Herbert E. Bolton
"Rim of Christendom:
A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino: Pacific Coast Pioneer"
"Rebellion In The Valley"

Chapter 84
"La Matanza"

While at Dolores Jironza agreed with Kino to request the Pimas not implicated in the uprising to bring the ringleaders to justice, as a basis for making peace. The loyal pueblos gladly entered into the arrangement, and proceeded to carry it out. Pursuant to the plan, in the middle of May the governor of El Bosna took to Kino two vestments brought to him from Tubutama. They were wrapped in a neatly tanned lion's skin, [1] and on his knees the chief delivered them to Father Eusebio. One of the vestments was red. Robed in the other, which was white, Kino chanted Mass on the feast of San Isidro, Sunday, May 15. Things were being arranged for the return of whatever else was held by the Tubutamas, and for the delivery of the chief malefactors, especially through the governor of Dolores. By word of mouth and by writing, Almazán, now alcalde mayor of Sonora, assured Kino of his approval, and by Almazán's order and in his name, Kino promised peace and general pardon for all who might assist in delivering up the delinquents. This should be kept in mind as the story proceeds.

But secular counsels were divided. When Jironza returned to San Juan he encountered opposition. Some officials maintained that the rebellious Indians should be soundly chastised. Jironza was persuaded, and a second expedition was arranged. With a larger force than before-soldiers, citizens, Indian allies, supplies, and cavallada - the army marched over the mountains to San Ignacio. Antonio Solís was in command. |303|

Under these circumstances the Indians were puzzled, and in doubt whether or not to believe the promises that had been made. When at the end of May the governor of Dolores went to summon the people of Tubutama and vicinity to come in peace and without weapons to meet the army, under promise that only the ringleaders would be punished, they replied that they were afraid of treachery. Even the loyal governor of Bosna hesitated. Hearing of the difficulty, Kino went in person to San Ignacio, and from there sent a message to the alcalde of El Tupo, telling him to summon the people to meet the army at La Ciénega, the marsh near his village. The alcalde, the governor, and the governor's brother now went inland and soon brought to La Ciénega more than a hundred Indians from Tubutama and other places. They came humbly, carrying crosses and unarmed, the innocent bringing the guilty. Things were moving forward. As a reward for this service the alcalde of El Tupo was promoted to be governor of his village.

This diplomacy had not been accomplished without the use of force.[2] According to Manje, Solís went to Tubutama and Oquitoa, and killed several Indians in surprise attacks, with the result that others sued for peace, which was granted on condition that they should deliver the heads of the revolt, dissemblingly bringing them in with the innocent. Whatever the facts in this particular, Kino and Manje agree in their accounts that the Pimas came to El Tupo and delivered up the delinquents. There they were surrendered to the soldiers to await their fate. Thus, said Kino, "it seemed that with much skill a just and very good punishment of the culprits had been achieved, and that the innocent and all the Pimería would remain content and quiet."

A stratagem was now devised for arresting also the accomplices of the captive ringleaders. But there was a mishap. "It seems that there was still lacking this misfortune or very heavy cross, or last fury and effort of the Common Enemy," says Kino. The army under Captain Solís arrived at El Tupo, and there on the 9th of June it met the assembled natives. Manje describes the scene. "On the third day fifty Indians came, and when they reached the camp of the soldiers |304| at El Tupo, which was pitched at some springs in an open plain cleared of woods, they left their bows and arrows close to a little grove of mesquite, distant about four arquebus shots, and according to agreement went unarmed to the camp.

"The soldiers, mounted on horseback, now formed a circle, with dissimulation putting the Indians in the center. Then the four Indians who had promised peace" - the three governors and the alcalde - "pointed out those who had accompanied the ringleaders who had stirred them up for the rebellion and murder (for the ringleaders were prevented by their capital crime from appearing). Three Indians were bound. Seeing that they were proceeding to bind others who were pointed out, all became excited and began to bolt." Kino here puts in a touch which Manje omits. The governor of Dolores now played the part of assistant verdugo, or executioner. Grasping a chief offender by the hair of the head he said to Solis, "This is one of the murderers." Thereupon Solís with a cutlass struck off the victim's head.

Instead of a peace talk the scene now became a hell of carnage. Frightened, guilty and innocent alike started to break through the circle of horsemen. Obeying previous orders for such a contingency, in a flash soldiers and Tepoca allies shot down forty-eight terrified Indians, including eighteen charged as guilty and thirty regarded by Kino as innocent. Very appropriately the place where it occurred became known as La Matanza - The Slaughter. And no wonder Solís acquired a reputation for bloodthirstiness.

Among the killed were the new governor of El Tupo, and the captain of El Bosna, both of whom had done such fine service for the Spaniards - or had so betrayed their own people. Even bloody Solís was shocked. He was com padre of the captain of El Bosna, having been godfather of his son baptized that very day. "In fact everybody, the palefaces, and even those who killed the victims, and especially all the Pima nation, were very deeply grieved." But the Indians remained dead, guilty and innocent alike. [3] Harsh as he was, Solís |305| was sick of his job, and well he might be. Kino was prostrated with grief. But "there was no lack of persons who thought a very good stroke . . . had been achieved." The Matanza was a sad example of the brutality often experienced by the natives at the hands of Europeans in most parts of colonial America.

Chapter 85
"Reaping The Whirlwind"

After the slaughter of so many Pimas, innocent as well as guilty, Jironza assumed that the tribe were thoroughly frightened into submission, so he prepared to go east with his soldiery to join La Fuente and Terán in another one of those frequent campaigns against the "common enemy of the North, the Apaches, Jocomes, and Janos." He was to meet them in the vicinity of Cuchuta. Leaving Corporal Escalante with three soldiers at San Ignacio to guard and escort Father Campos in his travels, and Manje with three armed civilians from Bacanuche to protect and assist Kino at Dolores, the army started north under Solis. On June 19 it was in camp at Cocóspora. Jironza went south to Opodepe to continue preparations. [4]

The Pimas were cowed for the moment, but anger burned in their breasts. The backs of the soldiers were scarcely turned when they saw their chance for revenge. Not only the relatives of the slaughtered, but many former neutrals as well, joined in the resentment. In large bands they went to Tubutama and Caborca and burned the buildings of these missions, which thus far they had left standing. Then some three hundred warriors assembled preparatory to destroying Campos's missions at Imuris and San Ignacio. Among their weapons they had the very bows and arrows returned to them by Solís after the matanza at El Tupo.

The Spaniards still had friends among the Pimas. One of these was the chief of El Síboda, north of Imuris, now a station in a beautiful vale on the Southern Pacific Railroad. Though a heathen, he |306 |went down the valley to San Ignacio to notify Campos of the impending blow and to warn the neophytes of both Imuris and San Ignacio to withdraw.

As soon as Campos learned of the danger he hurried Cosme, a Christianized Yaqui Indian living at the San Ignacio mission, to Cocóspora to call the soldiers back to the rescue. Cosme, thinking to improve upon his orders, took matters into his own hands. At Imuris he engaged a mission Indian to carry the message to Cocóspora. While his substitute ascended the canyon, Cosme himself stopped at Imuris to round up the horses of the mission, so that when the soldiers should arrive on winded and tired animals they would have fresh remounts ready at hand. This done he hurried back to San Ignacio.

From the time when the Síboda chief brought the warning, Father Agustín and his four guardsmen kept their horses saddled and in readiness. They did' not have long to wait. About eight o'clock next morning, when they were eating breakfast, the enemy came with earsplitting yells and began their work of devastation. Corporal Escalante and two soldiers sallied out and bravely held them back. The fourth soldier waited while Campos put on his spurs and mounted. All being ready they rode full speed eastward over the mountains, through the pass at El Torreón, "the padre in the middle and two soldiers on each side restraining the fury and fighting the whole two leagues which the enemy pursued."[5]

Cosme's improvement upon his orders was a fine idea, but it did not work to perfection. The Pima messenger was lazy or sleepy, and he did not arrive at Cocóspora till daylight on the 20th, the day of the attack. The news he bore startled the camp, and the soldiers crawled out of their tents staring and rubbing their eyes. Then, quickly mounting, they raced the fourteen leagues down the red-walled canyon past Babasaqui to Imuris and to San Ignacio. But they were just too late. They found burned to ashes and desolated the pueblos, houses, and chapels of Father Campos at Imuris, San Ignacio, and Magdalena. Nobody was killed. At San Ignacio the vestments |307| were burned. The raiders slaughtered a few sheep and goats and ran off horses, but left most of the cattle unmolested. The soldiers pursued the enemy into the mountains, overtaking and killing some of them. [6]

A different scene was enacted at Dolores, where Manje was on guard. The news of the attack on San Ignacio was brought by Cosme, the same Yaqui who had carried the alarm to Imuris. Hurrying back from there to his mission, he took his station on a peak to watch for the enemy. Not seeing Campos and the soldiers leave, as soon as he saw the dense smoke of the conflagration at San Ignacio he crossed the Sierra, spurring his horse the whole ten leagues to Dolores. This time he did not entrust the errand to a lazy Pima.

As Kino and Manje were eating, sometime in the forenoon, Cosme entered the comedor. Breaking down and weeping, he told them between sobs that the Pimas had burned alive Padre Agustín and the soldiers, together with the house and everything else. Manje now seized Cosme's role of Paul Revere. "Instantly I mounted a good horse," he tells us, "and rode "á rompe-cinchas" - at breakneck speed ­ the sixteen leagues to the pueblo of Opodepe, where I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon, finding the Reverend Father ... Kappus and General Jironza drinking chocolate." The next cup was left for a later time.

Manje told his astounded listeners the distressing news, ate a bite, went to the cavallada and got a new mount. All three saddled up and in a few minutes were raising a dust on the northbound trail, and making the canyon walls ring with hoofbeats. That afternoon they rode twelve leagues, arriving by nightfall at Cucurpe. Manje had ridden that day twenty-eight leagues or some seventy-five miles. At Cucurpe they found Father Campos and the four soldiers "who had come out of it safely, seeing which we were relieved somewhat of our anxiety." He adds, "and they recounted at length what had occurred at the burning of the pueblo," as no doubt they many times recounted it to the end of their days.[7] The question arises why Manje did not see Campos at Cucurpe on the way south? Clearly they were not |308| there, so Cosme and Manje must have made better time than Campos and his four soldiers, missing them somewhere on the way. We may be sure they did not stop to decipher the inscriptions on the rock at El Pintor - if the inscriptions were there at the time.

Meanwhile Kino was waiting at Dolores, anxiously looking in all directions from the vantage point afforded him by his high-perched mission. Early next day Manje hurried on from Cucurpe with two soldiers, fearing that Dolores would be attacked next. When he arrived there he found that the three citizen soldiers had already departed for Bacanuche, "leaving Father Kino alone," and for himself a letter explaining that they must hasten home to look after their families. This was no trivial excuse.

The news got worse instead of better. That same day a warning came saying the rebels were indeed on the way to destroy the mission of Dolores. Kino's first thought was for his church ornaments, and Manje helped him secrete them. "We stole forth in the silence of the night," says Matheo, "to hide in a cave a league away the boxes of ornaments, vessels, books, missals, and other treasures of the church and of the padre. But although I protested to him that we ought not to return to the pueblo, he assured me that nothing would happen, and setting out to return we arrived at daybreak." That was an anxious night for young Manje. "I confessed myself as for death on account of what might happen, in order not to desert the minister of the pueblo." There was heroism.

Not only Dolores but also Remedios and Cocóspora, all three under the personal charge of Kino, escaped destruction in the general holocaust. And Manje firmly believed this escape due to the profound influence of Kino. "From the conspiracy and the burning, if not from the fear, only the pueblos of . . . Dolores were exempt. This I attribute to the virtue and the continuous and fervent prayers of Father Eusebio Kino, first missionary of that revolted nation, for, since he had been their spiritual father and had wiped their tears in their times of need, affliction, and trouble, defending them always, gratitude perhaps kept them from burning and destroying his mission and his spacious painted and adorned church." Kino himself modestly wrote a few years later, "We were all in great straits, but I sent such |309| quieting messages as I could to all parts, and by Divine Grace the trouble went no further." [8]

Chapter 86
"Armies Gather"

Jironza was alarmed. Fearing now that the uprising would not be confined to the Pimas, but, would spread to other tribes, Christian as well as heathen, and embrace the whole province in the flames of rebellion, as had happened in New Mexico fifteen years previously, he hurriedly called for help. He sent messengers at breakneck speed to La Fuente and Terán to hurry west to help save Sonora. For him to meet these generals on the Apache border, as had been planned, would now be out of the question. Instead, they were urgently needed in Pima Land. Other couriers rode in other directions. Nameless Paul Reveres made long rides in the hot July sun to summon assistance for the threatened province. These hard-riding couriers played their part in history.

When Jironza sent his SOS, La Fuente and Terán were already on their way. [9] They left Janos on June 15, with seventy-five soldiers and some sixty Concho and Opata allies. Crossing the wide Chihuahua plains and threading precipitous Guadalupe Pass, on June 25 they camped at the fine waters of San Bernardino. Two days later they received Jironza's appeal, carried by a mulatto courier. Letters from Munoz and Kappus told of the Matanza and of the vengeful destruction |310| of Imuris and San Ignacio. Campos had fled to Tuape. Of Kino's fate they knew nothing. Perhaps he, too, had been killed.

La Fuente's impulse was to push forward at once. But to prevent a raid on Sonora behind their backs, he and Terán turned aside to break up an assembly of Apaches in the Chiricahua Mountains, made peace with them, recovered captives and stolen goods. The side trip was a brilliant success. Then they hurried on to join Jironza. Their route was along the military trail to Arroyo Cabullona, up that stream through the mountains to San Pedro River, to Santa María (now Santa Cruz), and to Cocóspora, where they arrived on July 13. There they found Solís with his troops awaiting a hundred Yaqui allies. Kino and Campos were also there. Next day Jironza came from Dolores, and Higuera arrived with eighteen Sinaloa soldiers. It was a gathering of the hosts.

Here at Cocóspora La Fuente, Terán, and Jironza planned a campaign to the country of the rebellious Pimas. "Good talks" were sent to the hostile villages, urging them to deliver up the ringleaders of the revolt, promising pardon if they complied, fire and sword if they refused. Through interpreters La Fuente harangued the allies, exhorting them to assemble their warriors. At first it was proposed to send fifty men to Tumacácori thence southwest over the mountains to attack Tucubavia by surprise, but this plan was soon given up. It was decided that Jironza should not go with the army, but should remain behind to gather up and forward the provisions - a hundred loads - donated by the missionaries. They furnished the sinews of war.

A muster of the army was then held, each division separately. The Spanish warriors presented themselves on horseback. La Fuente had thirty-seven soldiers from Janos, Terán fifty-six from El Gallo, Higuera twenty-two from Sinaloa, and Jironza forty-eight soldiers and citizens of Sonora. There were more than a hundred native allies, armed with bow and arrow. Chief Corma lined up with thirty Conchos from Chihuahua who had come with La Fuente and Terán; [10] Juan María Salvatierra, chief of Cocóspora, with ten Pimas; Eusebio Kino, chief of Santa María, ten; Coro, pagan chief of the Sobaípuris, |311| ten; Jironza, chief of Huachuca, eight. This made forty-two Pimas. Pablo Banico presented twelve men from Ures; Isidro Sauri, eight Opatas from Arizpe; Juan de María, eleven Opatas from Banámichi, Aconchi, Guépaca, and Sinoquipe. Useless horses were cut out of the herd and left behind; excess baggage was deposited for safekeeping at the mission house under guard of twelve soldiers.

On July 20 Kino said early Mass, and the army started south, Campos going as chaplain. Two leagues down the valley, at the estancia or ranch, halt was made to round up eighty cattle donated by Kino to feed the army. While in camp a soldier and his horse were killed by lightning. In the afternoon Kino and Jironza left the army and went to Dolores to forward supplies.

Next day, driving the cattle ahead, the march of the army was continued. At Imuris they found church, mission house, and. Indian huts all burned and dead cattle lying around. La Fuente pushed ahead with sixty men. At San Ignacio he found church, house, and huts in ashes. Next morning at daybreak he reached Magdalena, where church and pueblo had been destroyed by fire. Terán overtook La Fuente here, and in the afternoon he in turn went ahead. He found El Tupo deserted, captured an Indian at Ciénega de la Matanza, and went forward to Búsanic, Next day (the 23d) La Fuente followed and camped at La Matanza. Moving their men like cautious chess players, the generals were taking no chances.

The rebels, through their spies, learned that the Spaniards were coming. Frightened, from Tubutama they sent messengers to meet the army, begging that the chaplain be sent ahead without the soldiers to talk things over, for with reason they were afraid of the troops. But the request was not granted. Instead Terán entered Tubutama by night, took the inhabitants by surprise and killed twenty-one Indians. Terrified now, the Tubutamas and their neighbors fled into the mountains, "so far away that for many days it was not possible to do a thing of consequence." The garrisons went up from Tubutama to Saric, and "completely laid waste their fields and provisions, punishing some accomplices." [11]War is always savage. |312|

For several days La Fuente despaired of getting in touch with the fugitives, then difficulties began to clear up. The General moved his camp up to the Estancia (Ranch) of Tubutama, still so-called, where there was pasturage for his horses and mules, and from there sent friendly talks to the frightened refugees. One of his messengers, a man whom he had captured and reassured, was particularly successful. On the night of August 6 he brought into camp the chief of Tucubavia and three other Pimas. All came "without weapons and with crosses, apparently very repentant for what they had done." All night long there were tlatoles between the chief and La Fuente. The General was encouraged. "All will be arranged very satisfactorily, and more quickly than we expected," he wrote to Kino next day.

Things did, indeed, move rapidly now. A few days later there were more than fifty Indians in camp. Confidence was being restored. The General appointed new Indian officials in the once rebellious towns, the efficient peace messenger being made governor of Tubutama. The title of captain-general of the Pimas was conferred on the chief of Tucubavia, the large town upstream. The repentant people of the district laid the principal blame for the trouble on the mador and caporal of Tubutama, and promised to bring them or their heads to the Spaniards. La Fuente now regarded peace "as good as made," said he would "give his head" for any misdeed which henceforward the Pimas might commit, and urged that the missionaries return to their former posts. [12]

Caborca and the villages near El Tupo, scene of the horrifying Matanza, were the slowest to regain confidence, and to these districts La Fuente now turned his attention. In a letter written on August 17 he reviewed what he had done and begged Father Eusebio's assistance. The garrison was now returning to El Tupo, while he, next day, with five principal Indians, was starting down' the river to Caborca to pacify the Pimas there. Father Eusebio could help.

Saeta's death and the aftermath told on Kino's rugged constitution. Muñoz wrote on May 11, "Your Reverence's health has caused me a great deal of worry, for they have reported to me that they had seen |313| you looking very ill. But I am inclined to think that in the present case the heart and spirit of your Reverence will be suffering even more, on account of the uprising of this new Christendom." This illness may explain why Kino did not go to the scene of the revolt with the army. Two months later he was still under the weather. He tells us that he received a letter on July 25, at the time when he was suffering from fever. But now, in August he responded to La Fuente's appeal. [13]

Chapter 87
"Dove Of Peace"

Once more Kino became peacemaker in the districts of El Tupo and Caborca. This time he was more fortunate than before. In the work he was greatly assisted by two influential natives. These were the captain of Dolores, and the new governor of El Bosna, successor of the unfortunate Pima who had met death in the Matanza.

Kino writes of the diplomatic mission which he now undertook. It meant another long jaunt over mountains and deserts at a time when he was far from well. "Because by several letters it had been intimated that I should go if I could to see the army, and likewise the children, for they also greatly desired it, on the 21st of August I went to El Tupo and to the near-by Ciénega, where the camp was stationed. I sent ahead the captain of this pueblo of . . . Dolores and of these conversions. And because of his going and mine there came to see me and the Real de la Ciénega [that is, the army], . . . a great number of natives of six or seven principal rancherías, El Tupo, El Bosna, El Araupo, Santa Marta, Tucucot, Arituba, Doagsoma, etc., all of whom had withdrawn through fear. The governor of El Bosna also came to see me, for without his coming they considered that the peace treaties would be of little satisfaction." This chief was an important man.

Long talks were held. While Kino was in the midst of these conferences a sergeant came from La Fuente ordering the army at La |314| Ciénega to escort the native delegates to Caborca for a conference. Kino argued that the military escort of the natives was unnecessary, would merely increase their fear, and that he himself would conduct them. He adds, "And I having offered to take them down in peace, which was the only thing the generals were aiming at, the garrison remained [at La Ciénega] and I went down with the sergeant [and the Indians] to the camp of La Concepcion." There they met La Fuente and Terán at the head of their eighty soldiers.

Kino now took charge of negotiations. When he arrived at Caborca two Indians had already been killed, and two women and three little girls had been captured. Kino had one of the women released and sent her out to summon her people to see their old friend, the Boat Man. The name was still magic. Next day the woman came bringing seven or eight Indians. Two days later she and these others brought in several more "bearing the crosses of peace." They came from seven different rancherías, "that is, from La Concepción del Cabotca, San Diego del Uquitoa, El Actun, El Moicaqui, etc." For Kino and many of the visitors it was a renewal of old friendships. There were embraces and talks about the "good old days."

Meanwhile La Fuente's soldiers were scouring the country. On the 25th twenty men sent out by him encountered a lone Indian. He tried to escape, they shot him with a musket, and broke one of his thighbones. When they took him to camp Kino baptized him with the name of Luís, because it was the day of this saint. [14] Kino tells us that "he got better and told his relatives many good things about the soldiers, saying that they had warned him many times in a friendly way to give up his arms, and that he was to blame for not surrendering and for being wounded in that way." This was unusual charity for a man in his predicament. Investigation confirmed the conclusion that the Caborcans were not responsible for the murder of Father Saeta, and that the assault was perpetrated by men from Tubutama and Oquitoa. Not even Pitquín was involved, [15]

Things being thus satisfactorily arranged at Caborca, La Fuente, |315| next day rejoined the main camp at La Ciénega. There on August 30, Feast of Santa Rosa, patroness of the Indies, the final peace agreements were celebrated. We have Kino's graphic account of the picturesque conference.

For several days the soldiery and a large delegation of Indian ambassadors had been waiting. There were the captain general of Dolores, the governors of El Bosna, El Tupo, and El Doagsoma, "and many other natives of all the villages of these environs." In the camp now were Generals La Fuente and Terán, Fathers Kino and Campos, and all the soldiery and the native allies comprising the army of pacification.

In the morning Father Kino said Mass in the village of El Tupo, and Father Campos at the military camp. Long speeches followed. The Indians deplored the death of Father Saeta and the seven Christian Indians killed during the first uprising; they condemned the war of revenge in which the missions of San Ignacio and Imuris had been destroyed; they grieved for the deaths of some eighty of their kinsmen who in consequence of these outrages had met death during the Matanza and in the subsequent campaigns; they protested that all these tragedies had resulted from the homicides committed by the handful of recalcitrants at Tubutama and Oquitoa.

At the end of all this oratory - we learn little of what the Spaniards said, but we can guess-general and special peace agreements were made. The chiefs pledged themselves "to seek out and deliver alive the persons, or if dead, the heads of the principal malefactors who were still at large ... , namely the mador and the caporal of San Pedro del Tubutama." They went further and at their own suggestion pledged themselves to "add the heads of the alcalde of San Ambrosio, and others whom they knew to have aided him and co­ operated in the murder of Father Saeta." Lastly - and here was Kino's special triumph - the missions would be restored. The chiefs declared that they were very desirous of having the padres return to them. They would receive them with all love and affection; and immediately they would rebuild the churches and houses which had been destroyed. |316|

The drama in the desert ended in a love feast. The pleasure at the conclusion of the peace pact was expressed "by the many and very friendly embraces which were given mutually by the Spanish generals and captains and the Pima captains and governors, all the natives being very grateful for the Christian charity of the generals, of whom they had heard it said that the royal arms were designed only to kill and molest good people and not to aid and defend them. . . . And they now said goodbye with fine expressions of warmest friendship." Of course, this is the white man's version.[16]

For General Terán the Pima campaign had a most regrettable sequel. As soon as the treaties were made at El Tupo, the three companies went to Cocóspora and thence on a war against the Apaches, Janos, and Jocomes - the campaign which had been interrupted in July by the Pima raid. Jironza had again joined his company and he now led it to the foray. Father Campos went as chaplain, for which service he could be spared, because his mission was destroyed. The diary gives us new details regarding the trail from Santa María to Quíburi, whence the army continued east. From the white man's viewpoint the campaign was a success, for they surprised the enemy in the Chiricahua Mountains, killed sixty Indians, in battle or by clubbing or hanging them after capture, and brought back seventy women and children as prisoners, whom they distributed among the soldiers as prizes of war. But the enemy had a means of revenge - or perhaps Fate was on their side. Most of the soldiers and Father Campos returned ill, due, it was thought, to quenching their thirst at a pool which the enemy had poisoned. During part of the march Campos was borne by Indians on a stretcher.

To General Terán the illness was fatal. He died in camp at midnight September 29-30. In order not to leave his friend in the wilderness, La Fuente at once had the body securely wrapped from head to foot, and summoned seven hardy soldiers equipped with remounts. Loading the gruesome cargo on the back of a mule, at one A.M. they set forth with orders to cover the fifty leagues of mountain and plain to Janos within twenty-four hours, and bearing a letter begging the curate there to bury the corpse near the main altar of the parish church. |317| The couriers arrived on schedule time and on October 1 the General was laid to rest near the altar mayor, [17] as La Fuente desired.

Thus ended the life of a soldier who had served over a wide stretch of the American frontier. Kino had met him in 1687 on Mayo River, where he played an important part in developing the Los Frayles mines. Four years later he was made governor of Texas and in that capacity he led an expedition from Coahuila to Red River to ward off danger from the French of Louisiana. Before rushing to the scene of the Pima disturbances of 1695 he was commander of the garrison of El Gallo, in Chihuahua. And now he responded to the last reveille in the eternal war against the Apaches of Arizona. Terán's career was a typical one-characteristic perhaps of military service at that date in the whole Western Hemisphere.

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Footnotes

La Matanza Footnotes

[1] Doubtless the skin of a cougar or mountain lion.

[2] Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Glorioso Muerte", Lib. V, Cap. i; Kino, "Hist. Mem.," l. 144-145.

[3] Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 240-241; Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte",
Lib. V, Caps. i-ii, Solís was soon afterward discharged from the army and publicly disgraced in
Mexico. Velarde erroneously puts the Matanza after the Indian attack on San Ignacio and
Imuris. Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 325.

[4] Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 241.

[5] Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 242; Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte",
Lib. V, Cap. ii.

[6] Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte", Lib. V, Cap. i; Kino, "Favores Celestiales",
Parte I, Lib. iii, Cap. 12; "Hist. Mem.", I, 145.

[7] Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 242. As a result of this attack some of the neophytes of
Imuris and San Ignacio went over the hills to live at Dolores.

[8] Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 241-243; Kino, "Favores Celestiales", Parte I, Lib. iii, Cap.
12; "Hist., Mem.", I, 145. Velarde tells us that Campos escaped martyrdom a second time that day by fleeing to Cucurpe instead of to Dolores, the road to which the rebel Indians were watching. "Although sorrowfully, because now on two occasions the palm of martyrdom had slipped through his fingers, he thanked Our Lord, who doubtless spared him from such danger in order that with his zeal and his holy industry he might remain in this Pimería." (Velarde, in "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 325.)

[9] Besides the writings of Kino and Manje, we have for this chapter the hitherto unknown
manuscript diary of La Fuente and Terán, who led the army from Janos to Pimería Alta. It is
entitled Testtimonio de Auttos de Guerra fechos por los Capitanes Juan Fernández de la Fuentte,
Don Domingo Therán de los Ríos, 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. Original Spanish manuscript in the Municipal Archives of Parral,
Chihuahua, 202 folios. See also Autos de Guerra Tocantes al Capitán Ramírez, A.G.R. 67-4-11.
Audiencia de Guadalajara.

[10] The Christianized chiefs were listed under their baptismal names. Two of them, it
will be noted, were named for Salvatierra and Kino.

[11] La Fuente and Therán, Testtimonio de Auttos de Guerra, for the corresponding dates;
Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 243-244; Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte", Lib. V, Cap. iii; Kino, "Favores Celestiales", Parte I, Lib. iii, Cap. 13; "Hist. Mem.", I, 145-146.

[12] La Fuente and Therán, Testtimonio de Auttos de Guerra, for the corresponding dates;
Kino, "Inocente, Apostó1ica, y Gloriosa Muerte", Lib. V, Caps. iii-iv: La Fuente to Kino, August 17, 1695, ibid.

[13] Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte" , prefatory statement and Lib. IV, Cap. i,

[14] Saint Louis, King Louis IX of France.

[15] Kino, "Inocente, Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte", Lib. V, Cap. iv. Manje places this
incident in the first expedition to Caborca after the revolt, but he is clearly wrong, for the
story it given circumstantially in the diary of La Fuente and Terán, (Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita" 239.)

[16] Kino, Inocente, "Apostólica, y Gloriosa Muerte", Lib. V, Cap. iv.

[17] La Fuente and Therán, Testtimonia de Auttos de Guerra; Kino; "Inocente, Apostó1ica, y
Gloriosa Muerte" , Lib. V, Cap. iv; Manje, "Luz de Tierra Incógnita", 243-244.