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## Settlements and Settlers at La Junta de los Rios, 1759-1822

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"La Junta de los Rios del Norte y Conchos," as Spanish officials frequently called the region, was indeed an appropriate title for it. Located where the Rio Conchos empties into the Rio Grande in the vicinity of today's Ojinaga, Chihuahua, and Presidio, Texas, it has been the center of human habitation along the Rio Grande in the borderlands between Del Rio and El Paso for thousands of years from the pre-Columbian era to the present day. However, the descriptive term "La Junta de los Rios," used by the Spaniards from the late seventeenth century until the separation from Mexico in 1821, did not solely refer to the point where the two rivers met. Instead it embraced a region of hundreds of square miles roughly extending along both banks of the Rio Conchos from Cuchillo Parado to present day Ojinaga and along both the eastern and western banks of the Rio Grande, approximately from today's Lajitas, Texas, to the village of Pilares in Chihuahua.

The purpose of this study is to review the sporadic visits and attempts made by Spain to establish the region of La Junta and to examine in some detail Spanish settlers there in the period from the foundation of the first presidio at the junction of the two rivers (1759-60) to the end of the Spanish period, or a total of approximately sixty years, the two generations in which there was continuous close contact between Spanish soldiers and *vecinos*<sup>1</sup> on the one hand with Amerindians living in villages on the other. It is evident that the two groups did not remain apart in this period and region, but practiced *mestizaje* (racial mixing) openly and frequently. Using the La Junta Church records from El Templo de Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno in Ojinaga, photographic copies of which are in the

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Archives of the Big Bend at Sul Ross State University,<sup>2</sup> one can determine from marriage and baptismal records the presence of soldiers and officers (both those on active duty and retired), their marriages to local residents, and their offspring. Since "Indians" are occasionally mentioned in these baptismal and marriage records, perhaps their apparent assimilation into the prevailing society may explain the disappearance of the Amerindians from the villages they inhabited upon Spanish contact.

Fortunately, to supplement these records, there are occasional references to the size of the La Junta garrison and other presidios established in the region. However, no detailed numbers or family listings in Spanish census returns for the period 1760-1821 have been found to date. More importantly, for background on the area there are some published studies available. One of these, Colonel Russell J. Gardinier's "The Physical Geography of a Significant Border Region, La Junta de los Rios,"<sup>3</sup> describes the mountains, river basins, climate, soils, flora, and fauna of this region in the Chihuahuan Desert. With an elevation of about 2,500 feet, a terrain of gravel, bolson deposits and alluvium soil, annual rainfall of just over eight inches, and sustained high summer temperatures ten to fifteen degrees above 100° Fahrenheit,<sup>4</sup> La Junta seems unfit for human occupancy. As Colonel Gardinier observes:

Too hot, too dry, too remote, too poor, too wild, too far from God, too close to the Devil, ignored by governments and forgotten by history, the land in the area of Presidio, Texas and Ojinaga, Chihuahua, bears with stoic resignation its unheralded role in the development of several human cultures in a harsh physical environment of northern Mexico and the American Southwest.<sup>5</sup>

It is these human cultures to which archaeologists, anthropologists, and ethnohistorians have addressed themselves, one for the past sixty years, Dr. J. Charles Kelley. His extensive archaeological investigations began in the 1930s, resulting in a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University in 1947, publication of numerous articles in professional journals, and finally in 1986 the publication of his *Jumano and Patarabueye: Relations at La Junta de los Rios*.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Kelley's meticulous research in archaeological and historical primary sources enabled him to differentiate between nomadic Jumanos on the plains north of the Rio Grande and the village-dwelling agricultural Patarabueyes (a term used in the Luxan journal of the Espejo expedition of 1582-83) in the region of La Junta de los Rios, where the two Amerindian cultures came into contact, and also to identify the archaeological sites of Patarabueyes people in the La Junta district.

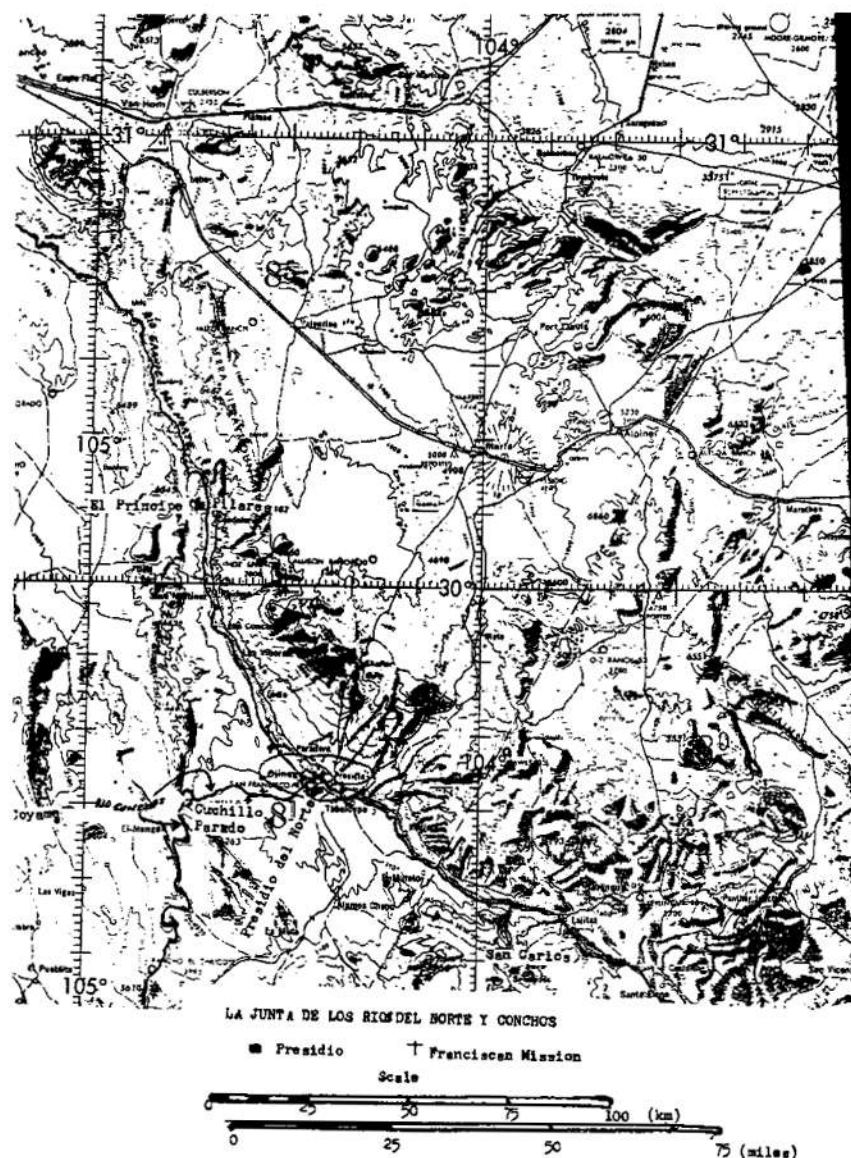


FIGURE 1. La Junta de los Rios del Norte y Conchos.

Two other ethnohistorians/archaeologists have also enriched our knowledge of La Junta. Carroll L. Riley's revised edition of *The Frontier People: The Greater Southwest in the Protohistoric Period* included a special chapter on "La Junta Province" in which he provided descriptions of the physical geography, sequence of occupation through the early Spanish mission period, and the customs of the Amerindians at La Junta.<sup>7</sup> William B. Griffen has also provided insights about the Franciscan missions at La Junta and the process of cultural contact between the Spaniards and the Amerindians as a portion of his work relating to Chihuahua, principally in the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

All of these important works tend to concentrate upon the Amerindians before Spanish contact and the period of early missionary activity. Little attention has been paid to the last half of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth when Spanish soldiers and civil settlers lived at La Junta and came into close contact with the village-dwelling Amerindians who were already there and who had been subjected to Franciscan missionary activity sporadically from the 1680s to the 1750s. Only Rex E. Gerald's *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain*, Max Moorhead's *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands*, and Oakah L. Jones's *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* examine limited topics pertaining to La Junta's military presence.<sup>9</sup> Even these works do not address assimilation and development of the region after 1760 except for the Apache conciliation policy. Perhaps one reason for this neglect is the scarcity of primary sources, especially in the last thirty years or so of Spanish settlement at La Junta, and the lack of detailed censuses for the region when other frontier communities were being so carefully compiled from the late 1770s to the early 1790s.

While Spanish presence at La Junta and contact with the Amerindians there can be traced to the visits of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca with his three companions in 1535, and to the expeditionary forces of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado and Fray Agustin Rodriguez (1581-82) and of Antonio de Espejo in 1582,<sup>10</sup> missionary efforts on a temporary or sustained basis did not take place until the mid-1680s after the Pueblo revolt in New Mexico drove Spaniards southward into the vicinity of El Paso del Norte (present Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua). Although there have been references to missions being established at La Junta as early as 1660 and missionary visits there by 1671,<sup>11</sup> it is apparent that no ecclesiastical presence survived in the region when Juan Sabeata, a Christianized Jumano, appeared at El Paso in October 1683, requesting missionaries be

sent and missions be established for his people. He said that he had lived at La Junta with many of his people and Julimes Indians.<sup>12</sup> Fray Nicolas Lopez at San Jose del Parral responded to Sabeata's request. With official sanction, he and two other priests accompanied Jumanos in late 1683 from Parral to La Junta, where they found the Amerindians were already Christians and had a "large church of grass." Settled in villages, the La Junta peoples (Julimes, Jumanos, Rayados, and Patarabueyes principally) raised corn, wheat, beans, calabashes, watermelons, cantaloupes, and tobacco. Father Lopez reported that he said Mass and baptized more than five hundred Amerindians during his stay at La Junta.<sup>13</sup> When Juan Dominguez de Mendoza arrived from El Paso in December with a party of soldiers, Fathers Lopez and Juan Zavaleta accompanied them and Juan Sabeata's Jumanos on an expedition northeastward beyond the Rio Grande to the vicinity of the Pecos River ("Rio Salado") and Middle Conchos River ("Rio Nueces," but not the present river) near today's San Angelo, Texas. After more than six weeks absence and an attack by Apaches, the force returned to La Junta (without Juan Sabeata, who was in disfavor with Dominguez de Mendoza). When the expedition subsequently returned to El Paso, Father Lopez accompanied it, but Father Antonio Acevedo remained at La Junta to carry on the missionary work there.<sup>14</sup>

Not for long. In the spring and early summer of 1684, four years after the Pueblo revolt had caused the migration of settlers and friendly Pueblos from New Mexico to the environs of El Paso del Norte, almost all of the native nations in northern Chihuahua--Mansos, Sumas, Janos, Apaches, Julimes, and Conchos--arose in rebellion. The Christian Amerindians at La Junta, however, remained faithful, warned the priests, and conducted them and the sacred ornaments and vessels from the churches safely to San Jose del Parral.<sup>15</sup>

Soon after the presence of the French party commanded by Robert Cavellier, Sieur de La Salle, in southern Texas was reported to the Spanish authorities by "Don Nicolas," a Jumano Amerindian of La Junta who was well-versed in the Spanish language. This report resulted in renewed missionary activity and a military reconnoitering expedition in the late 1680s. Fray Agustin de Colina, president of the La Junta missions, testified in 1688 regarding reports of the French in Texas, indicating that the La Junta nations were once again friendly to the Spaniards. Captain Juan Fernandez de Retana, presidial commander at San Francisco de los Conchos, arrived at La Junta in 1689 with an expedition charged with

investigating the rumors of French activity and finding their camp beyond the Rio Grande. Met by Juan Sabeata at the Pecos River, Captain Fernandez de Retana heard about the destruction of La Salle's Fort Saint Louis and the death of the venture's leader. The Spanish force returned with Sabeata and Don Nicolas (the interpreter) to Parral, where its commander rendered a full report to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya. Their presentation was accompanied by two sheets of paper torn from a French book, a parchment with a painting of a ship, and a lace neckcloth.<sup>16</sup>

Successful missionization of the La Junta nations resumed in 1715 and continued sporadically until mid-century. Don Juan Antonio de Trasvina Retis, sergeant-major of the presidio of San Francisco de los Conchos, with permission from the viceroy of New Spain, the Duque de Linares, led an expedition to complete a survey and census of the Amerindians at La Junta and reestablish missions there. With four Franciscan missionaries, an escort of twenty soldiers, and a friendly Amerindian named "El Coyame," Trasvina peacefully obtained the loyalty of eleven pueblos of Amerindians at La Junta and established six missions in the region for a total of 1,652 persons.<sup>17</sup> He observed that the natives were polite, good-natured, and that both men and women were well-dressed, some with Cordoba shoes and Brussels silk stockings. On arrival, the Spaniards found churches already existing, irrigated fields, and eighty La Juntans absent working on the farms at Valle de San Bartolome (probably descendants of those who had fled from La Junta in 1684).<sup>18</sup> Trasvina recommended that permanent missions be established at La Junta and that Spanish settlers not be allowed to reside in the region. Responding to these suggestions, the viceroy dispatched six priests in 1716. They founded the five missions of Nuestro Senor la Redonda de Collame, Nuestro Senor Padre San Francisco, San Pedro del Cuchillo Parado, San Juan, and San Cristobal. Spanish officials supplied the Amerindians with cattle, sheep, and tools to cultivate their lands. Francisco, the Amerindian governor, carefully supervised both the churches and the cattle.<sup>19</sup> By March 1717, a sixth mission had been established at Nuestra Senora de Santa Ana y San Francisco de Xavier with 141 Conchos and Chinarras people in all (31 married men, 31 married women, 28 widowed and single, 27 boys, 23 girls, and "Bernardina, wife of Don Esteban [all] governed by Don Santiago Xavier.")<sup>20</sup> For their subsistence Trasvina issued them meat, corn, tools, clothing, and forty-seven head of cattle (fifteen people with two each, seventeen people with one each) amounting in all to a value of 840 pesos. In addition, he supplied weekly rations of beef, wheat, and corn.<sup>21</sup>

Although these three missions began auspiciously, the missionaries and their charges (including Francisco) were forced to flee a few years later when non-Christian Amerindians conspired to kill the fathers, who escaped first to Coyame and then to San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua. There they initiated a request for a presidio to protect the missions, but Viceroy Marques de Valero refused. Subsequently missionaries returned to La Junta, but again were forced to flee when another revolt occurred in the mid-1720s. Once again reestablished in 1732-33, the missions at La Junta were still functioning in 1746 when Fray Juan Miguel Menchero repeated the earlier request for a presidio to protect them. The Spanish expeditions of Captain Joseph de Ydoiaga (or Idoiaga) in 1747 and Governor Pedro Rabago y Teran of Coahuila both visited La Junta de los Rios or the region south of the junction. Captain Ydoiaga, ordered by the viceroy to reconnoiter the region for locating possible sites of a presidio, conducted his expedition of soldiers and Amerindian auxiliaries to Cuchillo Parado and finally to the junction of the two rivers itself. There in the latter part of November and early December 1747, he compiled a list of Amerindians residing at each pueblo, specifying persons by name, marital status, numbers of children, and commenting on the land, villages, and economic pursuits of the Amerindians.<sup>22</sup> By 1750 there were still two to four religious at La Junta and the missions of San Francisco, San Cristobal, and San Pedro still functioned in the mid-1750s. Six missions and five resident missionaries occupied the region when the first presidio was established in 1759-60.<sup>23</sup>

The foundation of Real Presidio de Nuestra Senora de Bethlen y Santiago de las Amarillas de la Junta de los Rios Conchos y del Norte (its original name, but later understandably known as Presidio de la Junta de los Rios or Presidio del Norte) opened an entirely new era in the region. Contact between Spanish soldiers and *vecinos* with the La Junta Amerindians thereafter led to great socioeconomic and demographical changes in the structure of society, along with an increased secularism and a corresponding decline and gradual abandonment of missions. Although recommendations by missionaries, as well as military and civil officials, for the establishment of a presidio in the region had been made for more than thirty years,<sup>24</sup> actual foundation of a presidio there did not occur until late December 1759. To counter the frequent "invasions and hostilities with which the *indios barbaros*" perpetrated on northern Chihuahua, Viceroy Marques de las Amarillas convoked a *Junta de Guerra* (war council) in Mexico City on 31 July 1757. Testimony of military officials there recommended the establishment of two new



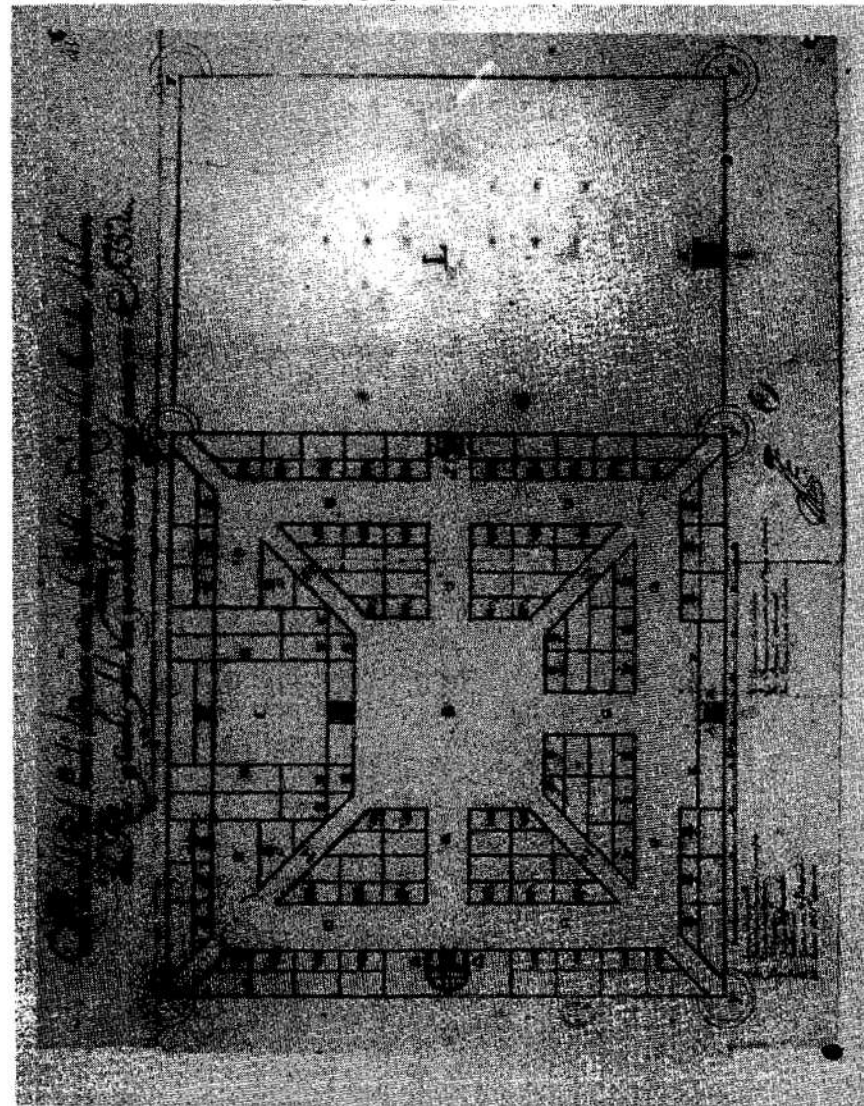
presidios, one at Carrizal (between El Paso del Norte and today's city of Chihuahua) and the other at La Junta de los Rios. Both were to be assigned to the jurisdiction of the kingdom or province of Nueva Vizcaya and were to be financed by the royal treasury. The viceroy accepted these recommendations and issued a *cedula* (decree) on 12 August 1757 for their foundation.<sup>25</sup>

Two unsuccessful efforts to establish the new presidios at La Junta were made in 1759. The first occurred when Captain Alonso Rubin de Celis of El Paso del Norte dispatched a squadron of fifteen soldiers, accompanied by two missionaries, to determine an appropriate site for the garrison. Enthusiastically received by the Amerindians at La Junta and visiting bands of Natage and Salinero Apaches, the commander of this squadron encountered opposition from Father Joseph Paez, the custodian of the Franciscan missions, who objected strongly to having a presidio and soldiers in his jurisdiction. He urged that the squadron on 1 July leave the area and Captain Rubin de Celis so ordered after he received notification of the missionary's opposition. Father Paez then visited Governor Matheo Antonio de Mendoza at the *villa* of San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua. Unable to convince the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to counter the viceroy's decree, Father Paez returned to La Junta and Mendoza issued a new order on 27 September 1759 to Captain Rubin de Celis to establish a presidio at the junction of the two rivers or whatever other place he found suitable, but not to encroach upon existing Amerindian towns or lands. This time on 5 October Rubin de Celis himself led an expedition of 49 soldiers and 351 horses, financed by six thousand pesos from the royal treasury. Although he was met by Father Paez and reconnoitered various sites, he encountered opposition from the Amerindians of the district (perhaps influenced by the Franciscan custodian). Rubin de Celis failed to establish the presidio so Governor Mendoza suspended him as presidial captain, ordered him to move to his mother-in-law's *hacienda*, and turned over the remaining finances to an interim commander for the proposed La Junta presidio, Captain Manuel Munoz.<sup>26</sup>

With six officers, 43 soldiers, and 305 horses, Captain Munoz carried out the governor's orders to establish the new presidio, arriving in the La Junta region on 20 December 1759. Completed the following year and according to its plan, the presidio's construction was supervised by Don Joseph Sagardia, and it was supplied with 145 wagonloads (*cargas*) of clothes, provisions, powder, balls, shotguns, pistols, swords, and tools for its erection. During this construction Captain Munoz visited each of the missions, where he

FIGURE 2. "Plan of Royal Presidio . . . de la Junta de los Rios de Conchos y de el Norte, 1759." Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y planos, Mexico, 621.

Courtesy of Archivo General de Indias and University of New Mexico Press (from Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*).



received Amerindian pledges to recognize the king's authority, to remain peaceful, and to be loyal. He also compiled a list of the seven towns of the Amerindians and the names of the persons residing in each one or its environs.<sup>27</sup>

Thus began the military presence which would continue, with a temporary absence from 1766 to 1773, until the end of the Spanish period in 1821. The presidio of La Junta de los Rios remained at the junction of the two rivers (probably on the south bank of the Rio Conchos opposite the Amerindian village and mission of San Francisco) until 1766, when it was moved upriver to Julimes. The Marques de Rubi and Nicolas de Lafora did not visit it during their inspection of the northern presidios from 1766 to 1768 because it was in the process of being moved. However, Rubi thought that the presidio should be relocated to its former site at the confluence of the two rivers and the Reglamento de 1772 so ordered.<sup>28</sup> Lt. Colonel Hugo O'Connor, the newly appointed *comandante inspector* of the Provincias Internas del Norte, carried out the provisions of the royal regulation by reestablishing the garrison at La Junta with a fifty-man force between 1 October and 1 November 1773. At the same time he established another presidio near the spring of San Carlos (about eleven miles southwest of present day Lajitas, Texas), and later (between 9 January and 27 March 1774) founded a third presidio named El Principe at the campsite of Los Pilares (about one-quarter of a mile south of Pilares, Chihuahua, between La Junta and El Paso del Norte).<sup>29</sup> Thus by 1774 three presidios had been established in the general vicinity of La Junta de los Rios and along the upper and lower sections of the Rio Grande. While those at Pilares and San Carlos were subsequently abandoned and then reoccupied between the 1780s and 1815,<sup>30</sup> Presidio del Norte continued uninterrupted to the end of the Spanish era.

Fifty soldiers and a captain constituted the original complement of Presidio La Junta de los Rios.<sup>31</sup> By 1765 Bishop Pedro de Tamaron y Romeral noted that there were 52 families totaling 138 persons at La Junta.<sup>32</sup> Two years later Nicolas de LaFora reported a garrison of fifty soldiers at Julimes,<sup>33</sup> but by 1783 Presidio del Norte had 106 men, according to Commandant-General Felipe de Neve's official report.<sup>34</sup> This same figure was reported in the census of 1788 for Nueva Vizcaya, and again in a military list of 1790-92 with 144 men at the presidios of El Principe and San Carlos.<sup>35</sup> In 1817 there were 87 soldiers plus 25 retired ones (*invalidos*) at Presidio del Norte and 119 at San Carlos, all cavalry.<sup>36</sup> In 1820 one report reflected 1,235 persons residing at "Norte" (evidently La Junta

de los Rios) under the heading of "*compañias presidiales y voluntarios*" (presidial companies and volunteers).<sup>37</sup>

With this complement of active duty and retired soldiers, families, and some *vecinos* congregated in the La Junta region over a continuous period of forty-eight years it is apparent that they had considerable impact upon the dwindling number of Amerindians at the Franciscan missions (still six of them in 1794).<sup>38</sup> The process of intermixing and racial assimilation of natives into the prevailing Spanish society intensified during this period, although evidence of Amerindian acculturation--for example, speaking Castilian, adoption of Spanish tools and crops, and acceptance of Christianity--began before 1759-60. While no detailed censuses of the population have been found to date, the marriage and baptismal records of the church of Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno in Ojinaga reveal unions of soldiers and local women (including Amerindians), children born of such parents, and witnesses of ceremonies who were soldiers, *vecinos*, and Amerindians. These records tend to support the contentions of Edward H. Spicer "that there was probably a good deal of intermixture of the unattached soldiers with Indian women and some consequent marriages" and that after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 the increased secular program of the Spanish authorities--civil and military--resulted in the disintegration of mission communities.<sup>38</sup>

Marriages and baptisms at La Junta from 1775, two years after the presidio returned there from Julimes, until the end of the Spanish period reveal some information concerning soldiers, *vecinos*, and Amerindians of the region.<sup>40</sup> Petitions of soldiers and *vecinos* to marry local women are exemplified by those of Manuel Caro (a soldier of Presidio El Principe) and Cristomo Caraval (a *vecino* of that presidio). Caro requested permission to marry Roberta Zamora (a *vecina* of Presidio del Norte or La Junta de los Rios) in a letter addressed to the presidial captain. A note on the margin of this petition indicated that permission was granted.<sup>41</sup> Caraval, a *vecino* of the presidio at La Junta, requested that the presidial chaplain grant him permission to marry Manuela Villa, also a *vecina* and the daughter of Ygnacio and Francisca de la Cruz, "Yndios Nortenos" of this garrison.<sup>42</sup>

Yet these petitions are not the only indications of marriages since the more extensive baptismal records show the names and status--soldiers, *vecinos*, and Amerindians--of the child's parents and godparents. Chaplain Fernando de Ysaguirre of the Presidio de la Junta de los Rios Norte y Conchos performed most of these baptisms (one was conducted by Fray Raphael Blanco, the chaplain of the



presidio of Pílares) in the period 1775-1780, and they evidently occurred at the presidio itself. Father Ysaguirre on 19 February 1775 baptized an infant son of Mariano Enríques, a native of the Valle de San Bartolomé, and Rita de Acosta, a native of Julimes. Neither of these parents appear to be Amerindians. In March of the same year, Father Ysaguirre baptized a "mulato son" of Diego de Villa, soldier, and María Sánchez; a *mulata* daughter of Miguel Eredia, "soldier of this company," and María Lujan; and an "español son" of Guadalupe Ramírez, "soldier of this company," and Victoria de Herrera. On 5 May 1776, he baptized an infant son of Juan Joaquín, "Yndio," and María Montoya, "Yndia," noting in the margin that they were auxiliaries of the presidial company. On 23 August 1776, he baptized and named María Petra, noting that "she is a *collota* (*coyote* or mixture of Spaniard and Indian) and the daughter of Joseph Andriaga, *español*, and Dolores Lujan, *Yndia*."<sup>43</sup> From 1775 to 1779 Father Ysaguirre baptized 63 children in all--39 those of soldiers (22 boys and 17 girls), 23 those of *vecinos* (10 girls, 13 boys), and one the son of Amerindian auxiliaries.<sup>44</sup> That this process continued is evident in the baptismal records of 1780 (one daughter of Vicente Becerro, an Indian soldier of the presidio of Pílares, and María Felipa de la Cruz, an "Yndia *chola*") and those of other priests in the district, especially Father Vicente Lechón of the chapel of Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Coyame from 1807 to 1822 and beyond.<sup>45</sup>

Thus it can be seen that acculturation and intermixing of soldiers, *vecinos* residing in the proximity of the presidio of El Norte and those of El Príncipe and San Carlos, and Amerindians began soon after the troops returned from Julimes to La Junta, and continued for the remainder of the Spanish period. From the early 1790s onward, however, there is another illustration of Amerindian acculturation at La Junta--the baptisms of numerous Apache children.

These Apaches, largely Mescaleros, were bands which had accepted offers of a truce from Commandant-General Teodoro de Croix in 1779, and others from Jacobo de Ugarte y Loyola and Pedro de Nava during the 1780s. In compliance with the king's order of 20 February 1779 to congregate peace-seeking bands of Apaches and others at the presidios of the northern frontier, Croix sent Lt. Colonel Manuel Muñoz to conclude a formal agreement with a group of Mescaleros who sought protection at La Junta and offered to serve as auxiliaries. Muñoz arrived there on 25 October 1779 and negotiated with the Mescalero chiefs (six of them), one of whom named Alonso was allowed to select a site to the northeast and only a musket shot from the presidio. There a pueblo of adobe bricks

and timber, named Nuestra Señora de la Buena Esperanza, was constructed for Alonso's band of forty-five Apaches. Another pueblo for other Mescaleros (eighty of them) was established at the abandoned mission of San Francisco (across the Río Conchos from the presidio), but the Apaches refused to live in it and departed on a buffalo hunt. When they returned in January 1780, they asked Muñoz to establish a single pueblo for all the Mescaleros. Muñoz extended the boundaries of Buena Esperanza to 120 *varas* (about 334 feet) on each side, and by June 1780, at least four bands resided there. Two months later they abandoned it because of an epidemic of smallpox and flood of both rivers that destroyed the corn crop. They returned in November, camping near the presidio instead of the abandoned 113 houses and 2 bastions at La Esperanza. For the construction of a new pueblo, Muñoz hired sixteen Spanish laborers at three *reales* per day because the Mescaleros would not "lift a single adobe brick." He also sent troops into the mountains to cut necessary lumber. In all Muñoz said that the total bill of constructing the new pueblo, planting crops, and issuing rations to the Apaches (8 bushels of corn and 3 of beans every week) amounted to 4,120 pesos. Yet the cost was worth it. The Apaches remained at peace and served as auxiliaries on campaigns against hostile Gila Apaches.<sup>46</sup>

However, Croix, suspecting that some Mescaleros were still raiding Spanish settlements, in July 1781, sent Muñoz new instructions. Hereafter no further food, clothing, ammunition, and other supplies were to be issued to any Mescalero until he settled securely at La Esperanza or some other pueblo or until he served faithfully as an auxiliary. Weekly rations of food and necessities would be issued to those families who settled at one of the pueblos, but no Mescalero could leave them without the permission of the presidial captain and then only for a specified time. Spanish day laborers would be provided to plant and care for fields for one year, but Mescaleros were to assist them. Those who settled in a pueblo and served as auxiliaries would be exempt from all construction and agricultural labor and they were to be paid three *reales* or the equivalent in supplies per day for their military service. Those who did not settle but did serve as auxiliaries were to receive the supplies they needed for military campaigns but nothing else. Finally, those who neither settled nor served as auxiliaries were considered enemies and were not to be admitted to the presidios or towns of the frontier. Three Mescalero chiefs--Alonso, Domingo Alegre, and Patule--accepted these new terms in September 1781, returning to

La Esperanza by October. However, by March 1783, most of them had once again fled.<sup>47</sup>

After February 1787, Ugarte repeated the experiment with the Mescaleros. Captains Juan Diaz and Juan Bautista Elguezabal completed new arrangements with the Apaches, whereby they must stop raiding, surrender all their captive Spaniards, adopt Christianity, and form a permanent settlement near Presidio del Norte. There they would be assigned plots of bottom land along the Rio Grande and assisted by the Spaniards in planting crops and raising livestock, but they were not to receive rations. They were permitted to leave their pueblo to hunt game and to gather wild fruits. By the end of March 1787, eight Mescalero chiefs and their bands arrived at Presidio del Norte. Captain Diaz estimated that there were about four hundred warriors and three hundred families of Apaches at La Junta, suffering greatly from acute hunger, so Diaz issued them rations, thereby violating his original instructions. Four Apache bands left the pueblo, but by August had returned and all ten bands resided near the presidio. At the request of Governor-Intendant Felipe Diaz de Ortega from Durango, the superintendent of the royal treasury in August approved the payment of three thousand pesos charged against the Chihuahua funds for the subsistence of the "Apaches at peace in the Presidio del Norte," and the king approved the expenditures the following February.<sup>48</sup>

Yet in the interim the new viceroy, Manuel Antonio Flores, on 8 October 1787, alarmed by continued reports of Apache hostilities on the frontier, ordered all the bands assembled at El Norte removed to Santa Rosa in Coahuila and that war be declared on those who refused to move. Commandant-General Ugarte so ordered their removal on 7 May 1788, thus ending the second effort to establish peaceful Apaches at La Junta.<sup>49</sup>

After unsuccessful efforts had been made to settle Apaches in Coahuila, in 1790 Viceroy Conde de Revillagigedo authorized the resumption of peace negotiations with the Mescaleros. Once again Captain Diaz met with eight Apache bands and concluded a formal peace with them before the end of the year. They settled near Presidio del Norte and some 230-250 warriors (perhaps 800-900 persons in all) were still there three years later. The Apaches would still not farm, but they did serve as auxiliaries. When they revolted in 1795, about one-third of them remained loyal to the Spaniards and stayed in the La Junta region.<sup>50</sup>

Thus the Apaches had been present at La Junta in temporary peaceful settlements from 1779 to 1795, and some remained there as settlers thereafter until the end of the Spanish period. Some

accepted Christianity and became a part of the racially mixed population of the region. Baptismal records after 1792, extending to 1822, reveal Apaches as Christians and as "*Indios Infieles*." Fray Manuel Acevedo, the parish priest of the presidio at El Principe, on 9 November 1792 baptized twins, one named Juan Jose Miguel Teodoro, an "Apachito" (Apache boy) of about two years of age, and another, an "Apachita" (Apache girl), both orphans in the home of the presidial captain.<sup>51</sup> Father Pedro Antonio Camargo in January 1793 baptized a boy about three years old, the son of a "Christian apostate and a *gentil* of the Mescalero Apache nation whose parents sought peace in this royal presidio." Father Vicente Lechon of the chapel of Nuestra Senora del Pilar de Coyame baptized numerous Apache children between 1807 and 1814. Some he called a "*criatura*," others "*criaturas coatas*" and "*irfantas coatas*," indicating that these "creatures" were Apaches and their parents "*irfieles*" or non-Christian.<sup>52</sup>

La Junta de los Rios del Norte y Conchos has had thousands of years of human occupancy--Amerindians, Spanish, and Mexican. Its isolated location, extreme climate, sparse rainfall, and rocky soil may seem at first glance to inhibit such occupancy. But this is not the case as revealed by the archaeological and historical record. La Junta's low humidity, long summer season, and mild winters have attracted settlers to the region. As elsewhere in the southwestern United States and northern Mexico, water is the key to survival in such an environment. That resource is one of La Junta's great attractions--the Rio Grande del Norte and especially the Rio Conchos which exceeds the flow of the Rio Grande at La Junta by more than two to one.

Important strides have been made in the past fifty or sixty years to improve our knowledge of this district that has been so significant for settlement, trade, and human development. J. Charles Kelley, William Griffen, and Carroll Riley have given us scholarly, soundly researched studies of the archaeology and ethnohistory of La Junta through the missionary era. As John Speth stated in the introduction to Kelley's *Jumano and Patarabueye*: "La Junta de los Rios contains one of the most important and exciting archaeological records in western North America, one that desperately deserves conservation and further research."<sup>53</sup>

But what of La Junta's history and heritage after the establishment of its presidio and the arrival of soldiers, families, and civil settlers in the last sixty years of Spanish presence? What became of the Amerindians at the junction of the rivers, a development that Riley notes twentieth century Mexicans and Americans have lost



and "no longer know their history"?<sup>54</sup> Aside from the useful presidial studies of Max Moorhead and Rex Gerald, little has been done to examine the records of Spanish settlement, trade, Amerindian contacts, acculturation, and growth of an integrated population at La Junta from 1760 to 1821.

Hopefully through preliminary study and future research in church and civil records, including those of parishes such as the one at Ojinaga and censuses (if any exist), additional information can be uncovered concerning the people of this region. Kelley notes that La Junta Amerindians disappeared after 1800 and he speculates that "it is probable that most of the La Junta peoples, who had become increasingly acculturated by Spanish contact, were slowly absorbed into the rising tide of Spanish settlement."<sup>55</sup> Griffen also notes the decline of the Amerindian population at the Franciscan missions over the last fifty years of the Spanish colonial period, concluding that these missions became they were practically "devoid of people," disappeared not long after 1765, "probably within the next 20 years."<sup>56</sup>

Marriage and baptismal records of the church at Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno in Ojinaga and their photostats at the Archives of the Big Bend may not show us all we need to know. Yet, they do reveal the continued presence of La Junta Amerindians and their intermingling with Spanish soldiers and *vecinos*. Also, civil records and those at the La Junta church show the presence of Mescalero Apaches and their temporary peaceful settlement in the region between 1779 and 1815. Thus it appears that documentary evidence exists to suggest that La Juntans acculturated and were indeed assimilated into the Spanish population through their acceptance of Christianity, employment of new farming methods, trade with the Spaniards, learning to speak the Spanish language, service as auxiliaries on campaigns, and intermarriages with the Spaniards. While the evidence is still not full and conclusive, it is possible, based on existing sources, to conclude tentatively that La Junta Amerindians did indeed become part of the polyglot population in this important and neglected region of the Spanish Borderlands.

The acculturation of La Junta Amerindians took place in three stages: first, through contact with Spanish explorers; second, through extended missionary activity from the 1680s to the 1790s; and finally, through continued close contact with presidial soldiers and civil settlers, both of whom had families of their own or married locals, including Amerindians. What began with Columbus's explorations in the Caribbean, bringing Amerindians and Spanish into initial contact, culminated three centuries later at La Junta de los

Rios on the Spanish frontier with the establishment of a mixed population that is the basis of La Junta's people today.

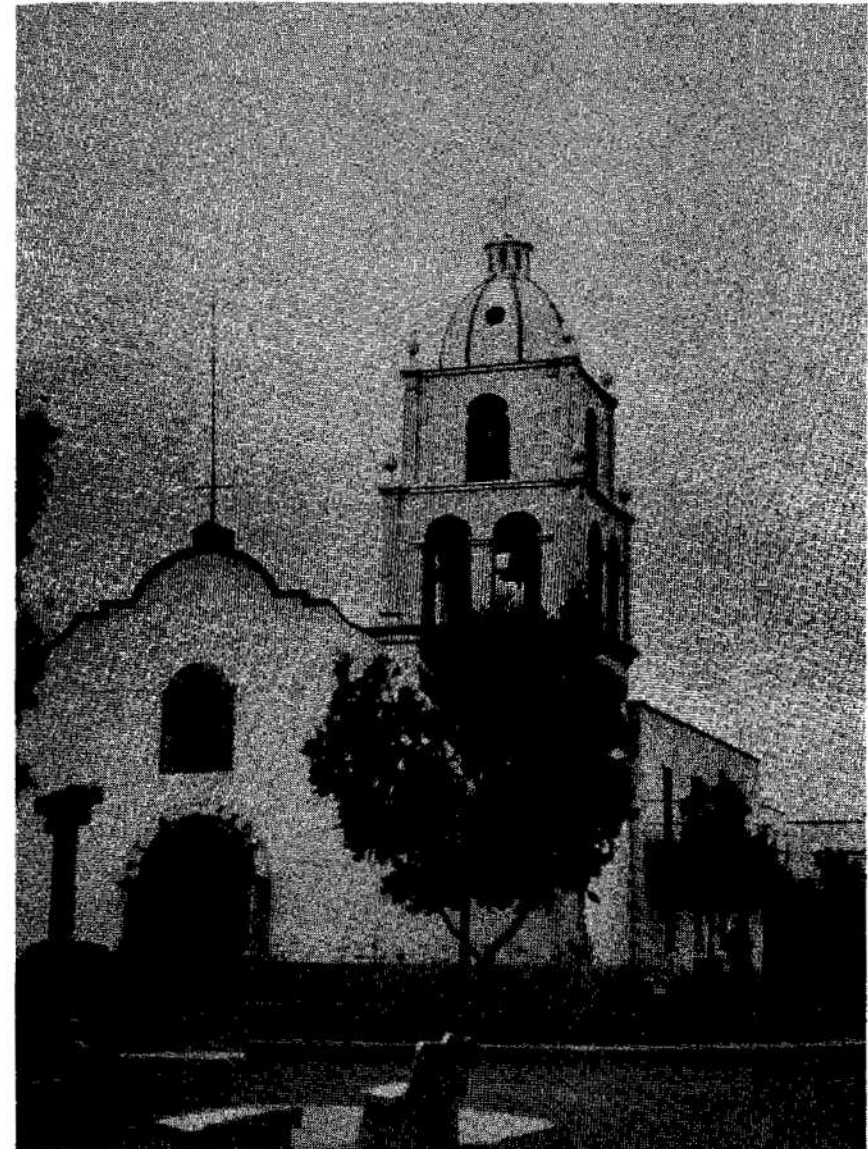


FIGURE 3. Church at Ojinaga, Chihuahua (early 20th Century).

Photo by Henry Dendahl.  
 Courtesy, Photo Archives, Museum of New Mexico, and  
 University of New Mexico Press.

## Appendix A

## Selected Baptismal Records

Source: La Junta Church Records, 1775-1857, photostats, Archives of the Big Bend, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas.

Box	Folder No.	Description
1	1	Chaplain Bn. Dn. Fernando y Ysaguirre of Presidio de la Junta de los Rios Norte y Conchos baptized on 6 November 1779 Josef Rafael, born 28 October, son of marriage of Phe. Bustamante, native of El Paso and <i>soldier of this company</i> , and Micaela de Unias, originally from the pueblo of Julimes. Rosa de Aguilar, godmother ( <i>madrina</i> ), "legitimate wife" of Don Juan Juanes, <i>alferex of this company</i> .
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre baptized a girl daughter of Juan Antonio de la Cruz, <i>Indio</i> of the town of Julimes, and Maria Cholome, " <i>yndia de estos pueblos</i> ," 6 November 1779.
1	1	Chaplain Fernando de Ysaguirre baptized on 6 September 1779 a son born in this presidio, named Josef Francisco, son of Josef Antonio Sanchez, native of El Paso and <i>soldier of this company</i> , and Ramona Losano, originally of the pueblo of Julimes. Godparents were Juan Manuel Casillas, <i>vecino of this pueblo</i> , occupation as a tailor, and Maria Lucrecia, widow of the deceased Javian Gebana, <i>soldier of this company</i> .
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 13 December 1779 baptized infant born at the presidio of Pilaes on 6 August, named Josef Pantal, son of Barbara de Lanes, <i>native of the pueblo of Santa Cruz</i> . No father listed. Godmother was wife of Josef Ornelas, "soldier of the said presidio of Pilaes."
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre baptized on 17 January 1780 infant daughter born in this presidio on 9th of said month, given name Maria, daughter of the marriage of Theodoro Lugo, " <i>vecino of this presidio</i> ," originally from Santa Eulalia, and of Maria Guadalupe Marques, native of the said <i>real</i> . Godmother was Maria Magdalena de Villa, wife of Francisco de Renteria, " <i>soldado Ymbalido of this presidio</i> ."

Box	Folder No.	Description
1	1	Rdo. Pe. Fray Raphael Blanco, "chaplain of the presidio of Pilaes in this presidio del Norte," on 20 April 1780 baptized infant born in this presidio on 16 April, given name of Josef Thonibio, son of the marriage of Miguel de Herdia, " <i>maestro armero of this presidio</i> ," and of Maria Lujan. Godmother was the wife of Victor Corral, soldier of El Principe. Signed by Ysaguirre.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre baptized on 11 June 1780 infant born in this presidio on 8th of said month, given name Maria Paula, daughter of " <i>lexmo</i> " marriage of Bicente Becerro, " <i>Yndio soldado of the presidio of Pilaes</i> ," and of Maria Pha. de la Crus, " <i>Yndia chola</i> ." Godparents were Matias Samora, " <i>vecino of this presidio</i> ," and Maria Gonsalez.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 11 June 1780 baptized infant son named Josef Antonio Bernabe, son of Bias de Oliber, <i>sergeant</i> of the presidio of Pilaes, and of Juliana de Nieto, originally from Julimes.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 19 February 1775 baptized an infant ( <i>parbulito</i> ) born in this presidio on 17 January, named Juan Antonio Christomo, " <i>espanol</i> ," son of Mariano Enriques, native of Balle of San Bartolome, and " <i>soldier of this company</i> ," and of Rita de Acosta, native of Julimes. Godparents were P. P. Juan Antonio Aguirre and his sister Dolores de Aguirre.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre in March, 1775, baptized and named Juan Albino, " <i>mulato son</i> " of Diego de Villa, <i>soldado</i> , and Maria Sanches.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 15 March 1775 baptized and named Maria Segunda Cassimina, " <i>mulata daughter</i> " of Miguel Eredia, " <i>soldier of this company</i> ," and of Maria Lujan.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 22 March 175 baptized and named Pablo Martin, " <i>espanol</i> ," son of Guadalupe Ramirez, " <i>soldier of this company</i> ," and of Victoria de Herrera.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 23 March 1775 baptized an infant born in this presidio on the 13th of said month, named Maria Benita, " <i>Yndia</i> ," daughter of Juana Duraz, originally of El Paso. No father named.

Box	Folder No.	Description
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 23 March 1775 baptized and named <i>mulata</i> daughter of Josef Antonio Sanches, "soldado of this company," and Ramona Losana.
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre in the Presidio of La Junta de los Rios Norte y Conchos on 5 May 1776 baptized an infant born in the presidio on 28 April, named Josef Fernando, "yndio lexmo" of Juan Joaquin, "Yndio," and of Maria Montoya, "Yndia." In margin the notation that "son de Auxiliares."
1	1	Chaplain Ysaguirre on 23 August 1776 baptized Maria Petra. "She is a <i>collata</i> ," daughter of Josef Andriaga, "español," and of Dolores Lujan, "Yndia."

Note: This is a partial listing of the baptisms in folder no. 1, box 1 of the church records. It provides examples of baptisms reflecting both children of marriages and godparents, indicating the mixing of races at La Junta and soldiers and *vecinos* of the district. A tabulation for the period 1775-1779 reveals the following baptisms:

	1775	1776	1777	1778	1779	Total
Hijas de soldados	1	4	7	5	5	22
Hijos de soldados	3		3	9	2	17
Hijas de vecinos	1	3	1	3	2	10
Hijos de vecinos		1	4	3	5	13
Hijo de auxiliares		1				1
Total	5	9	15	20	14	63

## Appendix B

### Selected Marriage, Baptisms, and Other Records

Source: La Junta Church Records, 1775-1857, photostats, Archives of the Big Bend, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas.

Box	Folder No.	Description
1	2	Cristomo Caraval, " <i>vecino of this presidio</i> ," son of Dionicio and Juana Bargas. Petition to marry Manuela Villa, "also a <i>vecina of this presidio</i> ," daughter of Ygnacio and Franca. de la Cruz, " <i>Yndios Nortenos of this garrison</i> ." Signed by Caraval. Auto of Chaplain Fr. Juan Maranon, 16 September 1790, followed by testimonies of support.
1	2	Manuel Caro, soldier of the cavalry company that garrisons the presidio of El Principe. Petition to marry Roberta Zamorra, " <i>vecina</i> ," of Presidio del Norte, 16 August 1789. Addressed to the presidial captain. Note in the margin "Concedo la liza. que pide - Tovar."
1	3	Baptismal Records, 1792-1853, and translation of George S. Cadena, 26 April 1987. Mostly in the 1850s and names only. Baptisms of Apaches in 1792: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Yglesia de N. S. de Pilar del Presidio del Principe, 9 November 1792. Friar Manuel Acevedo, "<i>cura castrense</i>," baptized Juan Jose Miguel Teodoro, an "Apachito" (Apache boy), about two years old, orphan, of the captain. Godmother was Juana Paula Lopez. Note in the margin that the boy died three days later.</li> <li>(2) Fr. Acevedo on 9 November 1792 baptized an "Apachita" (Apache girl), named Maria de la S.S. Trinidad Gertrudiz Teodoro, orphan, of the captain. Godmother was "Senora Capitana Dna. Rosa Maria Flores."</li> </ol>
1	4	Baptismal Records, 1792-1853 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Father Pedro Antonio Camargo in January, 1793, baptized son of Christian apostate and a "<i>gentil</i>" of Mescalero Apache nation whose parents sought peace in this royal presidio of Santiago. He was over 3 years old.</li> <li>(2) Other baptisms of Apache children follow.</li> </ol>



Box	Folder No.	Description
1	5	Baptismal Records, 1792-1853 (continued)
1	6	Inventory of the Parish, Presidio del Norte, 15 December 1857. 3 pages. No parish priest was present at this place so Sr. Cura Dn. Luis Colamo made the inventory of materials.
1	7	Baptismal Records, 1780. 2 pages. Signed by Fernando Ysaguirre. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Chaplain Ysaguirre of Presidio del Norte on 15 August 1780 baptized son born on 10th of present month, named Josef Lorenzo, son of Maria de la Cuna, widow of Salvador de Naranjo. Godparents were "soldado inbalido" Thomas Leiba of this presidio and his wife Maria Franca Padilla.</li> <li>(2) Chaplain Ysaguirre in "extreme necessity" on 16 August 1780 baptized a female Indian to whom he gave the name Maria Andrea.</li> </ol>
1	8	Marriage Documents, 1842-1857
2	9	Marriage Documents, 1842-1857 (continued)
2	10	Marriage Documents, 1795-1825 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Pedro Rodriguez Rey, son of Don Miguel Rey and Dona Juana Galayses, deceased, native of the villa of Chihuahua and resident in this district, Petition addressed to R. P. Chaplain Fr. Lorenzo Lopez Murto to marry Dona Maria Encarnacion de Aguirre, widow of corporal Vizente Aguirre, deceased, and of Andrea Colomo, native of the pueblo of Julimes and resident of "this place." Signed by Father Lopez Murto, 28 October 1796.</li> <li>(2) Manuel Archuleta, "vecino of this place." Petition to "senor chaplain" of the company to marry Maria Garcia, daughter of Miguel Garcia and Catarina Talamantes, vecinos of Sta. Cruz Tapalcomes, already deceased. Signed by Archuleta, Norte, 23 June 1797.</li> </ol>

Box	Folder No.	Description
2	11	Baptismal Records, 1807-1841 <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Father Vicente Lechon of the chapel of N. S. del Pilar de Coyame baptized a six-day old infant and gave him the name of Jose Guadalupe de Jesus. Son of "padres Ynfieles." Notation in the margin "Apache Indian." 13 December 1807.</li> <li>(2) Father Lechon on 23 July 1813 baptized a "criatura" of the Apache nation, giving her the name of Ma. Praxedis del Refugio Apolinaria de Jesus. Daughter of "padres Ynfieles."</li> <li>(3) Father Lechon on 19 August 1813 baptized two "criaturas coatas," (twins?), and named them.</li> <li>(4) Father Lechon on 12 October 1813 baptized two "infantas coatas," both sons of "Yndios Ynfieles." Note in the margin "Apaches."</li> <li>(5) Father Lechon before 16 October 1814 baptized an eight-day-old Apache boy.</li> <li>(6) Father Lechon baptisms continued to December, 1822, and beyond to 1829.</li> </ol>
2	12	Baptismal Records, 1812-1831
2	13	Baptismal Records, 1812-1831 (continued)

Note: Father Lechon's careful entries record names and numbers of baptisms. However, after the 1820s there are no indications of Apache baptisms. One soldier is reflected for 30 December 1821, but only vecinos are indicated after 1822. Between 3 November 1807 and 3 April 1808 he baptized a total of 13 children--5 vecinos, 6 soldiers, 1 "Yndio Apache," and 1 unspecified. From 22 March 1813 to 27 January 1815 he baptized a total of 25 children--14 vecinos, 6 soldiers, 3 Apaches, 1 patriota, and 1 "Ymbalido."

## Notes

I am indebted to Mrs. Melleta Bell, Archivist of the Archives of the Big Bend; Mr. Kenneth Perry, Director of the Museum of the Big Bend; and especially Dr. Earl Elam, Director of the Center for Big Bend Studies, and his wife Eleanor, all of Sul Ross State University, for their help and hospitality during my research for this study.

1. The term "*vecinos*" defies exact translation. It means the principal residents or family heads in Spanish frontier communities, not the total number of inhabitants. They might be male or female, married or single, and were specifically recognized by officials and listed in the Spanish census returns.

2. La Junta Church Records, 1775-1857, Collection 48, Archives of the Big Bend, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas. These are photostats of the records of El Templo de Nuestro Padre Jesus Nazareno, Ojinaga, Chihuahua, obtained with the permission of the priest in charge of the church by Colonel Russell Gardinier in 1973 and given to Dr. Earl Elam who placed them in the Archives of the Big Bend in 1981. Note that the record begins two years after the final relocation and reestablishment of the presidio at La Junta in 1773.

3. Russell J. Gardinier, "The Physical Geography of a Significant Border Region, La Junta de los Rios," *The Journal of Big Bend Studies* 1 (January 1989): 25-50.

4. *Ibid.*, 25, 29, 37, 39.

5. *Ibid.*, 25.

6. J. Charles Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye: Relations at La Junta de los Rios* (Ann Arbor: Anthropological Papers, Museum of Anthropology, No. 77, University of Michigan, 1986). This is the publication of Kelley's 1947 Ph. D. dissertation at Harvard University, with a forward added by John D. Speth, Director of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan. See also Kelley's two works on "The Historical Indian Pueblos at La Junta de los Rios," *New Mexico Historical Review* 27 (October 1952): 257-95, and 28 (January 1953): 21-51.

7. Carroll L. Riley, *The Frontier People: The Greater Southwest in the Protohistoric Period*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). Chapter 10 treats the Amerindians of La Junta.

8. William B. Griffen, *Culture Changes and the Shifting Populations in Central Northern Mexico* (Tucson: Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 13, University of Arizona Press, 1969); and *Indian Assimilation of the Franciscan Area of Nueva Vizcaya* (Tucson: Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, No. 33, University of Arizona Press, 1979).

9. Rex E. Gerald, *Spanish Presidios of the Late Eighteenth Century in Northern New Spain* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1968); Max Moorhead, *The Presidio: Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman:

University of Oklahoma Press, 1975); Oakah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988). An overview of La Junta de los Rios from pre-Columbian times to the 1960s is provided in a brief monograph of sixty-four pages, based upon published sources, in Howard G. Applegate and C. Wayne Hanselka, *La Junta de los Rios del Norte y Conchos* (El Paso, Texas: Southwestern Studies Monograph, No. 41, 1974).

10. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 47-48, 50-51, 52-53; Riley, *The Frontier People*, 292-93.

11. Pedro Alonso O'Crouley, *A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain*, Sean Galvin, trans. and ed. ([San Francisco]: John Howell Books, 1962), 62, notes that two missionaries founded the first missions at La Junta de los Rios in 1660, but after two years of activity there a bloody civil war broke out between those Amerindians who wanted to accept Christianity and those who did not. The latter group apparently succeeded, stripped the missionaries of their robes, and drove them out of the region to refuge at San Jose del Parral, while the Christian Amerindians of La Junta moved to nearby Valle de San Bartolome, where they continued to reside until the missions were reestablished at La Junta in 1715. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 57, notes that Fray Garcia de San Francisco visited La Junta from El Paso and said Mass "before 1691," and Fray Juan de Sumestra visited the region shortly thereafter. Instead of missions, these early instances of Franciscan missionary activity seem to be more *visitas* from other ecclesiastical centers, such as the one at El Paso del Norte.

12. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 23.

13. *Ibid.*, 24, 58.

14. *Ibid.*, 24-26. During the expedition Sabeata revealed that his real reason for requesting Spanish missionaries was not a religious one, but to obtain military assistance against his enemies, the Apaches.

15. *Ibid.*, 58.

16. *Ibid.*, 28-30.

17. Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz to His Majesty, Parral, 21 December 1717, Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Sevilla, Spain, Guadalajara, 109. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 61-62, states the names of three missionaries in the expedition, says there were thirty soldiers, and notes that a total of 1,405 Amerindians were counted in the pueblos. See also, Francisco R. Almada, *Resumen de historia del estado de Chihuahua* (Mexico, D.F.: Libros Mexicanos, 1955), 93 for the date of 2 June 1715 in the foundation of the mission San Francisco de la Junta de los Rios.

18. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 62.

19. *Ibid.*, 63.

20. Padre Visitador Antonio Arias de la Compania de Jesus, List of Indians, Parral, 10 March 1717, AGI, Guadalajara, 109.

21. Dn. Juan Antonio de Trásvina, Relación, Pueblo of La Señora Santa Ana y San Francisco Xavier, 24 December 1716, AGI, Guadalajara, 109.

22. Joseph de Ydoiaga, Cuaderno . . . , Real Presidio del Valle de San Bartolomé, 6 October-27 December 1747, Carta y testimonio sobre la visita a los presidios del Norte y Conchos (1746-51), AGI, Mexico, 1347, microcopy. I am indebted to Dr. Earl Elam for making this document available to me.

23. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 63-65.

24. Franciscan missionary suggestions for the establishment of a presidio at La Junta began in the 1720s (see above) and were reiterated by Fray Juan Miguel Menchero in 1746. Although he did not actually visit La Junta de los Ríos in his general inspection of presidios from 1724 to 1728, Brigadier Pedro de Rivera reported an uprising of Amerindians there and their allies in which two missionaries and two servants had been slain. He included in his report a recommendation for the establishment of a presidio at La Junta. See Pedro de Rivera, *Diario y derrotero de lo caminado, visto, y observado en el discurso de la visita general del Precidios . . .*, Guillermo Porras Muñoz, ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Costa Amic, 1945), 61; and Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain, 1724-1729* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 83n56, 146-7. Governor Juan Bautista de Belaunzaran of Nueva Vizcaya in May 1744 also concurred in Rivera's recommendation, suggesting that a presidio be established at La Junta with fifty soldiers (including a captain, lieutenant, and *alferez* or junior lieutenant) drawn from other presidios of Nueva Vizcaya. The new presidio's purpose was to prevent invading "*indios barbaros*" from raiding the province and Coahuila. See Belaunzaran to Viceroy, Mexico, 25 May 1744, AGI Guadalajara, 186.

25. Testimonio de el primo. Cuaderno de Autos que se formaron en el año . . . en razón de la Población de el Parage nombrado Carrizal, fundación y construcción de un Nuevo RI. Presidio en la junta de los Ríos del Norte y Conchos . . . , AGI, Guadalajara, 327; Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 152.

26. Testimonio, AGI, Guadalajara, 327; Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 155-57.

27. Testimonio, AGI, Guadalajara, 327; Jones, *Nueva Vizcaya*, 57. Muñoz on one list indicated the pueblos of San Francisco (with 17 Amerindians, including its governor, *cacique* or chief, war captain and three tailors); San Juan (with 31, including the governor, *cacique*, 3 former governors, a *fiscal*, an *alguacil*, a corporal, and one *alferez*); the pueblo of Los Conejos (with 10, including a governor and a *cacique*); the pueblo of Mesquites (with 8, including its governor, one former governor, and former *alcalde* or chief magistrate); and the pueblo of Guadalupe (with 3, including a *mulato* named Pedro who had been governor and now was "*cacique general*," one corporal, and a carpenter). On his second list, dated 22 December 1759, he indicated the pueblos of San Francisco (with 11 Amerindians); San Juan (with 10); Los Conejos (with 4); Los Mesquites (with 4); Guadalupe (with 28); San Cristóbal (with 2); and Los Puliques (with 1). Thus there were seven pueblos containing a total of 129 Amerindians--28 at San Francisco, 41 at San Juan, 14 at Los Conejos, 12 at Mesquites, 31 at Guadalupe, 2 at San Cristóbal, and 1 at Puliques.

28. Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 57n26, 65; Sidney B. Brinckerhoff and Odie B. Faulk, *Lancers for the King: A Study of the Frontier Military System of Northern New Spain, with a Translation of the Royal Regulations of 1772* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1965), 55, 57; Lawrence Kinnaird, *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicolas de LaFora's Description* (Berkeley, Calif.: The Quivira Society, 1958), 12.

29. Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 69-70; Gerald, *Spanish Presidios*, 27-28, 37-39.

30. Although Gerald, *Spanish Presidios*, 38, states that San Carlos was an "abandoned locality" by April 1787, census reports of 1788 and 1790 still reflected garrisons at El Príncipe and San Carlos. A later report of 1817 also indicated that there were still 119 soldiers at San Carlos.

31. Estado de al Compañía de Presidiales, 13 December 1759, in Testimonio, AGI, Guadalajara, 327. In this general inspection of the troops turned over to Captain Manuel Muñoz there were six officers (1 lieutenant, 1 *alferez*, 1 sergeant, and 3 corporals) and 43 soldiers plus 305 horses.

32. Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración del Vastísimo Obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya--1765*. Vito Alessio Robles, ed. (Mexico, D. F. Antigua Librería de José Porrúa e hijos, 1937), 155-57. Bishop Tamarón noted that there were 50 families of soldiers with a total of 133 persons, and 2 of *vecinos* with 5 persons.

33. Kinnaird, *Frontiers of New Spain*, 72-73.

34. Felipe de Neve to Joseph de Galvez, Arispe, 1 December 1783, Relación concisa y exacta del estado en que ha encontrado las Provincias Internas, AGI, Guadalajara, 268.

35. Almada, *Resumen*, 144; Francisco José de Urrutia, Estado Militar de la Provincia de Nueva Vizcaya en los años 1790-1792, Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Historia, 522. There were 71 soldiers in the company of the presidio of El Príncipe and 73 at San Carlos.

36. Lista de Revista de las once compañías de dcha. Provincia, Nueva Vizcaya, January-April, 1817, AGN, Provincias Internas, 206.

37. Lista o noticia de los jurisdicciones o partidos de a comprensión de la Provincia de Nueva Vizcaya . . . , Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City, Archivo Franciscano, 18/387.

38. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 64.

39. Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 302, 307.

40. See note 2 for full citation of these records. See Appendices A and B for selected examples from these baptismal and marriage records.

41. Manuel Caro, soldier of the cavalry company that garrisons the Presidio of El Príncipe, to presidial captain, 16 August 1789, La Junta Church Records, 1775-1857, photostat, Archives of the Big Bend, Collection 48, box 1, folder 2.



Hereafter citations are abbreviated to La Junta Church Records, box and folder numbers.

42. Cristomo Caraval, "vecino of this presidio," to Father Juan Maranon, 16 September 1790, La Junta Church Records, box 1, folder 2.
43. Chaplain Fernando de Ysaguirre, baptism of Maria Petra, 23 August 1776, La Junta Church Records, box 1, folder 1.
44. Compilation of baptismal records of Father Fernando de Ysaguirre, 1775-79, La Junta Church Records, box 1, folder 1.
45. Chaplain Fernando de Ysaguirre, baptism of Maria Paula, 11 June 1780, La Junta Church Records, box 1, folder 1; Father Lechon of the Chapel of N. S. del Pilar de Coyame, La Junta Church Records, box 2, folders 11-13.
46. Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 85, 245-48.
47. *Ibid.*, 249-50.
48. Fernando Josef Mangino to Exmo. Sor. Marques de Sonora, Mexico, 12 August 1787, AGI, Guadalajara, 511, legajo 24, photostat; and Antonio Valdes to Viceroy, El Pardo, 11 February 1788, AGI, Guadalajara, 497, legajo 24, photostat, both in La Junta Presidio Collection, Archives of the Big Bend, Collection 47, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas.
49. Moorhead, *The Presidio*, 109, 250-57.
50. *Ibid.*, 258-61.
51. Friar Manuel Acevedo, baptisms of Juan Jose Miguel Teodoro and Maria de la S.S. Trinidad Gertrudiz Teodora, La Junta Church Records, box 1, folder 5.
52. Fr. Vicente Lechon, Chapel of N.S. del Pilar de Coyame, baptisms, 13 December 1807-16 October 1814, La Junta Church Records, box 2, folder 11.
53. John D. Speth, introduction to Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, xvi.
54. Riley, *Frontier People*, 310.
55. Kelley, *Jumano and Patarabueye*, 6.
56. Griffen, *Indian Assimilation*, 103.