas: Apaches.

## 5

## The Old Pueblo in Peril

The late winter and early spring of 1827 were a nightmare for the civilian settlers of Tucson. In its now nearly two hundred and twenty years of relatively secure existence, the Old Pueblo certainly came closest to complete abandonment in the early part of 1827. Juan Romero, who was just beginning his term as mayor at that time, puts it rather simply in our present document: “We now have no troops here.”

Since June 8, 1823, when Tucson’s full legal commander, Captain José Romero, with ten of Tucson’s regulars, left for well over three years on the California expedition, the local presidio’s roster had been riddled with vacancies. In October of 1825, General José Figueroa, the new governor of Occidente, added a number of Tucson presidials to his already enormous escort on his way through the Old Pueblo to rendezvous with Captain Romero and his contingent of more Tucsonans at the Colorado River.

The rendezvous never took place. It was not until November of 1825 that far away Governor Figueroa, waiting at the Colorado River for Captain Romero—who would not arrive for another month—got word of the rebellion launched months before by the great Yaqui leader, Juan Ignacio Jusacamea, popularly known as Juan de la Bandera. The Yaqui offensive was moving fast into the northern part of the state.

By November 29, Figueroa was back in Tucson recruiting probably the rest of the garrison for his march south against Juan de la Bandera. At Agua Caliente, southwest of the great bend in the Gila, he left more Tucsonans from his own forces to wait for Romero, who finally crossed the Colorado on December 19.

The Yaqui rebellion was at its height when Tucson’s third mayor, Juan Romero, wrote his S.O.S. to the state government. Rumor was rife that the Yaquis in the now nearly two years of their devastating offensive had had more than enough time to coordinate an alliance between themselves, Apaches, Papagos, and even Yumas, to definitively do away with the northern reaches of Occidente, including Tucson.

Another factor imperiling Tucson was the formerly protective presidial wall. Not only were all the presidio’s troops in the south with Figueroa, trying to turn back the Yaquis, but neglect due to their extended absence had rendered its only remaining defense practically unserviceable with the adobe crumbling under fallen logs.

Tucson

March 4, 1827

TO THE ACTING GOVERNOR OF OCCIDENTE, FRANCISCO IRIARTE:

On February 23, the Tubac commander advised us that he had just received an official letter from Cananea with news that the Yaquis had attacked that settlement.

At the same time, Chief Antuna, leader of our Apache scouts, got word from Chief José of the Santa Cruz Apache scouts that the same Yaquis were maneuvering to attack Tucson. Then, once they have penetrated our district, they will ally with the Coyotero Apaches, Papagos, and Yumas, that plague us during most of the months of the year.

In the face of this threat—and since we now have no troops here—I called an emergency meeting immediately here at my house. We must first do something about the presidio wall, which has fallen down in many places.

In a spirit of unity, and with admirable patriotism, all agreed to begin at once making adobes and securing timbers to restore our military wall to its original strength. I beg Your Excellency's commendation of the outstanding willingness and harmony of these settlers. I have seen it every day since the departure of our troops, and I am seeing it right now in the matter of the wall. At a moment's notice, they promptly leave their work in their fields to chase the raiding Apache.

JUAN ROMERO (rubric)

EDITOR'S NOTE: Translated from the original, signed, rubricated by Juan Romero, Hermosillo, Sonoran State Archives, Asuntos Indígenas, Apaches.

## 6

## Manuel Escalante Defends Tucson

The terrifying expectations expressed in Juan Romero's report in March of 1827, our preceding document, were softened by the Yaqui peace treaty of April 13, signed at Potam between Jusacamea and Figueroa. Tucson's problems, however, were not over.

The weakness of the Tucson presidio, including its very structure, was observed not only by Juan Romero (March 4, 1827), but also by Apache spies from the White Mountains, Tucson's traditional foes. In the spring of the following year, there descended on the Santa Cruz valley an unheard of number of nearly one hundred Apache warriors—routine raiding parties usually consisted of seven or eight. Their primary target was the mining operation in the Sierrita de Oro mountains, a few miles southwest of Tucson. They besieged the area in mid-April, and leaving a number of miners dead, went on to steal an entire herd of cattle west of Tucson on April 17.

Between the Yaqui threat of 1827 and the mass Apache attacks of 1828—and there were other problems which our document will outline—the Tucson area seemed to be living in ever-increasing danger. By early autumn of that discouraging year of 1828, the civilian population of Tucson held a town meeting and voted unanimously to leave the area to the military, and move

## Arizpe Department

December 9, 1828

TO JOSE MARIA GAXIOLA, GOVERNOR OF OCCIDENTE:

I must apologize for not answering until now your letter of October 24, in which you solicit my comment on the report from the mayor of Tucson (Ignacio Sardina) concerning the plight of the settlers there. Two urgent trips on horseback, one to the Moctezuma district and another to the Pima mission at San Ignacio, have occupied all my time. Since the Tucson situation is so critical, my love for its settlers and my familiarity with its situation prompt me immediately to make my recommendations to Your Excellency without seeking further information directly from Tucson.

It is well known that Tucson is the most isolated outpost of our frontier. Despite constant vigilance, the civilian settlers there are unable to guard their livestock and other possessions from Apache rapacity. Not one of its citizens has been able to count even twenty-five head of cattle in his herd, even though our Arizpe department is famous for the abundance of its cattle. If a Tucson settler is able to call one or other horse his own, it is because of the permanent garrison there which constantly guards the entire horse herd. His bulls and oxen he protects in a pasture during the day, but at night he has to enclose them within the walls of the presidio. This manner of life has finally driven the Tucson settler to the brink of despair.

There are other problems. The Pima settlement on the west bank of the Santa Cruz river, known as *el pueblito*, was there before the presidio. For this reason it enjoys Tucson's principal advantage, a magnificent spring of water that gives life to its extensive agricultural lands. Only by virtue of a formal treaty with the Pimas of *el pueblito* do the non-Indians on the east bank have a right to one-fourth of this water for the so-called "presidio fields."

When I was a frequent visitor in Tucson between 1809 and 1814, the settlers were also farming the Tres Alamos site (on the San Pedro river near modern-day Benson), to provision themselves, the presidio, and the peaceful Apaches attached to the post. Then when Captain Antonio Narbona, their avowed protector, turned over the military command (c.1815) to a well-known frontier commandant (Lt. Col. Manuel Ignacio Arvizu), the greater part of Tucson's settlers moved away. This is why at the present time, for its grain supply Tucson must depend on the San Ignacio river valley over a hundred miles to the south.

In previous years, the settlers at that isolated presidio of Tucson produced between 2000 and 2500 bushels of wheat annually, enough for all their needs. To their eternal credit, this they did with a gun or lance in one hand and a sickle in the other. At that, many of them lost their lives supplying the needs of Tucson.

All of this they did even enthusiastically under the aegis of Captain Antonio Narbona, a military commander who fought at their side and for them, as well as understanding both their wants and their worth. In those days, Tucson was not only holding its own but progressing; but now the civilian settlers have decided to abandon the post entirely. Things changed radically after Narbona left. Their troops are no longer being paid in money and provisions. The major factor of their decision is certainly the poverty of our military economy, upon which their civilian economy is totally

dependent. These, I believe, are the true causes of the complaints and ultimate decision of Tucson's civilian settlers.

I shall now suggest a few remedies that might be applied, for every effort must be made to forestall the abandonment of the magnificent site occupied by Tucson; and its citizens must be encouraged in every way to return once again to the progress they were making in former years.

The first measure that should be taken is to order our state military commander to provide Tucson's civilian settlers with the ammunition they need to defend their strategic position. Only in this way can they put their personal firearms to use, and form the local militia they are authorized.

A second essential requisite for Tucson, more than any other post on our northern frontier, is a local military commander who would rather sleep with his gun than with his wife. At the same time, he should have enough political sense to work along with the civilians, supply for their needs, and understand their way of life.

Also, an effort should be made to keep Tucson's professional military post at full authorized strength. The military should be commanded to give first preference to the private enterprise of Tucson's civilians, and be forbidden to look for better prices elsewhere, in provisioning their troops with food and other necessities.

The commander, or the quartermaster, should be ordered to make payment for these commodities in one open-market transaction, directly and in full, instead of making partial payments for partial supplies.

The death penalty should be applied to officers guilty of black-market dealings and profit sharing with outside suppliers. The practice of provisioning the Tucson presidio through commissioners here in Arizpe must also be stopped. All of this adds up to the presidio never actually receiving all that it pays for.

Then, some adjustment absolutely must be made in the distribution of water. Tucson's Pima village, el pueblito, now has few inhabitants. They still, however, have a monopoly on three-fourths of all the water. Legal steps should be taken to award at least half of Tucson's water to the settlers, especially since the Tres Alamos farms, unless I am mistaken, now belong to a private ranch.

MANUEL ESCALANTE Y ARVIZU (rubric)

EDITOR'S NOTE.: Translated from the original manuscript, signed, and rubricated by Manuel Escalante y Arvizu, and found today in the Apache activity section of the State Archives of Sonora in Hermosillo.



## 7

## Armageddon in the Missions

Although the influence and eloquence of Manuel Escalante in our preceding document staved off the total abandonment of Tucson by its settlers, problems remained—and the principal problem, all agreed, was the very basic one of provisioning and sustaining the professional troops. A professional garrison was essential for what Escalante called “the most isolated outpost of our frontier,” and was the rationale for building precisely there the presidio itself a half century earlier. Escalante’s eloquent attempt to stem corruption in the process of provisioning Tucson’s troops was both admirable and necessary, but really did not—and politically could not—strike at the heart of the matter.

A delicate economic balance had developed through the centuries between presidio and mission, convincingly demonstrated by Dr. Cynthia Murrieta in her 1977 study, “Changing Economic Structures in the Mission Communities of Pimería Alta.”<sup>1</sup> Generally, the presidios were built as close to the missions as Indian land rights would allow in order to protect them, and the favor was returned by the mission as lowest bidder in sales to the presidio from the mission’s extensive stores of livestock and foodstuffs.

However this stylized arrangement worked in reality, it came to an abrupt and tragic halt in the year of our interest, 1828. The beginning of the end of the mission economy of Pimería Alta had nothing to do with religion, as overzealous defenders of the sacred might surmise, but everything to do with money and politics—we might add, as usual.

For nearly a decade now, Mexico’s native-born citizens had been casting an envious eye at the so-called peninsular-born Spaniards, living in a Mexico now free and independent of the “peninsula.” The centuries of political superiority of the peninsulars, most of them with a head-start in business connections with the mother country, land-grant favors from the Crown, etc., were now a thing of the past.

Five days before Christmas 1827, the federal congress passed the long-foreseen Decree of Spanish Expulsion, which except for special circumstances would include all but one of the Pimería Alta Franciscan missionaries. The state congress of Occidente, now seated at Alamos, obediently followed suit on January 30, 1828, outdoing the federal decree by allowing only thirty days for peninsular-born Spaniards, not exempted by federal decree, to leave Occidente.

The federal decree specifically exempted Spaniards in “necessary posts.” Since there could be no necessity greater than the stability of the frontier missions, the Pimería missionaries should have been exempted. The business interests of Culiacán, however, in league with the Occidente politicians, whose state treasury was empty, had their eye on the Indian properties of Pimería Alta.

Our document reveals the hidden agenda.

---

<sup>1</sup> *The Americas*, XXXIV (October, 1977), p. 159.

Magdalena

November 1, 1828

OBSERVATIONS CLASSIFIED AS SECRET CONCERNING THE MISSIONS OF PIMERÍA ALTA:

The friars continually and consistently impressed upon the Pimas that all mission properties are the legal and rightful possession of the Indians alone. Three centuries of Spanish domination and the degrading and dehumanizing exemptions granted the Indians have made these people incapable of ever accepting our present system of government. They are irremediably prejudiced in favor of monarchy; and their lack of intelligence shall always prevent them from understanding anything else.

Proof of this was the reaction of the Pimas of San Xavier del Bac and Tucson to the efforts of Santiago Redondo to stabilize the economy of their missions. If he had not promised them a higher appeal, they would have fled to the Gila River then and there.

At this very moment the native governors of Tubutama and Saric are here in Magdalena complaining against my civil subcommissioners at those missions, and demanding the right to control their own mission properties. I have had to refer this matter to Manuel Escalante, political chief of this Arizpe department. I presume he will keep you informed of further developments.

I am insisting now on only one central administration for the wealth of all the missions, instead of an individual civil commissioner in each mission, precisely to delay reaction on the part of the Pimas. Only in this way can we gain time to sell off gradually the effects of these missions. Only in this way can we ever refill the depleted treasury of our state.

By getting rid of subcommissioners in each mission, we are also rid of paying their salaries. If the central administrator is a prudent and patient man, the entire wealth of the missions can be liquidated before the Indians realize it.

Love for Mexico and a sincere desire for peace on the frontier are my only motives for making these suggestions. In no way do I wish to anticipate the decisions of our honorable legislature and my superiors.

FERNANDO MARÍA GRANDE  
Commissioner General of Pimería Alta

EDITOR'S NOTE.: My discovery of this document was a find indeed. It is the sole extant key to the total reality behind the tragedy of 1828. It is secret enough still to be in private hands.

It was my good fortune to be a member of the official Mexican team, searching for the grave of Father Eusebio Kino in 1966. In response to our request locally for old Spanish documents in private hands that might aid us in our search, the well-known Campbell family of Magdalena allowed me to copy this family heirloom, a contemporary copy.

## 8

## Manuel Escalante Defends the Missions

The initial plans of the ruling powers of Occidente to rape the missions of Pimería Alta in 1828 were finally foiled in 1830 by Manuel Escalante, the savior of Tucson two years earlier. By the end of 1829, the governor and the commander general who had influenced the state legislature in 1827 to depose the legitimate governor, Francisco Iriarte, and then plotted the despoliation of the missions, had been recalled to Mexico City by the national congress. In October of 1829, Iriarte was reinstated by the same national congress, which declared his deposition in 1827 as against Article 157 of the Federal Constitution of 1824.

This was the event Manuel Escalante was waiting for. He made a tour of all the missions during the two months following Iriarte's reinstatement to assess the situation, and then at the beginning of 1830 wrote his appeal to his friend, Francisco Iriarte, who within ten days returned mission properties to the control of the four Franciscan missionaries named in our document.

## Headquarters of the Arizpe Department

January 13, 1830

TO FRANCISCO IRIARTE, GOVERNOR OF OCCIDENTE:

The missions of Pimería Alta are situated on the frontier of the political districts of Arizpe and Altar. I visited all of these missions during November and December of last year.

I heard the complaints of the Pimería Alta natives, and saw with my own eyes the truth of what they are saying. Before their missions come to complete ruin, I feel the obligation as political superior of these northern districts to change the present system of administering the temporal goods of these missions to the system that made their villages so productive in the past. Your Excellency can consult your own archives for inventories of mission wealth that existed when we expelled the Spanish missionaries two years ago.

Since then, these missions have been administered materially by salaried civil commissioners. Mission property has so disintegrated in the meantime that today there is not enough left to pay one civil commissioner even for a year. The Pimas are in a state of shock.

Your Excellency can hardly be surprised at this. Under the generous aegis of the missionaries, the Pimas had not only a sufficiency for their families, but there was more than enough left over for the sick, the needy, and general emergencies. As early as December 1828 I had to hurry to some of the missions to pacify movements of rebellion (see Document 7). Under the benign administration of the missionaries, the missionaries themselves provided the Pimas with oxen, plows, axes, and even the seeds to make a decent planting.

Under the new system, many Pimas are leaving their traditional river villages to roam in the open desert with the Papagos. As the Pimas themselves told me: "If the fruit of our labor is no longer our own, it is better for us to leave. If the missionaries no longer administer our villages, soon there will be no villages anyway."

There are only four missionaries left in all of the Pimería Alta. Father José María Pérez Llera, their president, lives at San Ignacio. He attends also to the spiritual care of Imuris, La Mesa, Terrenate, Santa Ana, San Lorenzo, the mission at Magdalena and all of the surrounding ranches.

Father Rafael Díaz is at Cocospera. From there he attends the Santa Cruz presidio, the Tubac presidio, and the missions at Tumacácori, San Xavier del Bac, and Tucson's el Pueblito.

Father Juan Maldonado is in charge of Oquitoa, Atil, Santa Teresa, Tubutama, and Saric.

Father Faustino González, an aged and ailing Spaniard, cares for Caborca, Pitiquito, and Bisanic.

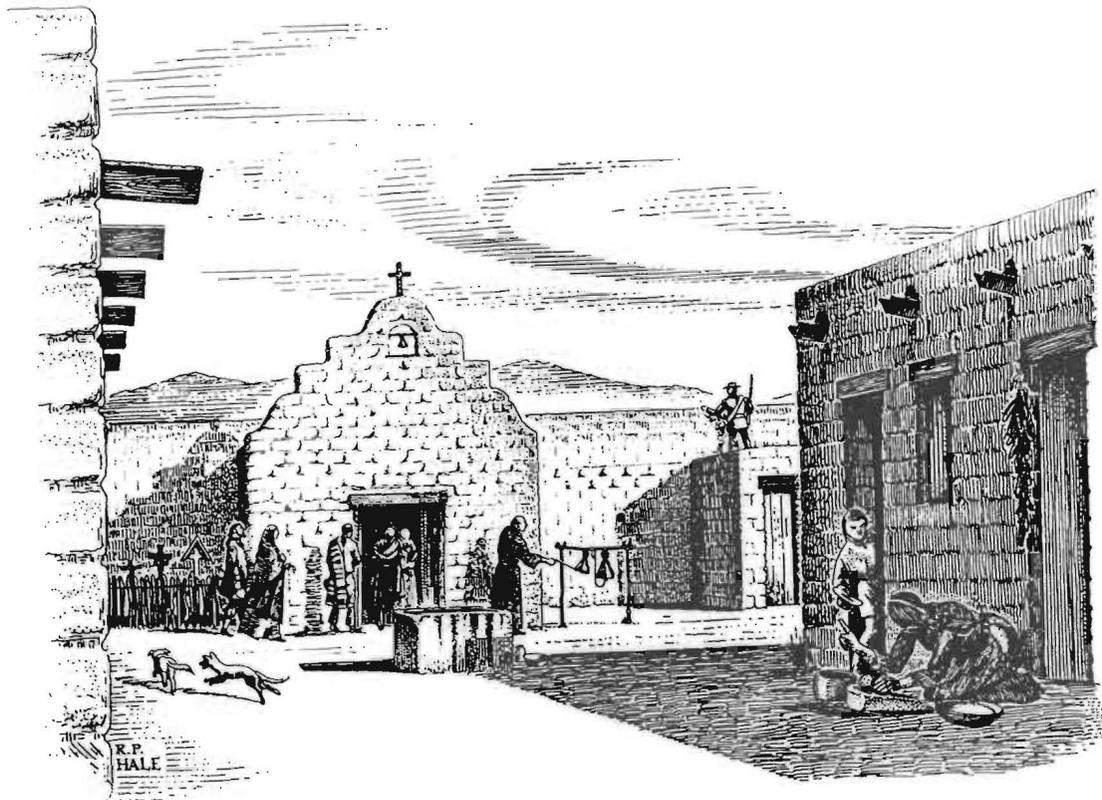
I have urged the Pimas themselves to apply immediately to Your Excellency to return the administration of mission property to the few missionaries who are still here, and to supply more missionaries for the missions. To this I add my own request for the same purpose: that Your Excellency restore to the four missionaries we still have—the mission properties we still have—before the totality of mission wealth either be squandered by the civil commissioners or destroyed by the Apaches.

If these measures are not taken immediately, serious repercussions are inevitable throughout the Pimería Alta.

MANUEL ESCALANTE Y ARVIZU (rubric)

P.S. I can hardly believe that our American-born missionaries are of less worth than the Spaniards. If the Spanish missionaries, with their prejudice in favor of Spain, administered our missions for us with such success, surely our own can do even better—and with better reason.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Translated from the original manuscript, signed, and rubricated by Manuel Escalante y Arvizu, and found today in the Apache activity section of the State Archives of Sonora in Hermosillo.



The Tucson Presidio in the 1790s  
Drawing by Robert Hale. From *Desert Documentary* by Kieran McCarty,  
Arizona Historical Society, 1976.

## 9

## Return of the Missions to the Franciscans

Ten days after Escalante's eloquent appeal of January 13, 1830, for the return of Franciscan administration to the coveted missions of Pimería Alta, Francisco Iriarte, the legitimate and restored governor of Occidente, on January 22, decreed both the spiritual and material administration of the missions to the four sole Franciscan missionaries left after the disruptive Spanish Expulsion of 1828.

During the spring of 1830, a very valuable and detailed report on the return of each mission to Fray José María Pérez Llera, new superior of the Pimería Alta, is made by Fernando Grande, unscrupulous civil commissioner for all of the missions since July 25, 1828. The excellence of his report perhaps makes up for his earlier chicanery. After all, he was only obeying the orders of Gaxiola and Paredes, who had usurped the offices of governor and military commander of Occidente.

Since the overall features and minute details for all eight Pimería Alta missions become quite repetitive in what turns out to be a long drawn-out report, we have chosen for publication only one, Mission San Xavier del Bac, nearest Tucson and thus most familiar to the public.

TO THE GOVERNOR OF OCCIDENTE

Cucurpe

May 25, 1830

All Pimerfa Alta mission property has now been returned by formal inventory to the administration of the friars, in keeping with the state decree of January 22 of this year.

These properties had previously been entrusted to me by decree of July 25, 1828, to forestall the ruin occasioned by the expulsion of the Spanish friars.

MISSION SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

The mission of San Francisco Xavier del Bac lies in a basin formed by two small hills. It is known for its beauty and the fertility of its soil. It suffers from extremes of cold and heat. Its geographical position is thirty-two degrees, thirty-five minutes, north latitude; and thirty-three degrees, thirty-six minutes west of the Washington meridian. Its satellite mission, some ten miles north, is the Indian village of Tucson, across from a presidio of the same name.

The fields at San Xavier are extensive, and they would all be under cultivation if it were not for the decadence of our presidios, which formerly bought up all of the surplus from mission harvests.

Within the San Xavier mission district, there are two other Indian villages, Santa Ana and Santa Rosa, which flock to San Xavier to help with the harvest, all of which could be much more productive if properly administered. Indian tribes of the Gila River also arrive here in great numbers to pass the frugal winter season, but they return home in the spring.

If, at the present time, this mission could be properly staffed, its many components just mentioned could enjoy a wise, humanistic, and enlightened government.

Since San Xavier lost more than it gained under civil administration, its residence was closed with all its tools and furnishings inside. Citizens Juan González and Ignacio Sardina oversaw the closing down of all mission operations. Now, however, these tools and furnishings are being handed over to the religious by the native governor, Juan Ignacio Zapata.

Justice is exercised in this village by a representative of the mayor of law and order of Tucson. Both Tucson and San Xavier are in the political district of Arizpe.

FERNANDO MARÍA GRANDE (rubric)

Affidavit

I, Fray Jose Maria Perez Llera, have received from Fernando Grande the mission of San Xavier del Bac. The mission residence has been closed and the moveable goods of the mission stored inside. The key is entrusted to Juan Ignacio Zapata, the native governor.

FRAY JOSÉ MARÍA PÉREZ LLERA (rubric)

## 10

## A Piman Prophecy

Although the missions of the Pimería Alta were legally returned to the administration of the Franciscans in 1830, the situation of the missions during the new decade was vastly different than anything in the sixty some previous years of the Franciscan era. There were rarely more than one or two of the traditional eight mission districts that had even one missionary in temporary residence within the district. By 1835, the situation was serious enough so that the native governor of Caborca, years ahead of his time, was able to predict with amazing accuracy as to where it was all leading. His name was Francisco Neblina, and his descendants are well-known today in the land of the Papago (Tohono O'odham).

Neblina writes also of an Enrique Tejeda, native captain general of the Papagos, who was paid by the Sonoran state government to lead his people. That role, though now only honorary, is still recognized in the Caborca area.

Written in an even hand by Neblina himself, the original manuscript—over and above its revelations concerning the original mission system—is a tribute to the natives of the Pimería Alta.

The Franciscan missionary praised so highly by Neblina in the letter was Father Faustino González, a native-born Spaniard. He came to Caborca in 1805, brought the spectacular new church and residence to completion, and dedicated it in May of 1809.

Some twenty years later, due to age and infirmity, he escaped the Spanish Expulsion of 1828. All through the 1835 letter, Neblina protects his beloved old missionary and admits he chose a time to write the letter when the old man was away from the mission, lest Gonzalez' political vulnerability weaken the legitimate Caborca complaints. Fray Faustino lived on till well over seventy, and died in 1840.

Caborca. February 28, 1835

TO THE REVEREND FATHER PREFECT, FRAY JOSÉ MARÍA PÉREZ LLERA.

Since the year 1814, when the Spanish settlers were commanded to look upon us Indians as equals in matters of lands and possessions, we Indians began to lose that filial subjection to our missionary, which had been the mainstay of our spiritual and temporal welfare before that time. When the resulting evils became evident and our missionary tried to restore the old order and defend our rights against the encroaching settlers, the new laws of equality were adduced.

Even our Indians who preferred the bare subsistence of roaming in the open desert had recourse to these laws, ignored the advice of our missionary, and resisted the discipline of their own native leaders. When these Indians abandoned their land, our missionary turned those lands over to the paid supervision of settlers with great loss to our agricultural possessions.

Despite these losses, our missionary secured on credit our clothing and other necessities of life in order to continue the process of our acculturation. The resulting debt was paid off in the following way. Although we needed grain to eat, we gave it to our missionary to sell at a price higher than we could get, and our women—for pay—made *pinole* from our wheat. Then from what he was able to acquire by way of Mass offerings and other donations given him by his non-Indian friends, and from the five bushels of wheat given him traditionally by our Indians in lieu of community labor—plus what was left from the grain sale—our missionary was able to maintain schools in our three villages, care for the widows, the sick, and the neophytes among the baptized, as well as give something to the unbaptized.

With all of this we somehow continued our temporal and spiritual way of life. Because we remained on our land—and worked it with enthusiasm—the neighboring settlers became fewer and more cooperative. There were always some settlers, however, who tried to stir up opposition from higher superiors—who turned out to be our only hope of defense instead—and our missionary continued to protect us from these threats.

Often we have wanted to go ourselves, and present our problems personally before these higher superiors. Our missionary himself, however, has stopped us. Being a Spaniard, he is sure they would blame him for our action.

Wearied by their intrigues, he has for some years now retired from temporal affairs, and we have descended step by step into utter misery. He urges us to be patient and assures us that help will come; but with our Indians at liberty to go wherever they wish and live however they please—some wandering, others working in the mines—and with our own lands owned and occupied by whoever comes along, our villages will become in Indian population like San Ignacio has become—and Saric, Tubutama, and Oquitoa are becoming—and for the same reasons. Even though public safety may be insured by San Ignacio having absolutely no Indians resident there at all any more, that same public safety will be all the more threatened, as things are going, if settlers take over the four missions mentioned above—Saric, Tubutama, Oquitoa, and finally our own Caborca.

This is because when the desert Papagos have wanted to be baptized, it is in these villages that they proceeded to settle. These now, however, are the Papagos who are once again wandering about on the desert, or are displaced onto ranches, or into the towns of the state—due to the occupation

of our lands by settlers, the poverty of our missionary, all leading to our present misery. Were it not for these adverse factors, these villages would now be filled with baptized Papagos—especially in light of their traditional attraction to baptism. Provisioned with the fruit of their harvests—for they are hard workers—they would now be in a position to protect the state against the Apaches and members of their own Papago tribe who prefer to wander in the waterless hills. As it is, however, necessity forces these displaced Papagos to steal cattle and horses from the presidios and the ranches.

As they wander about the state, robbery and other vices gain momentum as baptized Papagos join together with the desert Papagos, free from the control of mission regulations and free from guidance by their native governors. To increase their forces they even kidnap other Papagos, married or unmarried, gentile or Christian. This type of activity was never seen among our people—or even heard of before their contact with the Yaquis. Now, however, with every trace of their Christian teaching gone, they are becoming as rapacious as the Apaches.

When our missionary dies—and we fear it may be soon because of his advanced age—it may become even more difficult to control our own people (Pimas) and the Papagos. The missionary that replaces him will not be able to keep us at peace as he has. Also, considering our poverty we will not be able to support either the new friar or his church; and although Caborca is filled with settlers, they are as poor as we are. Rarely will he be paid for a baptism or burial, with no tithes from the settlers. Even if the new missionary who came could put up with this—and through his own thrift, and help from his friends, be able to give some help to the poorer Indians, the neophytes, and the unbaptized—another father might not. And then if this new missionary might justifiably want us to support him and the church even though we lack the means, then our discontent could result in dire consequences.

FRANCISCO NEBLINA (rubric)

EDITOR'S NOTE: The original manuscript, written, signed, and rubricated by the Indian author, is preserved today in the Archivo Histórico del Estado de Sonora (cabinet 1, drawer 2), Hermosillo, Sonora, México.

# Mexican American Studies & Research Center

<http://masrc.arizona.edu>

## WORKING PAPER SERIES



The goal of the MASRC Working Paper Series is to disseminate research on the Mexican American experience. Scholars from the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Public Policy fields, and the Humanities are encouraged to submit manuscripts. Areas of particular interest include the Mexican immigrant experience in the United States, History, Minority Economic Participation, and Public Health.

- No. 1: Bilingual Development and the Education of Bilingual Children During Early Childhood. Eugene García and Steve Martínez, 1981.
- No. 2: The Border Patrol and News Media Coverage of Undocumented Mexican Immigrants During the 1970s: A Quantitative Content Analysis in the Sociology of Knowledge. Celestino Fernández and Lawrence R. Pedroza, 1981.
- No. 3: The Evolution of Higher Education in Mexico: A Profile. Martín M. Ahumada, 1982.
- No. 4: Reformation of Arizona's Bilingual Education Policy: Litigation or Legislation? Michael D. Sacken, 1983.
- No. 5: Hispanic Youth in the Labor Market: An Analysis of "High School and Beyond." Roberto M. Fernández, 1985.
- No. 6: Selections from *De la Vida y del Folclore de la Frontera*. Miguel Méndez, 1986.
- No. 7: Entrepreneurship and Business Development: The Case of Mexican Americans. David L. Torres, 1986.
- No. 8: Mexican American Youth Organization: Precursors of Change in Texas. Ignacio García, 1987.
- No. 9: Determinants of Involuntary Part-Time Work Among Chicanos. Roberto M. De Anda, 1987.
- No. 10: Dilemmas of the High Achieving Chicana: The Double-Bind Factor in Male/Female Relationships. Judith T. González, 1987.
- No. 11: Chicano Urban Politics: The Role of the Political Entrepreneur. David E. Camacho, 1987.
- No. 12: Mexicanos and Chicanos: Examining Political Involvement and Interface in the U.S. Political System. John A. García, 1987.
- No. 13: Phenotypic Discrimination and Income Differences Among Mexican Americans. Edward E. Telles and Edward Murguía, 1988.
- No. 14: Hispanic Business in Tucson Since 1854. Melissa Amado, 1988.
- No. 15: An Exploratory Study of Bi-National News in Mexican and American Border Area Newspapers, 1977 to 1988. Thomas Gelsinon, 1990.
- No. 16: *Tierra No Mas Incógnita: The Atlas of Mexican American History*. Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, 1990.

- No. 17: El Orgullo De Ser: Mexican American/Latino Applied History Programs, Exhibitions and Museums. Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, 1990.
- No. 18: Motivators for Colon Cancer Prevention Among Elderly Mexican Americans. Judith T. González, 1990.
- No. 19: Predictors of Breast Self-Examination Among Mexican American Women: A Path Analytic Model. Judith T. González, 1990.
- No. 20: U.S. Immigration Authorities and Victims of Human and Civil Rights Abuses: The Border Interaction Project Study of South Tucson, Arizona, and South Texas. Robert E. Koulis, Manuel Escobedo, Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith, and John Robert Warren, 1994.
- No. 21: National Origin Based Variations of Latino Voter Turnout in 1988: Findings from the Latino National Political Survey. John R. Arvizu, 1994.
- No. 22: Selections from A Frontier Documentary: Mexican Tucson, 1821-1846. Kieran McCarty, 1994.
- No. 23: Utilizing the Informal Economy: The Case of Chicago's Maxwell Street Market. Steven Balkin, Alfonso Morales, and Joseph Persky, 1994.
- No. 24: José Rangel Cantú: South Texas' Fiery Radio Warrior. Carlos Larralde, 1995.
- No. 25: Beyond Access to Health Care: Institutional and Cultural Barriers Experienced by Mexican Americans in a Southwestern Community. Antonio L. Estrada, 1996.
- No. 26: The Education of Immigrant Children: The Impact of Age at Arrival. Arturo González, 1998.
- No. 27: Mexican American Women and Social Change: The Founding of the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles, An Oral History. Linda M. Apodaca, 1999.
- No. 28: The Influence of Cultural Values On Self-Efficacy in Reducing HIV Risk Behaviors. Antonio L. Estrada, Barbara D. Estrada, and Gilbert Quintero, 1999.
- No. 29: LULAC and Veterans Organize for Civil Rights in Tempe and Phoenix, 1940-1947. Christine Marín, 2001.
- No. 30: Of Information Highways and Toxic Byways: Women and Environmental Protest in a Northern Mexican City. Anna Ochoa O'Leary, 2002.
- No. 31: Social Exchange Practices among Mexican-Origin Women in Nogales, Arizona: Prospects for Education Acquisition. Anna Ochoa O'Leary, 2004.
- No. 32: Flexible Labor and Underinvestment in Women's Education on the U.S.-Mexico Border. Anna Ochoa O'Leary, Gloria Ciria Valdez-Gardea, and Norma González, 2005.
- No. 33: Viva Emiliano Zapata! Viva Benito Juárez! Helping Mexican and Chicano Middle School Students Develop a Chicano Consciousness via Critical Pedagogy and Latino/Latina Critical Race Theory. Martha Casas, 2006.
- No. 34: Mujeres en el Cruce: Mapping Family Separation/Reunification at a Time of Border (In)Security. Anna Ochoa O'Leary, 2007.