Kino Brings Peace
Kino in "Testtimonio de Auttos de Guerra"

Excerpts from
"An Epilogue of Kino's Biography of Saeta: An Original Study"
Charles J. Polzer

Introduction

A far more detailed account of the campaign to pacify the Pimas will be found in 202 folio pages in the "Autos de Guerra" of the Archives of Parral, Chihuahua, Mexico. These pages are the official report of the joint military campaigns of 1695 which were undertaken by General Domingo Téran de 1os Ríos of the Presidio of Gallo, General Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzat commanding the forces of the Province of Sonora, and General (Capt.) Juan Fernández de la Fuente of the Presidio of Janos.

These sources have previously been consulted by Herbert Eugene Bolton, who condensed them into several pages of his definitive life of Padre Kino, the "Rim of Christendom." From a study of Bolton's remarks it seems apparent that he was following the account of Padre Kino. There are several minor discrepancies between Kino's account of the happenings and the account of the generals, but the major value of the present epilogue is to show the correlation of the accounts.
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The Campaign

All of the letters told of the disastrous massacre at the "Ciénega of El Tupo" in Pimería Alta. The peace which had been arranged with difficulty by the missionaries of the Pimería was shattered by the killing of forty-nine Indians who had attended the council of peace on June 9 at Tupo. The relatives of the murdered Indians rose in vengeance and burned the towns of San José de Imuris, San Ignacio de Cabórica, and Magdalena. Luckily Padre Agustin de Campos, who was at San Ignacio with a guard of six soldiers, was able to escape before the Indians attacked the pueblo.
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At six o'clock on the morning of the 20th July, the entire camp was roused. Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino offered Mass at the pueblo's church and the massive columns rode out of Cocóspera. ....

The storm passed in a couple of hours, and Padre Kino and General Jironza rode off to Mission Dolores.
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To add to Fuente's strategic problems, a Pima Indian arrived from Dolores with a letter from Padre Kino. The unsettling news was that the enemy had raided close to Cucurpe; some horses and mares were stolen and five mules had been shot with arrows.

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The campaign for the pacification of the Pimas had turned into a campaign for the pacification of the Spaniards. One of the largest military expeditions ever mounted in the Province of Sonora, or along the whole frontier for that matter, was put out of action by the inaction of the Indians. Nothing tried the Spanish temperament like tedium. Instead of trumpet calls and thundering, charges against Indian fortifications, the cavalry experienced only a few patrols under mesquite trees and through cholla forests. The war of pacification had in fact become so pastoral that the livestock of the army devoured all the feed available at the farm of Tubutama.

More waiting was the order of the day for August 12. At three in the afternoon the messenger who had gone to call the people of Toozona down from the sierra reported that no one was to be found.

The few Indian women had left for the pueblo of Dolores to see Padre Kino. He had indicated that he wanted to see them by sending some "justicias" as messengers from his mission. The generals interrogated the Toozona messenger for some time and at five o'clock the men sent to Quisora, Moicaqui, and Santa Marta came back with the same tale. No one was around, except the governor of Moicaqui who was very sick in the Sierra de Unaco. This was the kind of delay that displeased the commanders of his Majesty's army.
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The Governor of Tucubavia was considered by the Spanish officers to be the spokesman for the greater majority of the Pimas present. Consequently he was reminded that the peoples of Bosane, Tupo, and Toozona were still not represented. There was no real certainty that they had gone to see Padre Kino as some had declared, so there would be need for the military campaign to continue until a complete peace had been effected.

The governor offered his aid in guiding the army to the land of the Sobas so these culprits could be apprehended. Although there may have been reason to worry about the sincerity of some, the Governor of Tucubavia stood tall as a man of honor and reliability. Much of the Spanish confidence in the Pima nation returned because of his tireless work to make the peace acceptable. ...

The entire campaign had taken on a new complexion. There was no longer any question of a rebellion across the whole Pima frontier. Whatever trouble lay ahead was now isolated in the western regions of the Pimería though probably somewhat complicated by the escape of the two Sobas who had benefitted from the confusion the day the Pimas poured into the camp to surrender. Generals Fuente and Terán now revised their strategy dropping any excursion to' the northern mountains, which seems to indicate that they half-believed many Pimas had gone to Dolores to surrender to Padre Kino (and coincidentally General Jironza who was remaining there). A rapid sweep of the west was in order ...

Sergeant Diego López Sanbrano was placed in charge of the supply column which was being ordered back to Ciénega del Tupo together with the Indian allies. From this position the fighting column could be easily reinforced and resupplied if need arose. ...
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Very heartening news arrived at two o'clock. A Pima came into camp with a letter from Padre Kino at Dolores. It had been dated August 13. One paragraph of the letter mentioned that several Indians from the pueblos of Toozona and Araupo had been at Dolores already for two days. They were staying there very peacefully and Kino had sent them on to Cucurpe to arrange a formal peace with General Jironza who was using that pueblo as a communications center. Kino's letter was straightforward and it made possible another change in Fuente's strategic planning. The Pima nation throughout the eastern area of the Pimería could now be considered as secure. .....
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And General Fuente sat at his portable desk writing letters to Jironza and Kino. He admitted to Padre Kino how pleased he was with the outcome of the peace negotiations ...

The supply sergeant reported that there were enough provisions for six more days. Each of the soldiers horses, and many more mounts would be necessary if this campaign were to be concluded. In fact, the entire force would be needed if the guilty were to be punished. Scattered as the Indians were, it would take many men several days and perhaps weeks to capture or kill them all.

For some reason Generals Fuente and Terán could not grasp the fact that they were trying to use an elephant to crush a fly. Sergeant Cristóbal de Vargas was ordered to take three soldiers back to the Ciénega del Tupo and to order the entire force to join the generals at the encampment near Oquitoa. Vargas was to complete his mission with the greatest possible speed, no stops were permitted; only enough pinole and flour for one day were to be carried by the couriers. And probably to dramatize the need for supplies the generals also ordered that each of the four soldiers should take back two empty pack-horses apiece. Vargas and his command, more animals than men, left the general's tents at five o'clock on the afternoon of August 21.
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The heat of the morning was just being felt at "El Altar de Mesquite" when a squadron of horsemen rode up to the officer's tents. Fuente was a bit surprised to see Sergeant Vargas reporting .. Sanbrano was not in the group who were still mounted. And one of the men on horseback was dressed in a dusty black cloak; it was Padre Kino.

As Vargas assured Fuente that he had ordered Sanbrano to bring up the main force, Padre Kino interrupted. While it was true that Vargas had delivered the general's orders, Kino had countermanded them for the good of the province.

Kino explained to Fuente, as he had to Sanbrano the day before, that if the main force were to leave Ciénega de Tupo while the Indians were coming down to make peace, they would suspect a trap and flee to the mountains and peace would never be achieved. So he told Sanbrano to stay where he was with the army, and he would ride back to the generals to take full responsibility for his decision. Kino also took the trouble to inform Fuente and Terán that many of the soldiers were quite ill and numerous horses were in poor condition. In short, this was no time to initiate a bloody campaign which might take a heavy toll of life and health on both sides, particularly when the interests of peace would not be served anyway.

With the shocking news of Kino's bold intervention also came seven loads of meat, pinole, and flour. At least the generals had their way in something. The generals glanced away for a moment to see the heavily laden animals standing there in the hot sun. But Kino continued speaking from his saddle. Everyone who knew these Indians was confident that they were coming once again to make peace. And if peace was not achieved this time, the whole effort at civilizing and evangelizing this frontier would suffer an unthinkable setback. Sanbrano had been willing to defer to Padre Kino; he would wait at the Ciénega until he heard otherwise from the generals.

Kino had then gathered several Pima messengers around him and instructed them to bring all the Indians to the Ciénega for a council of peace; he understood their sensitivities and desires to be done with the business of war and rebellion. This is what Kino had done at the Ciénega and his explanation for his actions was over. He swung down from the saddle and invited his Majesty's officers and men to attend Mass.

Kino's intervention at the Ciénega changed the strategy of General Fuente rather substantially. No one could argue with the keen insight into the Pima mind that had been shown by the Padre, but he had taken a lot of wind out of the sails of war. .....
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The cavalry halted at Caborca an hour later. Shortly after the mid-afternoon meal eight Pima messengers arrived at the camp. They were the messengers Padre Kino had sent out from the Ciénega. They had travelled over thirty leagues through the hills but none of them were able to find any of the Indians who were still hiding.

All they learned was that some Indians were en route to the base camp near Tupo. After the arrival of this news, all remained quiet at the Caborca camp until García and his squadron rode in at nine o'clock. They had discovered the tracks of some twenty Indians who had scattered at the coming of the cavalrymen and then rejoined in a rough arroyo. But night fell and the soldiers were unable to establish contact or pursue them in the difficult terrain.

While Fuente picked his way along the waterless trail southward, General Terán stayed at the Caborca camp. At eight o'clock he was met by the Governor of Tubutama who was followed by eight men, six women and four children. They carried no weapons, only crosses; the governor had found them after he carried the "tlatole" given by Kino on August 23. The word of the Padre still worked wonders in the desert. ...
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As for the Governor of Bosane and his people had gone to the Ciénega del Tupo because some messengers from Tupo and Toozona had summoned him in the name of the King and of Padre Kino. .... With the piece of intelligence that the Governor of Bosane and his people had gone to the Ciénega del Tupo to surrender there was no reason for the troops to remain in Caborca. ...

The western campaign was over. All the Indians who could be found were pardoned. The guilty ones who had fled far to the west were beyond reach and would not be the cause of any trouble for the present. The generals were anxious to rejoin the rest of the forces at the Ciénega. ...
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An early rise again was ordered on the morning of August 29. After Mass the cavalry set out up river and passed alongside a jutting sierra. Tubutama fell away to the north as they headed for the Ciénega del Tupo, and behind them on the trail they left the Governor of Tucubavia, whom they had generously rewarded with supplies and trinkets in gratitude for his part in the campaign of pacification.

It was nearly four in the afternoon when the column of ninety-odd mounted soldiers and travelers entered the clearing at the Ciénega del Tupo. The governors of Bosane, Tupo, and Toozona whom the columns had been unsuccessfully tracking for weeks rushed from their encampments to greet the great generals and plead for pardon. The officers and men were just dismounting as the Indians pressed in around them. They had sufficient cause for their excitement, since they had been waiting six days for the arrival of the Spanish leaders.

Generals Fuente and Terán looked around at the anxious crowd of Indians. They seemed so friendly, not at all the kind of people who had been the target of a kill-or-be-killed search. But the generals were too tired to talk. They smiled and ordered the supply sergeants to distribute meat and pinole as a sign of the Spaniards' pleasure and friendship. They would talk tomorrow.
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August 30, 1695, dawned as the memorable day of the last treaty of peace which would bring the once fearful Pima rebellion to an end. Padre Kino rode into the pueblo of Tupo to celebrate Mass, and Padre Campos exercised his duties as military chaplain by saying Mass at the Ciénega camp. ...
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The chronicler of the official diary of Generals Fuente and Terán, Francisco Ignacio Gómez Robledo, began his entry of August 31 in a vain attempt to rewrite history.

He wrote: "August 31, 1695. La Matanza. This place is so named because of the death of many Pimas in a place about one quarter of a league away from where we are encamped. This place is also called the Place of the Deaths, and the Place of the Last Peace with the Pimas. But today is the feast of Santa Rosa, and as we see only one cottonwood on the edge of this clearing, so we now name this place El Alamo de Santa Rosa. 6 a.m."

With a stoke of the pen, Gómez Robledo had wanted to wipe out the ugly memory of the massacre with the pastoral setting of the treaty of peace. But the melodious name is found only in his records; today the place is still known as La Matanza - the Ciénega del Tupo.

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Notes: The description of the Spanish campaign is based on "Testtimonio de Auttos de Guerra fee has por los Capitanes Juan Fernández de la Fuentte, Don Domingo Therán de los Rios, y Don Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruzati. Sobre las Guerras de las Nassiones Janos, Jocomes, Sumas, Chinarras, Mansos, y Apaches, y la pasificazn. de los Pimas. Año de 1695."