SPANISH PRESIDIAL ADMINISTRATION AS EXEMPLIFIED

BY THE INSPECTION OF PEDRO DE RIVERA, 1724-1728

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THESIS

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By

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PREFACE

The presidio, the mission, and the town were characteristic features of Spanish imperial expansion in America. In the accumulation and preservation of official records, and consequently in the presentation of facts to historical investigators, the presidio was far less notable than either the mission or the civil settlement. In the study of the history of colonial Spanish America a great deal of interest and emphasis has centered upon the sites, the foundings, the efforts, and the significances of numerous missions, as well as upon the development or decline of some towns. Military institutions have received less emphasis, except in the narratives of campaigns and conquests. Increasing investigation of presidial affairs, however, is according a finer balance to the whole study of the Spanish American colonies. In the eighteenth century the Spanish colonial empire was usually more active in the work of maintenance than in that of expansion, and New Spain was the most important part of that empire. The military posts in northern New Spain contributed no little to the institutional life of the frontiers and to the problems of the governing officials in Madrid and in the City of México. It is the purpose of this writing to portray many of these problems of military administration as they were producing, early in the

second quarter of that century, a program of reform which centered around the presidial inspection by Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera.

Almost all of the material for this study of presidial administration is contained in documents as yet unpublished. In the library of The University of Texas are transcripts and photostats of these documents, brought from the Archives of the Indies in Seville, the Public Archives in the City of Mexico, the Archives of Saltillo in that city, the Archives of the Convent of San Francisco el Grande in the City of Mexico, and the Archives of the Franciscan College of Santa Cruz in Querétaro. There are also several rare volumes of printed works in that library which bear at least indirectly upon the subject. Every known document or volume which gives any light upon the matter has been used in the preparation of this monograph.

The writer is deeply grateful to all who have contributed to this work. Foremost among them is Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Professor of Latin American History in The University of Texas, whose patient direction, resourceful aid, and friendly encouragement made this writing possible. The Department of History in The University of Texas manifested a truly sympathetic interest in the undertaking. Miss Winnie Allen, Archivist, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, Latin American Librarian, and Mr. J. V. Haggard, Translator of the Béxar Archives, and their staffs, in the library of The University of Texas, gave willing and efficient assistance in

suggesting and finding the desired materials. Miss Mary S. Carden and Mr. Leandro Gonsalez, of San Marcos, Texas, contributed occasional and welcome information concerning several old Spanish names which defied discovery in dictionaries.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A fairly steady northward expansion characterized the first two hundred years of the existence of New Spain. In the sixteenth century the development was almost rapid. Cortez the Conqueror and his rivals and assistants made good beginnings, leading to the establishment of the viceroyalty in 1535. Shortly before that event New Galicia, a northern area, became a part of New Spain. Continued expeditions of the Spanish explorers went as far north as Kansas, and the territory occupied, at the end of the century, included large areas in Zacatecas, Nueva Vizcaya, Sinaloa and Nuevo León. Far on the east was Florida, while much farther, on the west, were the Philippines. Civil and military pioneers held such centers as Durango, San Luis Potosí, Saltillo, Cerralvo, San Juan, and Monterey. Prospectors seeking mines, ranches, and markets led the way, and missionaries went along to garner willing spirits for God and the King. All of these brave and hardy workers welcomed the escort, as well as the continued aid and encouragement, of His Majesty's soldiers. There were then about 125,000 Spaniards in North America.[1]

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[1]This brief summary of expansion in the sixteenth century is derived chiefly from C. W. Hackett, "Introduction," in C. W.

Hackett, Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, vol. I, 7-18. See also E. G. Bourne, Spain in America, 190-201; 243-252; H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783, 13-76; H. H. Bancroft, History of Mexico, II, passim; H. H. Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas, I, 1-152.

In the seventeenth century the northward expansion continued, soldiers being more useful in the aid of missionaries than in that of the prospectors. Missions were becoming more noticeable than mines and ranches. The work of the missionaries appeared to be more effective than that of the encomenderos in extending the frontiers. Sinaloa, Sonora, New Mexico, Lower California, and Coahuila became parts of New Spain. Settlements appeared in the region of El Paso and farther down the Rio Grande. A flurry of apprehension concerning the designs of the French caused the Spanish to stretch the frontier hastily northeastward in 1690, establishing a group of missions in eastern Texas. Apparently the westward urge of the French was more to be dreaded than the difficulty of maintaining these missions from a base no nearer than Coahuila. That difficulty proved more serious than the danger from the French, and the missions disappeared before the close of the century.[2]

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[2]H. E. Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, 174-181, 212-217; Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783, pp. 233-253, 289-292; H. H. Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico, 301-333; Anne E. Hughes, The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District; I. B. Richman, California under Spain and Mexico, 1-41; H. E. Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 205-423; W. E. Dunn, Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1689-1702; H. H. Bancroft, History of Mexico, III, 1-296, passim.

With almost all of this steady expansion of New Spain moved as steadily the soldiers of the King, to open the way and to keep it open. Presidios marked, though somewhat irregularly and haphazardly, the points where the greatest Indian resistance to this expansion occurred and where further troubles with Indians were most expected. Along and below this northern frontier, holding the territories gained and pointing towards more to be grasped as opportunity came, there were seventeen military establishments by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two of these were in New Mexico, Santa Fé being in the northern end and El Paso in the southern. Seven were in Nueva Vizcaya, stretching across the present states of Chihuahua and Durango: Sonora and Janos in the northwest corner, Conchos on the river of that name and southwest of the Big Bend of the Rio Grande, Cerro Gordo and Gallo and Pasage on the rural highway leading southeast from Conchos towards Coahuila, and Durango in the southern end. In the province of Sinaloa was the presidio of that name, one hundred fifty leagues northwest of Durango. North of Sinaloa was the little province of Ostimuri, near the southern edge of which was the presidio of Montesclaros, on the Río Fuerte. In Coahuila, east of Nueva Viscaya, were the escort-squad at Saltillo, the presidio of Coahuila at Monclova, and the presidio of San Juan de Bautista, or Río Grande del Norte, which was the gateway to Texas. In Nuevo León, east of Coahuila, were the presidio of Cerralvo, forty miles south of the Rio Grande,[3] and that of Cadereyta, twenty-

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[3] Bancroft, History of Mexico, III, passim.

five miles east of Monterey. A hundred leagues south, in Coahuila, was the small company of La Villa de los Valles.

During the first two decades of the eighteenth century the frontiers of New Spain continued to move northward, accompanied by the cross and the sword. In the northeast the soldiers and missionaries of Spain tightened their hold on both Florida and Texas, chiefly in order to confine the French as narrowly as possible to the Mississippi Valley. In so doing the Spanish once more established themselves in Texas, on a larger scale than before. The expeditions of Captain Domingo Ramón and Governor Martín de Alarcón produced seven missions and two presidios in the province, which was virtually an extension of Coahuila. Six of the missions and one presidio were among the Neinai Indians of eastern Texas, and the other presidio and mission were at San Antonio de Béjar, in the western part of the province. Because the French, emerging from their post in adjacent Louisiana, alarmed the Spanish in eastern Texas sufficiently to cause the evacuation of the presidio and six missions there, a larger expedition, led by the new governor, the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, was on its way to Texas at the close of 1720. His purpose was to restore the abandoned posts and to establish others which would make future frights of the Spanish impossible in Texas.[4]

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[4]Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783, pp. 292-296; G. P. Garrison, Texas, 34-37; Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, 224-227; C. E. Castañeda, Morfi's History of Texas, 185-196; C. E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, II (The

Winning of Texas, 1689-1731), 33-136; Eleanor C. Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722," in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, XV, 1-65.

West of Texas the northward expansion was quite as impressive, although not so vitally necessary for national protection, as in Texas. In the northwest the Jesuit Fathers Eusebio Kino and Juan María Salvatierra added to the Spanish empire the southern part of Arizona.[5] Midway between the advance into Arizona and the

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[5]Richman, California under Spain and Mexico, 42-61; H. E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Primería Alta, 1683-1711, 2 vols. Dr. Bolton published in 1936 his biography of Father Kino, The Rim of Christendom.

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advance into eastern Texas occurred another Spanish movement, towards the north. Additional settlements appeared in New Mexico, such as Albuquerque, between the distant posts of El Paso and Santa Fé. Explorations continued, beyond Santa Fé, as far north as Wyoming.[6]

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[6]The expedition of Juan de Uribarri went from New Mexico to Cuartelejo, in eastern Colorado, in 1706. In 1720 the expedition of Pedro de Villasur went from New Mexico through Cuartelejo to the Jesus María (North Platte) River. Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783, pp. 295-296; C. W. Hackett, Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 195-199.

Before the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century New Spain completed practically all of the northward territorial expansion which it was destined ever to accomplish, except in

Upper California and Western Louisiana. Those exceptions occurred during the second half of that century, during a temporary revival of a rapidly waning Spanish strength. That revival did not alter the fact that New Spain, fifty years earlier, was already becoming more burdensome than profitable to the royal Spanish treasury, and needing more skillful management within than adventurous expansion beyond the frontiers. Stagnation was imminent. In order to make it as brief as possible, some of the Spanish makers of policy and administrators, both in Madrid and in the City of Mexico, sought only to conserve assets until a better day, while others strove to relieve the fatigue of expansion by proposing more expansion.[7]

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[7]The conquest of Nayarit in 1721-1722, on the west coast below Sinaloa and Culiacán, meant Spanish control over another province and the erection of a presidio there to maintain it. Bancroft, History of Mexico, III, 310-331; 288-294.

That this stagnation of Spanish imperialism was beginning when a stronger dynasty was attempting to maintain Spanish prestige was a pathetic, perhaps an ironical, coincidence. While a series of four Hapsburg kings of decreasing intelligence sat on the throne of Spain nearly one hundred fifty years, ending with the close of the seventeenth century, Spanish expansion in North America was steadily progressing. While a series of three Bourbon kings of reputedly increasing intelligence sat on that throne during the following eighty-eight years, Spanish expansion in North America was spasmodic, bold advances resulting usually in cautious reductions. Official

activities in New Spain then apparently consisted of increasing then abolishing frontier posts and their equipment, and of enlarging, then reducing certain frontier expenditures. The net results were decreasingly satisfactory.[8]

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[8]C. J. H. Hayes, A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, I, 311, 312, 317; Garrison, Texas, 87, 88.

Many related circumstances in Europe and in America produced this stagnation and decline of Spain and weakened her military hold upon vast areas in the New World. Among these causes, innocently enough, was King Philip V, with his new régime and new concerns in Spain. The grandson of Louis XIV of France, Philip V was the first Bourbon king of Spain. He wished to be efficient and beneficial, and hoped for the recovery of Spain from her recent ills and for the continued growth of her prestige and her American empire. He was much interested, however, not to say immersed, in European affairs. He was concerned in one problem after another, often one problem with another, nearly half of the eighteenth century.

Philip's accession to the throne was a costly event for Spain. It involved that kingdom in the long strain of the War of the Spanish Succession, ending in tremendous losses of territory, resources, and prestige. The informal alliance with France likewise came to an end and Philip soon found himself on unfriendly terms with his cousin, the Regent of France. The two nations became

rivals again, both in Europe and in America. On the frontier between Texas and Louisiana this rivalry soon manifested itself in commercial movements and military threats. Philip also coveted for himself the crown of France, in spite of his renunciation of all rights thereto and the discouraging attitude of the other Powers. In January, 1724, he abdicated the Spanish crown in favor of his son, Luís, in order to be free, as he thought, to inherit the French crown in the event of the death of Louis XV, which was then daily expected. Instead, Louis XV recovered, Luís of Spain died, and Philip resumed his Spanish throne.

Fully aware of his costliness to Spain, Philip sought every possible opportunity to modify the Treaty of Utrecht, which, ending the War of the Spanish Succession, deprived Spain of Gibraltar and Minorca, of Spanish Italy, of the Spanish Netherlands, and of exclusive control of Spanish colonial commerce. To that end he watched carefully the affairs of Austria, Savoy, France, and England. With force or mere intrigue, as circumstances dictated, he attempted such things as the seizure of Sardinia, the resumption of his renounced right of succession in France, the blockade of Gibraltar, and the recovery of lands in Italy and in the Netherlands. In all of these measures he was blocked by England, and in most of them by the astute Robert Walpole, who was determined to let England lose and Spain recover absolutely nothing. Unable to outwit Walpole or to secure effective aid from Austria when Austrian inclinations led to the promise of it, Philip turned, on the advice

of his minister, Joseph Patiño, to the project of building a better navy with which to impress stubborn England. Philip was also hunting for another throne. Upon the advice of his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese, and her friends, he was trying to find or to create for their son Carlos some possible throne in Italy, since Carlos was not at that time the immediate heir to the throne of Spain.[9]

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[9]For the events of the reign of Philip V, 1700-1746, see Edward Armstrong, "The Bourbon Governments of France and Spain, 1714-1746," in The Cambridge Modern History, VI, 120-167.

All of these troubles and problems required time, effort, and money. Consequently there was less in the royal income and in the royal reserves, as the years passed, which could be utilized for the expansion of New Spain. In almost all of Spanish America, defense against unconquered Indians within and against the French and the English from without was more urgent that the desire to assume ownership of additional unoccupied territory. The establishment of the vice-royalty of New Granada in 1718 added new dignity and convenience rather than size to the empire.[10] New Spain could undertake

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[10]Bernard Moses, Spanish Dependencies in South America, II, 275.

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further expansion, if at all, only for the sake of defense.

Besides the difficulties of Spain in European quarrels and intrigues, there were fiscal reasons why her territorial hold upon

the American continent was unable to increase. Spanish returns from the New World until the later eighteenth century were neither so plentiful nor so valuable as they were in the preceding two hundred years, especially in the seventeenth century. The discovery and exploitation of mines declined considerably, and the tamer activities of petty commerce and agriculture, missionary labors, presidial protection, and civil administration did not produce revenues enough to balance the decline in the discovery of quickly usable treasures. With expenses at home higher and revenues from the New World lower than they were in earlier times, the government of Spain felt increasingly the need of economizing and of turning from the ideal of expansion to that of successful maintenance.[11]

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[11]T. W. Riker, A Short History of Modern Europe, 200-206; Frank W. Blackmar, Spanish Institutions of the Southwest, 83-84.

Accompanying the uncertainties and decline of the northward expansion of New Spain in the eighteenth century were the corresponding uncertainties and decline in the administration and the personnel of the frontier posts themselves. The soldiers and their commanders were no longer of the old heroic type which produced the conquistadores, but were mostly petty professionals, whose peccadillos and deficiencies were frequently hinted at and reported by their sometimes petty victims. Bold prospectors and adventurers, seeking lands and mines, who in earlier days accompanied the advancing troops, were no longer to be seen. Instead, there were merchants,

contractors, farmers and ranchmen, missionaries and their converts, all practically stationary and bent upon holding, rather than upon finding forms of property. Local officials sought and received frequently the advice of missionaries. The frontier stations of New Spain lost the aspect of land-acquiring vanguards of an ever-widening empire, and assumed instead the appearance of routine-following sentries of an aging but still restless domain. Missionaries came to worry as much about retaining as about winning their converts, and fully as much about the conduct of the nearest soldiers. The soldiers sometimes considered missionaries as troublesome as any Indians.

When the third decade of the eighteenth century began, northward expansion of New Spain seemed limited to the northeast. On the northwest the pioneering work of Father Kino, extending across the region of the Gila River, was not followed soon by like efforts after his death in 1711.[12] Arizona and California would have to

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[12]Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas, I, 492-511; Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783, pp. 301-305.

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wait some years longer before the Spanish would undertake further development. In the central north, Santa Fé was the farthest citadel, for the expeditions into the region of Nebraska and Wyoming produced no permanent penetration there. Into the northeast, however, Spanish zeal still carried the mission, the presidio, and the

prospects of civil settlement across the Rio Grande Valley towards the menace of French Louisiana. The new establishments in Texas were expected to aid those of Florida in keeping the French close to the Mississippi, and to aid those of the Rio Grande in subduing the terrible and persistent Apaches.

With the confident hope of reducing both French and Indian problems to permanently small matters and making the province of Texas a valuable bulwark of New Spain, the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, governor of Coahuila and Texas, completed in 1722 his progressive sequel to the recent accomplishments of Ramón and Alarcón. The immediate achievements of the Aguayo expedition were the restoration of the presidio of Los Texas and the six missions among the Asinai, and the establishment of two additional presidios and two additional missions. One of these presidios, Los Adaes, was east of the Sabine and very near the French post at Natchitoches. The other presidio was at La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, near the shore of Matagorda Bay. The marquis made plans also for the future development of the province, advising the Viceroy and the King that further measures were, and long would be, necessary. Among these, said the governor, was the separation of the government of Texas again from that of Coahuila. Another benefit which he asked for Texas was the importation of four hundred families, to create for the province a civil population and status. In his letter of June 13 he suggested to the King that two hundred of the desired families could be brought from such sources as Galicia, Habana, and the

Canary Islands, and the other two hundred from the province of Tlaxcala in New Spain.[13]

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[13]Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition . . .," in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, XV, 1-65; Hackett, Pichardo's . . . Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, Index, II, 102-119, Index.

Of course much correspondence ensued among royal officials concerning the proposal, especially regarding the Canary Islanders, two hundred families of whom might be utilized as volunteers for purposes of colonization. At length the King ordered the Viceroy of New Spain to make ready for the immigration. Correspondence and deliberation continued another year, however, before the Council of the Indies finally decided, with His Majesty's approval, to send all of the four hundred families from the Canary Islands, if possible, and to place all of these families in the province of Texas. Even at that late hour the Fiscal at Madrid advised further delay, in order to permit further consultation with the Viceroy and to make sure that the colonization would not be more expensive than helpful. The delay that followed eventually reduced the proposed migration to a small fraction of its intended size, and postponed that until nine years after the original suggestion of the resourceful marquis.[14]

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[14]San Miguel de Aguayo to Valero, Los Adaes, November 7, 1721, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-2, University of Texas transcript (Dunn. 1713-1722). Joseph Grimaldi to

Montero, Madrid, March 18, 1723; Royal Cedula, Aranjuez, May 10, 1723; Juan Montero to Grimaldi, Laguna de Thenerife, July 24, 1723; Juan Montero to Grimaldi, Laguna de Thenerife, September 19, 1723; Consejo de Indias, Consulta, Madrid, July 23, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-37, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1710-1738). San Miguel de Aguayo to the King, Coahuila, June 13, 1722; Fiscal, Respuesta, Madrid, July 24, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-11, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1710-1738).

Although the materials for additional civil colonization in New Spain were scanty indeed in 1722, there were on its northern frontiers many of the economic activities of civil life, together with military and missionary institutions which maintained, or at least represented, a magnificent mileage of Spanish authority and Spanish achievement. From the presidio of Nayarit in the west to the small force stationed at Los Valles in the east, an irregular line of twenty-three garrisons represented the once mighty and still effective sword of Spain. Four of these were in Texas, at San Antonio in the west, La Bahía on the coast, Los Texas in the eastern end, and Los Adaes, newly founded on the eastern edge. Three were in Coahuila, at San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande, Monclova, and Saltillo. Two were in Nuevo León at Cerralvo and Cadereyta, while in Guasteca, east of San Luís Potosí, was another, at Los Valles. Seven were in Nueva Vizcaya, at Durango, El Passage, El Gallo, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, and Conchos. One in northern Sonora at Coro de Guachi, or Fronteras, and another at Sinaloa in the province of that name guarded the coastal provinces which were subordinate to Nueva Vizcaya. Another was farther south, in the

newly conquered province of Nayarit on that western coast, at El Tonati del Nayarit. Two presidios in New Mexico, at Santa Fé and El Paso, marked the north and south borders of that province. The garrisons of Durango, San Bartolomé, and Saltillo were rated as "flying companies" rather than as presidios. The ages of these twenty-three military units ranged from one year, the age of the presidio of Nayarit, to approximately one hundred fifty years.[15]

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[15]Bancroft, History of Mexico, III, 410.

The administration of these twenty-three garrisons constituted a large part of the duties of provincial and vice-regal officials. The Spanish policy of meticulous documentary supervision of all colonial affairs required that royal officials likewise devote some of their attention to the presidios which were scattered across northern New Spain. No decree or decision of any importance by a provincial governor remained valid without the approval of the Viceroy, and none by the Viceroy had permanent effect without confirmation by the King. The Viceroy usually based his acts upon the advisory opinions of his Auditor-General of War, the Fiscal, and sometimes the Council of the Treasury. The King in turn based his upon the advice of his Fiscal and the Council of the Indies. Many months elapsed between the origin of some problem or proposal in a presidio on the frontier of New Spain and the arrival, in that presidio, of reliable news that royal action on the problem or

proposal was finally complete. Governors, Viceroy, and King combined in their respective persons both civil and military authority, a fact which added nothing to the speed of their work.[16]

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[16]Hackett, "Introduction," in Hackett, Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, I, 23.

The principal burden of presidial administration borne by the royal and viceregal governments was the problem of finance. The initial establishment of a presidio was sometimes costly. That over, the treasury paid annually, usually in the City of Mexico, to an empowered agent of the presidio a sum equal to the salary-roll of the garrison, for distribution among the soldiers according to their schedule. They paid for their own food, clothing, and military equipment, and for the maintenance of their families. Construction and repairs of fortifications and quarters, from usually abundant local supplies of earth, stone, or timber, were usually among the duties required of the soldiers. In the twenty-three garrisons in 1722 were 1,017 soldiers and officers, whose annual salaries amounted to 438,883 pesos. An approaching problem was that of erecting another presidio somewhere on the Rio Grande, preferably at the junction of the Rio Grande and the Conchos, on the northern edge of Nueva Vizcaya. Military defense seemed to be a growing burden to a treasury which was able to bear it with decreasing

ease.[17]

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[17]Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto mandado hacer por el Exmo Sor Marqués de Casafuerte . . . reducido de la visita de Presidios hecha or. el Brigadier Dn. Pedro de Rivera, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Rumors and complaints pictured conditions in these presidios as far from conducive to efficiency in keeping the provinces of New Spain safe from Indian disturbances and foreign invasions. Salaries were sometimes uncertain, being sometimes subjected to contacts with sticky fingers. Commissaries and commercial agencies operated or represented by presidial commanders were known to sell commodities to the soldiers at high, sometimes excessive, prices, prepayment of which was insured by the withholding of salaries. Some commanders lived many miles away from their garrisons, visiting them seldom and leisurely permitting men and equipment to deteriorate. Many soldierly duties were neglected. Discipline was occasionally known to lag or to vanish outright. The possibilities of profitable trade with the French, or the Indians, or both, sometimes loomed larger in captain's minds than their obligations to the Crown and the Church. Occasional quarrels or at least ineffectual cooperation between members of a garrison and those of a neighboring mission gave each institution cause to doubt the absolute value of the other. In short, there was often less than that driving zest which characterized the holders of the frontiers in earlier days.[18]

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[18]Ibid.

The four new presidios in the province of Texas encountered many of the difficulties and exhibited several of the shortcomings which existed in the older presidios of the other provinces. Exposed on one side to the French, on another to the sea and whatever it might bring, and on another to the Apaches and other very hostile Indians, Texas was far more worrisome to the officials of the Crown that the scanty population and the unexploitable natural resources warranted. The journey of three Frenchmen across Texas into Coahuila in 1723 caused more alarm than an invading regiment should have caused.[19] The presidio of San Antonio de Béjar, in

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[19]San Miguel de Aguayo to Casafuerte, Coahuila, November 23, 1723; Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, January 27, 1724, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, University of Texas transcripts. Fernando Pérez de Almazán to Casafuerte, Béjar, March 24, 1724, Archivo de San Francisco el Grande, X, University of Texas transcript.

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the effort of Captain Nicolás Flores y Valdez to punish and then pacify the Apaches, incurred the criticism, which soon ripened into ill will, of some of the missionaries of Béjar. They, particularly Father González, sent such unflattering reports about the captain and the presidio to the Viceroy as to induce him in 1724 to dismiss Captain Flores and appoint a new captain. He was Matéo Pérez, a faithful private soldier for twenty years at San Juan de Bautista but utterly without experience of command. The successful efforts of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, then in retirement in

Coahuila, and of Flores himself to secure his re-instatement consumed a whole year.[20]

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[20]Nicolás Flores to Casafuerte, Béjar, November 2, 1723, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, University of Texas transcript. Father Gonzales to Casafuerte, Béjar, January 10, 1724; Father Hidalgo to Casafuerte, Querétaro, January 14, 1724, Archivo de San Francisco el Grande, X, University of Texas transcripts, San Miguel de Aguayo to Father Margil, Coahuila, July 4, 1724, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1716-1749). Father Gonzalez to Casafuerte, Béjar, March 18, 1724; Father Gonzalez to Casafuerte, Béjar, June 5, 1724; Matéo Pérez to Casafuerte, Bautista, June 6, 1724; San Miguel de Aguayo to Casafuerte (n.d.); Nicolás Flores to Casafuerte (n.d.); San Miguel de Aguayo to Casafuerte, Coahuila, February 26, 1725; Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, May 28, 1725, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 32, University of Texas transcripts.

The presidio of Béjar was not the only scene of official anxiety in Texas. At La Bahía there were many troubles. A series of combinations of heat and rains produced numerous cases of illness. High waters interfered with the coming of supplies. Captain Diego Ramón neglected his soldiers, their equipment, and the fort itself, with consequent deterioration of presidial discipline and efficiency. The Indians were accordingly annoying. The quickest remedy for these troubles seemed to be the removal of the presidio from its coastal to an inland location. This proposal, as well as the troubles, required much reporting and advising. A new captain, Juan Antonio de Bustillos y Cevallos displaced the inefficient Ramón, a new site was selected on the Guadalupe River and the presidio was removed thither, and the garrison as a result improved in every

respect.[21]

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[21]Fernando Pérez de Almazán to Casafuerte, Béjar, March 24 and October 25, 1724, Archivo de San Francisco el Grande, X, University of Texas transcripts. Fernando Pérez de Almazán to Casafuerte, Béjar, May 1, 1724; Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, September 4, 1724, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 181, University of Texas transcripts. Juan Antonio de Bustillos y Cevallos to Casafuerte, La Bahía, June 18, 1726; Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, August 26, 1726, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcripts (Bolton, 1726-1743).

The province of Texas seemed filled with problems to Governor Pérez de Almazán. In the midst of the quarrel at Béjar was the necessity for deciding that the presidio should be moved to a better location, but kept on the west side of the San Antonio River. There was also the difficulty, almost impossibility, of securing from the mission of Valero, just across the river, a celebrant for mass in the chapel of the presidio. By the time that these matters were adjusted, the hexagonal fort at Los Adaes was in need of repairs. When that work was done, the governor had to report the need of La Bahía for a new captain and a new location.[22]

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[22]Fernando Pérez de Almazán to Casafuerte, Béjar, October 24, 1724, Archivo de San Francisco el Grande, X, University of Texas transcripts. Fernando Pérez de Almazán to Casafuerte, Los Adaes, July 4, 1726; Juan de Olivér Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, August 19, 1726, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcripts (Bolton, 1726-1743).

Frontier conditions in New Spain were, in the early 1720's,

assuredly in need of specific attention. Indians were troublesome in many places, the chief offenders being the Apaches. The dangers of French aggression, indicated by traders and perhaps spies, were over-estimated but none the less pressing. Friction between garrisons and missions needed skillful adjustment. Presidios were prone to deteriorate. Expenses were beginning to seem enormous to the harassed Crown. Texas was apparently the only part of Northern New Spain still considered as a path of expansion, and that province must get further assistance, in the form of planned colonization, in order to continue any expansion at all. The whole situation called for inspection, upon which to base future remedies.

CHAPTER II

OFFICIAL PREPARATION FOR RIVERA'S TASK

1722 - 1724

At the time when the military frontiers of New Spain were revealing increasing need of official attention, the thirty-seventh viceroy entered office in the City of Mexico. Juan de Acuña, Marquis of Casafuerte, was no novice in administration, but brought to this office the experiences and observations of forty-seven years of service to the Crown. Born in Lima, Peru, in 1657, he entered the royal service when eighteen years old, and rose therein, despite the fact that he was a creole and creoles seldom won important appointments and promotions. He attained the military rank of Captain General of the Spanish Army and held several important administrative posts, among which was the former viceregal office in Messina and Sicily. King Philip V of Spain admired him and in 1722 appointed him Viceroy of New Spain, to succeed the Marquis of Valero. Entering upon the duties of this office October 15, 1722, at the age of sixty-five, Casafuerte held it throughout the remaining twelve years of his life. Here, as elsewhere, his tenure of office was comparatively long. His aim was to serve the King efficiently, to improve the Kingdom of New Spain, and, in particular, to rid it of the dishonesty and wastefulness of its officials. He

considered their financial shortcomings both burdensome and humiliating to the royal treasury.[1]

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[1]This summary of the career of Juan de Acuña, Marquis of Casafuerte, is derived from Bancroft, History of Mexico, III, 349-351.

Evidently King Philip agreed with him in this unpleasant idea. His Majesty sent an order to Viceroy Valery, March 27, 1721, directing him to make certain military investigations and changes within the Kingdom of New Spain, especially in Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico. Valero answered, October 28, 1721, that he was compelled, through no fault of his own, to postpone the fulfillment of this order. The King therefore sent copies of his order and Valero's reply to Viceroy-elect Casafuerte, May 12, 1722, and ordered him to make special effort, after he should have begun his work as Viceroy, to secure as much information as possible concerning the presidios of New Spain and to propose then to the King such measures of adjustment as might be suitable. Upon these observations and recommendations of Casafuerte the King would depend, he said, for the proper royal procedure for the safeguarding and tranquillity of the dominions of New Spain.[2]

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[2]The King to Casafuerte, Aranjuez, May 12, 1722, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Casafuerte, having become Viceroy in October, wrote his formal acknowledgment, November 9, 1722, of the King's letter of May 12. Expressing the conventionally dutiful respect and obedience to the royal order, the new Viceroy ordered the usual number of copies of it made and filed in the government offices of the City of Mexico and of Vera Cruz, and the original kept in his secretariat.[3] During several years thereafter there was occasional offi-

[3]Casafuerte, Obedezimiento, Mexico, November 9, 1722, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

cial reference to this letter and the various copies thereof, including five additional copies placed in the secretariat in 1726 by order of the Viceroy.[4] One copy was included among the documents

[4]Joseph de la Zerda e Morán, Testimonio, Mexico, April 12, 1726; Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 5, 1725; Joseph de la Zerda e Morán, Testimonio, Mexico, June 8, 1726, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcripts.

given in 1724 to the man who was to inspect the northern presidios of New Spain, and, in at least one of the presidios, he included that copy in his account of his official procedure.[5] The King's

[5] Joseph de la Zerda e Morán, Testimonio, Mexico, March 31, 1729, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

letter was evidently important, and Spanish officials were never remiss in copying and filing their important documents.

About six months after acknowledging the royal order, Casafuerte wrote to the King, May 25, 1723, describing the principal defects in the presidial system as he saw them, and proposing the first step to be taken towards remedy. The twenty presidios and three flying companies cost the treasury, he said, 370,000 pesos annually. Of these twenty-three garrisons, Valero, his predecessor, established four. There was no doubt that some of them were in locations no longer populous enough to justify their cost, although the selections of these locations were based upon the presence then of miners and traders who needed this protection. The salaries sent annually to the soldiers in these garrisons were usually reduced when delivered, because of fraudulent officers who either stole the money outright or else demanded it in payment for merchandise which they alone were selling to the soldiers. The captains were using their soldiers as unpaid laborers on private estates, at the expense of the Crown. Other evils, as great as these, also existed, but the Viceroy would spare the King the tedium of their recital. Previous viceroys sent occasional inspectors, as the law provided, to investigate these evils and suggest remedies, but as yet none of these inspectors had really shown himself worthy of his mission. Nevertheless, Casafuerte wished to send another inspector, possessed of sufficient brains, zeal, time, and assistants to make the inspection worth while. For this work of inspection the Viceroy

nominated, subject to His Majesty's approval, Colonel Don Pedro de Rivera, late provisional Governor of San Juan de Ulloa, distinguished for his active zeal and already interested in this great presidial problem. For recognition of his past services as senior colonel and for the proper dignity of his approaching responsibilities, Colonel Rivera was to be given the rank and the pay of brigadier, the Viceroy using for this purpose one of the blank patents which the King sent to New Spain in 1719 to enable the viceroys to reward distinguished service. Inspector Rivera was to be guided in his great work partly by his own judgment, partly by official instructions. For this appointment theViceroy requested the prompt confirmation of the King.[6]

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[6]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, May 25, 1723, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

The desired royal approval was signed in Madrid, February 19,1724, nearly a year after Casafuerte had written his request for it. The King's letter, duly attested by one secretarial Antonio de Sopeña, carefully repeated practically every item mentioned in Casafuerte's letter, of the preceding year.[7] Upon the arrival of this

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[7]The King to Casafuerte, Madrid, February 19, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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in July, 1724, the Viceroy gladly wrote the usual expression of obedience and the order for all due copying and filing.[8] The copies

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[8]Casafuerte, Obedezimiento, Mexico, July 28, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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were completed in September.[9] By this time Casafuerte was completing

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[9]Sebastián Gonzales de Mendoza, Razón, Mexico, August 13, 1724; Antonio de Aviles, Concuerda, Mexico, September 13, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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his second year in the viceregal office, but the long-desired work of military inspection was not yet begun.

It was now possible, however, after two years of waiting, to put some greater speed into the undertaking. Two days after the completion of the last step in the process of filing the King's approval, the Viceroy signed, September 15, 1724, his own instructions to Rivera, who had already come to the capital to receive them and to prepare for his new work. They were carefully listed in twenty-six articles, and enclosed with them were copies of the letters of the Viceroy and the King concerning the project. The instructions were needlessly lengthy in that they included some descriptions of conditions in the presidios and repeated some items, warranting the supposition that the document was not written in one day. The Viceroy

left nothing unsaid to portrey to Rivera the activities and responsibilities that were to be his.

A brief résumé of these instructions pictures plainly the general conditions of the presidios and the numerous specific matters to which Rivera was to devote his attention and judgment. The first four articles expressed the Viceroy's conviction concerning the poor condition of the military frontier, his desire to economize there, his winning of royal approval, his appointment of Rivera, upon whom were bestowed the rank of brigadier and the services of two assistants, and the general commission laid upon Rivera to inspect the presidios, judge their evils and needs, and propose remedies consistent with the interests of the King. Four articles, numbered 5, 6, 20, and 21, emphasized the necessity of ending the system of extra charges imposed upon the salaries of the soldiers by officials and purveyors, under the guise of regular commodity-prices and special claims. Rivera was to see that the soldiers suffered no such discounts in their salaries thereafter, and that all such discounts as had occurred since the beginning of the reign of the Viceroy should be restored, by any pressure that Rivera might fine opportune. Three articles, numbered 7, 18, and 22, revealed that the soldiers, purchasing their own clothing, arms, munitions, horses, and other supplies, dealt often with contractors who resided in Mexico or in other cities far from the presidios and who were in league with the captains concerning the prices to be paid by the soldiers. In some places the soldiers had not enough horses, arms, and munitions to

make the necessary defense against Indians. Prices were often higher than distances justified. Lacking actual money with which to pay soldiers their occasional extra earnings, officers and fellow-soldiers sometimes resorted to the use of maize for money, engendering both dishonesty and dispute. Rivera must correct these situations and learn with certainty, for each presidio, the commodities which it needed and the just prices at which they could be sold. Two articles, numbered 8 and 9, pointed out corrupt practices of the captains in sometimes maintaining padded pay-rolls which brought more salaries from the royal treasury than there were soldiers to receive them, and in employing soldiers as laborers on estates owned by these captains, often at considerable distances from the presidios. These practices were conducive to the prosperity of the captains but not to the defense of the presidios.

The zeal of the Viceroy for economy and retrenchment displayed itself in at least seven of the articles of instruction, numbered 10, 11, and 13 to 17, inclusive. Inspector-General Rivera was specifically charged to determine whether the presidios were actually performing the services for which the Crown was paying; to secure information on that point from local clerics and "other disinterested persons"; to send to the Viceroy a full account of the inspection-procedure and decisions in each presidio; to learn whether the Durango squad of fifteen men, the Saltillo squad of twelve men, and the additional office of sergento-mayor, which was maintained in Nueva Vizcaya, were worth the cost of their retention in the royal

service; to find whether the province of Nayarit contained, and paid, too many troops for its own peace and whether the total number of presidios on the frontier could be safely reduced; and to estimate whether any reductions could justly be made in soldiers' salaries, mounts, and equipment,--remembering however that efficient defense must not be sacrificed. Accompanying several of these admonitions was the statement that the King had inquired about the matter.

In four additional articles, numbered 12, 19, 23, and 24, the Viceroy called upon Rivera to gather and submit particular types of information. For one thing he was to determine whether or not the presidio of Sinaloa should be removed to another site, nearer the frontier, considering always the proper safety of the coastal region. At every presidio he must investigate the captain's character, conduct, record, habits, procedure, and any complaints of the soldiers against him. Rivera was to have the power of suspending any captain, subject to the final approval of the Viceroy, and of naming a temporary commander in place of the suspended officer. Naming the twenty-three posts to be visited, the Viceroy instructed Rivera to plan his itinerary well, with regard for convenience and brevity, to gather complete geographical data upon each province and complete military data upon the liabilities of the presidios to Indian attack and the possibilities of their aiding one another in emergencies, and to make maps of all of these regions.

Finally, in articles 25 and 26, the Viceroy expressed two

important commands. Wherever matters might arise not covered by these instructions, Rivera was to rely upon his own good judgment; but he was to remember that his inspection would be depended upon to produce great results. The Viceroy would confer sufficient authority upon Rivera for the "reform of superfluous expenditures," the treasury was to furnish his salary and that of his two appointees who were to assist him, and the viceregal Fiscal and Auditor-General were to comment officially upon these instructions and to suggest methods of handling cases of guilt that might be encountered in the presidios. Rivera, of course, would be guided also by these comments and suggestions.[10]

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[10]Casafuerte, Instrucciones que se le dieron a Dn. Pedro de Rivera, September 15, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

The Fiscal, Don Prudencio de Palacios, submitted to the Viceroy exactly one week later a report containing much advice concerning the instructions to and methods of Inspector General Rivera. The adviser acknowledged that his advice was requested by the Viceroy only upon the matters of salaries to be paid to Rivera and his assistants, the contents of the Viceroy's instructions to Rivera, and the methods that Rivera should use in dealing with guilty individuals. The report, however, exceeded these matters, as was only natural, although it was well outlined and well expressed. The Fiscal agreed with the Viceroy that Rivera should receive a salary of

twelve pesos per day, and each of his assistants two pesos per day, and that the treasury should advance sufficient funds for the expedition, to be repaid by fines and fees to be collected during the presidial investigations. The accompanying clerk, however, should be paid from these fines and fees directly, if they were sufficient, otherwise by the treasury. Palazios gave great praise to Cagafuerte for his zeal and activity in seeking economy, punctual payments, and the ending of abuses in the presidios, and enumerated those abuses again, as constituting ample justification for a thorough inspection. A frontier presidio should serve, said the fiscal, to make itself unnecessary, by pacifying the Indians of its region and organizing them into peaceful communities. Seven earlier presidios thus earned official extinction, through their efficiency; yet some presidios were now deliberately failing to serve the purpose for which they were established, lest extinction should follow and thus deprive their officers of financial profits. It would therefore behoove Inspector General Rivera to investigate all presidial captains, using as models but improving upon certain earlier investigations already duly recorded, especially in the proceedings against the Governors of Nayarit and Nuevo León and in the residencias, or post-term examinations, of earlier governors of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya. It should be the duty of Rivera to prepare at each presidio a questionnaire, to examine witnesses orally thereby, to require the withdrawal of the captain twenty leagues from the presidio during the examination, to suspend a guilty captain and substitute a temporary commander

pending the Viceroy's decision, and to prepare an account of procedure, keeping a copy and sending the signed and sealed original to the Viceroy. Palazios matched his superior officer in his desire for lightening the burdens of the treasury, suggesting that Rivera should complete every investigation even if the accused should die before or during trial, since in case of guilt the heirs might be held financially responsible. Rivera should also learn, by personal study of conditions, whether the establishment of pueblos of peaceful Indians, drawn largely from the vicinity of Saltillo, could reduce the need of maintaining costly presidios. He should avoid disturbances among those found guilty, since from their payments was to come some of the relief sought for the treasury.[11]

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[11]Prudenzio de Palazios, Respuesta Fiscal, Mexico, September 22, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

The report of the Fiscal accompanied the instructions of the Viceroy into the hands of the Auditor-General, Don Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, to receive his official comments and advice. Within ten days he prepared his opinion, which was long and ill-outlined but rich in plain advice for Rivera. Considering in sequence the twenty-six articles that comprised the Viceroy's instructions, the Auditor gave his advice concerning them in five scattered parts. The first four articles, which dealt with the origin of this project of inspection, he approved without further comment. Upon seven

articles he declined to make any comment. They were the twelfth article, concerning the possible removal of the presidio of Sinaloa; the sixteenth, concerning the feasibility of abolishing some of the presidios; the seventeenth, raising the question of reduction of salaries; the eighteenth, bearing upon the rumored lack of defense-equipment in some presidios; the nineteenth, covering the investigations of presidial captains; the twenty-fourth, requiring the preparation of maps and geographical descriptions; and the twenty-fifth, laying upon Inspector General Rivera the responsibility of making this inspection succeed, although previous inspections had failed, in producing beneficial results. Nevertheless, the Auditor managed to cover all of these points, to some extent, in other parts of his lengthy opinion. He advised, concerning two articles, that Rivera should do as he saw fit: in securing information from clericals, as the eleventh article proposed, and in abolishing the office of sargento-mayor, as the fourteenth article suggested. As to the four articles, numbered 5, 6, 20, and 21, covering the impositions of extra charges and special claims as discounts upon the salaries of soldiers, Oliván Rebolledo advised that this abuse in general should not be confused with the special decreases made in such salaries in the presidios of Conchos, Pasage, Gallo, and Cerrogordo for the purpose of contributing to the salaries of the soldiers of Coahuila.

Relative to the remaining nine articles of the Viceroy's instructions, the Auditor-General offered with his advice some items of information. The collusion of captains with contractors

in overcharging the soldiers for their supplies, as described in Article 7, was flagrant in some presidios, especially in New Mexico, where the Governor selected the contractor who sold supplies to the soldiers and the soldiers had no voice in the matter. As intimated in Article 8, the names on the pay-rolls in some presidios were more numerous than the soldiers, the extra salaries being drawn by the captains. More than one captain was enriching himself by the labor of his soldiers on his lands while the Crown paid these soldiers without receiving their services. From that fact, expressed in Article 9, arose many acts of violence, such as the murder of Captain Ramón at the presidio of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, and the killing of forty-five soldiers by the Pananas in New Mexico.[12]

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[12]Full accounts of these and other frontier disturbances were among the information given by the Viceroy to Rivera. See footnote 23, below.

Rivera should secure full evidence about all such matters and impose full penalties. Since Article 10 required the Inspector to ascertain the defense-values of the presidial sites, the Auditor offered considerable description of the course of the Rio Grande and pointed out the possibilities of moving some of the Vizcaya presidios up to that river and establishing there several pueblos. Rivera should gather all available information along that valley, especially between the presidios of El Paso and San Juan Bautista, concerning "distances, proportions, and terrains" of these prospective sites.

Records already on file were available to Rivera to justify him if he should decide to abolish the Saltillo squad of twelve men and to reduce the number of soldiers in Nayarit, as Articles 13 and 15, respectively, suggested. In his study of producers' and retailers' prices of goods and transportation charges, as required by Article 22, Rivera should learn the prices quoted in Mexico, in Querétaro, and in San Miguel el Grande, and at the haciendas near the presidios, as well as the transportation costs for these distances. Then he could determine whether these commodities should be sold to the soldiers by their officers or by persons selected by the soldiers for that business, the law permitting either system. Since Article 23, which named the twenty-three military posts to be visited by Rivera, required him to make a practicable itinerary, Oliván Rebolledo presented information of the relative locations, with the latitude and longitude figures, of twenty of these.[13] Finally, the

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[13]See Table No. I, page 45.

Auditor vouchsafed the opinion that Rivera, in using the authority expressed in Article 26 as his, would have powers and responsibilities covering every possible aspect of the whole presidial establishment.

Having thus disposed of the Viceroy's listed instructions, the Auditor-General devoted the remainder of his lengthy opinion to the judicial procedure which Rivera should follow in dealing with

individuals accused of illegal practices. This judicial authority was included, in the twenty-sixth article of the Viceroy's instructions, among the powers to be conferred upon Rivera for the elimination of official corruption within the presidios. In each case of alleged malfeasance the Inspector should proceed in five orderly stages. In the first place he should receive individually all statements of accusation, during the process of questionning all members of the presidio. He must then draw up, in separate specific indictments, all accusations against each person, so that the accused could answer, and the trial cover, each distinctive charge. Rivera should present each charge formally to the person accused, receiving thereto his plea of "guilty" or "not guilty." The actual trial should follow, the Inspector presiding and hearing all witnesses and all arguments of both prosecution and defense. Ample time should be devoted to each trial, filling "three or six or nine days", as necessary. Finally Rivera should reach and pronounce a verdict, the nature of which would depend both upon the evidence and the offense. If the accused should have "cleared himself", he must receive acquittal; otherwise he must be pronounced guilty. If found guilty of financial misconduct, he must be required to make full restitution. If found guilty of any personal or military crime, he must be suspended from office, despite any appeal that he might make, for the Viceroy's power of suspension was delegated, in such event, to the Inspector. Rivera should permit no appeal to be made to any other court, his own decisions being

entirely subject to the approval of the Viceroy. If the crime should be such as to warrant the death penalty or any corporal punishment, Rivera must not only remove the guilty person from office but also pronounce the additional sentence, postponing its execution pending the final decision of the Viceroy; for so the military regulations provided, in the Laws of the Indies. It must be clearly understood, however, that the Inspector must refrain from investigating any purely personal actions if these happened to be civil in nature rather than either criminal or military. Throughout the prescription of judicial procedure, Oliván Rebolledo inserted citations of Spanish laws, by volumes, titles, and numbers.[14]

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[14]Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, October 2, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

The Auditor-General sent his long but valuable opinion to the Viceroy, accompanied by the report of Palazios, the instructions of the Viceroy, and the letters of the Viceroy and the King on this problem of administration. This accumulation of documents Casafuerte transmitted, the next day, to the Council of the Treasury, directing that body to take the necessary measures for the financial support of the whole undertaking.[15] The Council took action, October

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[15]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, October 3, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas

transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

6, in a session attended by nine members, two of whom were Palazios and Oliván Rebolledo. Of the other seven members, five were judges in viceregal courts and two were accountants in the treasury. "For the most part" the Council resolved that Rivera should receive a salary of twelve pesos per day, and each of his assistants and his notary, five pesos per day.[16]

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[16]Junta de Hazienda, Opinión, Mexico, October 6, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

With this legal and financial authorization at hand, Casafuerte issued four days later what he supposed to be his final decree in the launching of this enterprise, ordering his secretariat to write, for his signature, and to deliver the dispatches necessary to enable Rivera to begin his journey. In the first place, the formal commission was to be prepared and sent to Rivera, as his certificate of powers. In this commission there must be inserted the royal decree of February 19, the Viceroy's instructions, the report of the Fiscal, the opinion of the Auditor-General, the royal ordinances that he had cited therein, and the written accounts of previous inspections, so that Rivera could use all of these as his guides. Secondly, a dispatch was to be sent to the Council requiring it to deliver to Rivera six thousand pesos in advance, so that he could

purchase equipment and supplies. Likewise, dispatches addressed to the Jesuit and Franciscan provincial commissaries, to the Bishop of Durango, and to other prelates who had any authority over missionaries in the interior provinces, should request these reverend gentlemen to have their subordinates give Rivera all information and assistance that he might ask of them. Finally, dispatches sent to the Governors of Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo León, New Mexico, and Texas were to inform these officials that unless they too gave Rivera such aid and refrained from hindering him they would lose their positions. Especially was this official assistance to extend to the important matter of ending the discounts and other burdens borne by soldiers' salaries. Some of these evils should be investigated only as far back as two years, the time in which Casafuerte had been Viceroy; but others could be examined in records covering the preceding twenty years.[17]

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[17]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, October 10, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

In this decree the Viceroy also took occasion to illustrate again his official thriftiness and to express perhaps a slight reproof to the Treasury Council. That body authorized for each of Rivera's two assistants a daily salary of five pesos, but the Viceroy here ordered that two pesos, as the Fiscal had recommended, were quite enough for this purpose and were all that these assistants

should receive. The salary of Rivera, twelve pesos per day, and that of his assistants, reduced from the Council's figures, were to begin on the day that the Inspector left the capital city. The salary of his notary, five pesos per day as set by the Council, was to begin on the day that Rivera left the city of Zacatecas.[18]

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[18] Ibid.

The eager Viceroy had six weeks yet to wait before he could have the satisfaction of knowing that the Rivera expedition was on its way. By October 16 the viceregal secretariat was able to certify that all of the required dispatches had been drawn up and sent.[19] The viceregal treasury officials, however, declared that in

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[19] Sebastián Gonzales de Mendoza, Razón, Mexico, October 16, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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order to advance the required 6,000 pesos to Rivera the treasury should have certified copies of the royal decree of February 19 and the Treasury Council's resolution of October 6. Otherwise, said the guardians of the treasury, the later auditings of their accounts would be very embarrassing.[20] Two days later the Viceroy ordered

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[20] Ygnacio José de Miranda, and Alejo Lopez de Cotilla, Consulta de Ofiziones Reales, Mexico, October 16, 1724, Archivo

General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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the delivery of these certified copies, as requested, and repeated insistently his command that the treasury pay the required sum to Rivera without delay.[21] Apparently the Viceroy and the treasury of-

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[21]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, October 18, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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ficials neatly exchanged insinuated criticisms, he in reducing the salaries set for the assistants, the officials in requiring additional documentary authority before complying with his order of payment, and he again in prohibiting further delay. On the following day his secretary duly recorded the dispatching of the required documents to the treasury officials.[22] There was no further delay

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[22]Sebastián Gonzales de Mendoza, Razón, Mexico, October 19, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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in the payment.

Into the hands of the expectant Rivera went a large collection of documents for his consideration. Inserted in the viceregal dispatch of commission were the opinion of the Auditor-General, the report of the Fiscal, the instructions of the Viceroy, together

with secretarial attests. In addition to these papers there were thirty-three cuadernos of certified copies of records. These records varied, in their dates, from 1678 to 1724, and, in their lengths, from three to 505 folios. Their total length was 3,425 folios. For all of this documentary material Rivera wrote, October 30, a formal receipt. He classified therein the records in seventeen groups, covering provincial and presidial appointments, commissions, accounts of Indian hostilities, supply-lists, plans for security, investigations, residencias, reforms, advices, conquests, and certain activities in some of the presidios. Somewhere in this bulk of material was a precedent for almost any act or thought that might be expected of Rivera during his tour of inspection. He would not lack guidance, if he read these documents. Many of the matters contained therein were to be subjects of his further inquiries and procedures within the next four years.[23]

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[23]Pedro de Rivera, Razón de documentos recibidos, Mexico, October 30, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

Three weeks after he signed this receipt the Inspector completed his assembling of plans and equipment, and began his journey. Official documentary authorization of his work actually continued, however, after he began it. In April, 1725, the Viceroy's notaries duly prepared and attested the required copies of Rivera's

papers.[24] As late as July 27, 1737 there appeared a brief, casual

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[24]Antonio de Aviles, Concuerda, Mexico, April 19, 1725; Sebastián Gonzales de Mendoza, Juan Baptista de Ulibarri, and Thomás de Siguenza, Damos fee, April 19, 1725, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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validation of these copies in Madrid, by the secretary of the Council of the Indies.[25] The long list of documents that expressed

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[25]Antonio de Salazar y Castillo, Certificación, Madrid, July 27, 1737, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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the official preparation for the work of Rivera was evidence not only of the Viceroy's patient determination in the matter but also of the Spanish characteristic of deliberateness in authorizing an intended procedure.

TABLE NUMBER I

Locations of the presidios, as expressed by Auditor-General Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, October 2, 1724. Longitude was reckoned east from Tenerife, in the Canary Islands.

Presidio	Latitude	Longitude
Nayerit	24°	261°
Durango	24° 40'	262°
Passage	26°	262°
Gallo	26° 20'	261°
Mapimí	"near Passage"	
Cerro Gordo	26° 30'	260°
San Bartolomé	27°	259°
Conchos	27° 40'	259° 20'
Santa Fé	37°	261°
El Paso "near"	30°	262°
Janor	31° 30'	255° 45'
Sonora	32° 30'	253° 15'
Sinaloa	25° 40'	256°
Adaes	34°	379°
Dolores (Los Texas)	33°	278°
Bahía	28° 23'	274°
Béjar	30°	270°
Bautista	30°	279°
Coahuila		
Cerralvo	26°	270°
Cadereyta	27°	273°
Saltillo	"10 leagues N. Zacatecas"	
Villa de los Valles	25°	

CHAPTER III

SCENES AND CONDITIONS AS RIVERA SAW THEM, 1724-1728

Equipped with some 3,500 folios of information and instructions, and with 6,000 pesos from the viceregal treasury, Brigadier Rivera soon completed his preparations for his long tour. With a few servants, pack-animals, and supplies, he left the City of Mexico, November 21, 1724, on his way to the northwest. He kept careful accounts of his journey, day by day, almost league by league,[1] for purposes of subsequent publication. In forty-three

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[1] In New Spain a league was about 2.63 miles. Hackett, Pichardo's . . . Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 301.

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months he covered 3,922 leagues and visited nearly 30[illegible] places, including twenty-three military posts and several important cities. His average daily distance was about eight leagues, although on the first day he traveled only one league, and he strongly implied, in his record published later, that he rode seventeen leagues, December 6, 1725, from the presidio of Mapimí to that of Cerro. Rarely did he travel the same distances on consecutive days. As he patiently rode horseback over a vast section of the continent, from the City of Mexico to Santa Fé, from Sinaloa to the west border of Louisiana, he saw not only a military frontier that called for economy but also an imperial domain that challenged his powers of

description.[2]

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[2]The description of this journey is derived from Pedro de Rivera, Diario y Derrotero de lo Caminado, visto y observado en el discurso de la visita general de Presidios situados en las Provincias yntemas de Nueva España. Guatemala, 1735.

Throughout this journey the Brigadier gave much attention to distances, directions, and locations. Each day he measured his travel in leagues and noted its every change of direction. In all cities that he visited and in twenty of the twenty-three military posts he carefully "observed the sun" to determine their latitude and longitude. Some portions of his route he immediately retraced, between Zacatecas and Nayarit, Fresnillo and Zacatecas, Gallo and Mapimí, El Paso and Santa Fé, Onavas and Sinaloa, Béjar and Adaes, Béjar and Bahía, and San Luís Potosí and Los Valles. Other portions he ultimately retraveled, between Pasage and Laguna de San Martín, near San Phelipe de Chihuahua, between Janos and the neighboring village of San Antonio, and between Monclova and Béjar. Once, at Saltillo, he touched his own trail again without retraveling any of it. Because of these necessary retracings he was three times in Fresnillo, in Gallo, and in San Antonio de Béjar, twice in Zacatecas, in San Phelipe de Chihuahua, and in San Luís Potosí, and twice in each of the presidios of El Paso, Janos, Pasage, Saltillo, Monclova, Bautista, and Dolores.[3] Carefully he noted the name of every place

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[3]See map, page 92 for the principal points visited by Rivera.

in which he lodged, important or unimportant, city or village, private estate or uninhabited spot.[4]

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[4]See Appendix A for the itinerary of Rivera, derived from his Diario. See Table No. 2, pages 93-94 for his observations of latitude and longitude.

With equal regularity this careful traveler observed daily the weather, topography, vegetation, and available water and minerals. When he completed the tour of a province, beginning with Nayarit, he summed up these daily observations in a description of the province. In observing the country as he traversed it, he was interested mainly in its possibilities of economic development and its defense. It is likely that his personal knowledge of a vast portion of the continent, as yet largely undeveloped, impelled him to consider the military functions of New Spain as more properly defensive than expansive.

On the way from the City of Mexico to La Mesa del Tonat, the capital of Nayarit, Rivera saw every variety of surface from level prairie to lofty mountains, and a corresponding variety of soils and products. He found a considerable number of Indian pueblos, some of which he visited overnight, and a few Spanish towns, the populations of which were racial mixtures. He seemingly noticed most of the private estates that he passed, and likewise visited many of them. Good grazing lands pleased his eye, especially if they exhibited much hay in that winter season, and he quickly

perceived any overabundance of rocks. Below Zacatecas the trees were mostly mesquites and huisaches, interspersed with broad growths of prickly-pear. Beyond Zacatecas he saw also many oaks, pines, a few palms, and "other trees that are not known." Streams and springs, some of them hot springs of medicinal repute, he noticed with great favor, conducive as they were to the future settlement of the country.

With true Spanish interest, he looked with even greater favor upon hills that exhibited or even indicated mineral resources. Situated among such hills the city of Nuestra Señora de los Zacatecas was, in his opinion, quite important. Its population, of over 24,000, was Spanish, mestizo, and mulatto. Rivera found it a larger mining center than any such place in the Interior Provinces. Through the middle of the city flowed a creek which was sadly addicted to floods in times of heavy rainfall. As recently as 1722 this creek wrecked many adobe houses in the city and drowned their inhabitants. Partly to study the ravages of that flood and to search for measures of protecting the mines from future floods, Rivera spent nearly twelve weeks in Zacatecas, including his return visit there, apparently pleasing the property owners by his interest in their behalf. From this city his course continued northwest to Fresnillo, a small town of mixed population and of "unpaid taxes". From this point he turned southwest and climbed steadily, except for temporary descents to cross four rivers, to the great plateau on which stood the presidio and the capital of Nayarit. Sometimes the weather was too

stormy for travel and too cold for sleep. Each mountain range was higher and harder to climb than the preceding one, and the descents to rivers and creeks were no less difficult. At last he found the "labor of crossing [high ranges] almost intolerable, because of rocks and hills and having to clear the timber many times for the purpose." On the following day, however, February 9, 1725, he reached his first object of inspection, the presidio of Nayarit.

There he was, according to his calculations, 210 leagues northwest of the City of Mexico, ninety leagues southwest of Zacatecas, sixty leagues southwest of Durango, and seventy leagues northwest of Guadalajara, and in a province whose pueblos ranged thirty-three leagues from northeast to southwest and twenty-eight leagues from northwest to southeast. The climate of the province, he found, varied according to altitude. Along the rivers and also on some of the plains the Indians farmed, producing corn and beans, and such fruits as watermelons, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, peaches, wild plums, and the fruit of the plane tree. In the warm portions of the province the ranchers bred some black cattle of good quality and some horses, although these were too few to serve the needs of the Indian farmers. Wild animals were also scarce, consisting of deer, white wolves, and a "rare volatile animal". The trees were pines, oaks, live-oaks, poplars both white and black, cedars, palms, mesquites, and some others that produced medicinal gums. Bees supplied honey and wax in abundance. The streams afforded fish of great quantity and variety, contributing throughout the year to the livelihood of the

inhabitants. Minerals too were plentiful, but not yet of much value. The ten pueblos of Nayarit, with a total population of 3,783, comprised two Indian nations, the Choras and the Tecoalmas. The other Indians of the province were still pagan, although their principal cacique, El Tonat, had recently received baptism, and the missionaries were steadily winning other converts.

Accompanying Rivera throughout the tour were his explorer and map maker, Lieutenant Colonel Don Francisco Albarez Barreyro, Engineer in Chief of the Province of Texas.[5] When this officer

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[5] Engineer Barreyro came to America from Spain in 1723 to take up his official duties in the provinces of New Spain. Royal assent to his embarcation at Cadiz was addressed to officers of the Casa de la Contratación in that city. The King, Lizencia para embarcarse Dn Franco Varreyro y Albarez, Yngeniero de la Provª de los Tejas, Madrid, February 1, 1723, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-2-1, University of Texas transcript, (1710-1736).

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finished his exploration of Nayarit his opinion of it was less complimentary than that of Rivera. To Barreyro the principal fault of Nayarit was scarcity of production, due to lack of rainfall. This in turn was due to the effect of the mountains upon the winds. Only near the pueblo of Santa Theresa could the Indians farm successfully, and there only by clearing away the pine forests. Elsewhere, along the river banks, the Indians planted little and at the risk of destructive floods. The sole products of these annual struggles for existence were corn and beans. Corresponding to the arid unproductive-

ness of the soil was the scarcity of live stock and of wild animals. Divine Providence, however, ignored the unproductiveness of the province sufficiently to endow it with such fruits as peaches, plums, sapotas, planes and "others of less substance", and with such timber as pine, oak, poplar, mesquite, huisache, and cedar, together with palms and cane. The Indians not yet in pueblos had therefore at least the assurance of some food and building material. The province was in the Archbishopric and Audiencia of Guadalajara.[6]

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[6]Francisco Albarez Barreyro, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730 (Nayarit, April 4, 1725), Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). From the original manuscript in Seville were removed the pages containing the maps and parts of the description. The transcript indicates these omissions.

Returning from Nayarit to Zacatecas, Brigadier Rivera remained there five weeks, after which he began his march to Durango. Oddly enough, he halted at Fresnillo, only thirteen leagues north of Zacatecas, to spend two days in replenishing his supplies, instead of doing so before leaving Zacatecas. This was his third visit to Fresnillo, whose delinquencies in tax-paying had already attracted his attention. Northwestward he proceeded during a week of good and bad weather, across good grazing lands which were occasionally broken by hills and glades. Larger hills were constantly within sight. He usually lodged at private plantations, but he spent two nights, with a stormy day between, at La Villa de Llerena Real y

Minas de Sombrerete. This town was partly in ruins, having lost two-thirds of its population because its mines filled with water. The approach to Durango lay across well watered meadow lands interspersed with mesquites and huisaches.

In and near Durango, where he remained longer than four months, Rivera observed several interesting facts and places. The city, which was much smaller than Zacatecas, was the seat of a bishop. Perhaps for that reason Rivera continued to call it the capital of Nueva Vizcaya, although the governor no longer resided there.[7] Within a radius of five leagues were at least four pueblos

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[7]Durango was founded in 1563 as the capital of the then new province of Nueva Vizcaya, but, a century later, the governor's residence was moved to Parral.--Hackett, Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, I, 15; II, 6.

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of Tepehuane Indians. Near one of these pueblos, Canatán, was the site which Rivera selected for the new location of the Durango garrison.[8] He found pending in Durango, between the municipal and the

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[8]See Chapter IV, page 108.

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diocesan authorities, an interesting controversy, which he was to settle.

The journey northeastward from Durango to El Paso, about

forty leagues in length, required only five days, during which Rivera and his party encountered their first floods. The Sauzeda River was too high to cross at the usual ford, and the level country beyond was dotted with pools and mud holes. Between stretches of mesquite and huisache distant ranges of hills were visible. There were no towns on this road. At Pasage was the third garrison that Rivera inspected. He remained there nearly three weeks.

Between El Pasage and El Gallo, twenty-six leagues northwest, Rivera traveled four days. Nearly all of the road was level, through numerous dense woods. On the fourth day, however, he saw a cañon, "pleasing to the eye", between the hills, and a spring of medicinal hot water. Mesquites, huisaches, and cat-thickets continued to interest him. He found one pueblo, one small town, and two deserted villages. One of these bore the gruesome name Las Manos, because in earlier days hostile Indians fastened to mesquite trees there the hands of their victims.

After a sojourn of almost three weeks at Gallo, where he inspected his fourth presidio, Rivera turned aside from the royal highway and traversed in two days the seventeen leagues northeastward to Mapimí. It was now one year since he left the City of Mexico. He found Mapimí a small mining town with more past than future, for its minerals were of small value. The chief asset of the town was a spring large "enough for many more people". After a short stay in Mapimí he returned to Gallo, noticing again the rocky hills, the occasional prairie, and the thick growths of brush and briers.

Leaving Gallo again, going northwest, Rivera found the next three stages of his journey short but scenic. The twenty-four leagues between Gallo and Cerro Gordo revealed abundant pastures, occasional tracts of timber, many mesquites and palms, long low hills, and higher ones at some distance. The presidio of San Miguel de Cerro Gordo was on the south bank of a deep creek. Here he remained about two weeks. On the journey of thirteen leagues from Cerro Gordo to the Valley of San Bartolomé the Inspector General crossed the Florido River, stopping on its north bank to admire the beauty of the poplars and the flowers that gave the stream its name. Timber seemed scarce thereabouts, but the pastures were alluring, even in winter-time. San Bartolomé was a town of mixed Spanish, Indian, and mulatto population, well supplied with grains, fruits, and herbs. Besides a parish church the town contained a monastic house of Franciscans. Rivera visited the flying company of San Bartolomé from December 29, 1725, until January 10, 1726. Traveling westward from there on the following day, across seven leagues of similar country, he arrived at the mining town of San José de Parral. It was on the north bank of a small river, contained the mixed population usual to such towns, and, like Mapimí, suffered from a decline in its minerals. Parral had no presidio but was the residence of the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya.[9] Investigation of the records

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[9] See note 7, above.

of a former governor, Don Martín de Alday, deceased, who had also been a captain of the presidio at Pasage, kept Rivera in Parral nearly two months.

Within two more months he completed his first tour of Nueva Vizcaya. In one day's journey he reached San Pedro Creek, nine leagues northwest of Parral, but the next day, following the highway, he traveled ten leagues northeastward, to reach the presidio of San Francisco de Conchos. On this elbowed journey he saw no timber, but much meadow land and some grass-covered hills. The presidio stood near the bank of the Conchos River. One-half league eastward was a pueblo inhabited by the Tobosos, Conchos, Chizos, and Tharaumares. There was also a mission, where Rivera lodged during the three weeks in which he was inspecting the presidio. Leaving there early in April he crossed the river and traveled three days in a slightly northeasterly direction through thirty-two leagues of low hills, mesquite woods, and dry creek-beds, visiting one farm and two deserted villages. This farm was on the south side of the San Pedro River, which he considered a pleasing sight because of the luxuriant foliage of the cottonwood trees along its banks. On the fourth day he turned northwest and rode eight leagues over land broken with hills, rocks, creeks, and timber, to the city of San Phelipe de Chihuahua. Here a "considerable population", not very old but mixed as usual, was on the south bank of a small river. A short distance up this stream were Chubisca and San Andres, pueblos of the Tharaumara Indians. Five leagues east of the city was the

mining town of Santa Eulalia, usually called El Realito, where a plentiful supply of silver caused growth of population. In the city of San Phelipe the Brigadier stayed three weeks, one of which was Holy Week. His road from there towards El Paso led him through pasture lands green with the grass of spring and among some water holes and low hills, until at the waterless and deserted Boquillas, May 5, 1726, he passed out of the province of Nueva Vizcaya.[10]

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[10] In considering Las Boquillas a boundary point between Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico, Rivera was apparently agreeing with those citizens of New Mexico who in 1685 asserted that Juan de Oñate, founder of that province, took possession of all land north of the Sacramento as part of New Mexico in 1598. Oñate himself, however, formally proclaimed possession of that province when he reached the vicinity of El Paso. As early as 1693, Joseph Francisco Marín, Inspector of Nueva Vizcaya, reported to Viceroy Galve that the northern frontier of Nueva Vizcaya extended to "the presidio of El Paso, which is in latitude thirty-two degrees, less one third". See Hackett, Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773, I, 208, 210; II, 3, 389.

Neither Rivera nor Barreyro was consistent in his statements about the boundary between Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico. Both men named Las Boquillas, a dry despoblado forty-one leagues below El Paso and fifty-four leagues above San Phelipe de Chihuahua, as a boundary point between the two provinces. Both men named 31° as the southern latitude line of New Mexico. Nevertheless, both said that Nueva Vizcaya extended north to 32°, the latitude of El Paso. See note 2, above, and note 12, below.

His description of this province as a whole was favorable. Covering almost ten degrees of latitude and sixteen of longitude,[11]

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[11] Rivera's Diario states the extent of Nueva Vizcaya as 22 degrees to 23 degrees north latitude and 255 degrees to 271 degrees longitude east from Tenerife, presumably intended to say 22

degrees to 32 degrees and 255 degrees to 271 degrees. These are the figures given by Barreyro. See note 12, below.

Nueva Vizcaya was divided by the Sierra Madre into a hot western and a temperate eastern part. In the eastern, larger part were Durango, Saltillo, Parras, Parral, the Vizcaya presidios, San Phelipe de Chihuahua, La Junta de los Rios, Cusiguriache, Valle de Santa Buena Ventura, and Valle de Casas Grandes. The temperate climate and fertile soil produced abundent grains and fruits, especially grapes, from which wine and brandy were made in Durango, Saltillo, and Parras. Ample grass and herbs insured the successful breeding of horses, mules, and cattle. In the west the climate was too hot for wheat, but corn and beans were plentiful and the transportation of flour into that region from the east was not difficult. Wild animals of the province included mountain lions, tigers, wildcats, horned and hornless deer, wild hogs, bear, badgers, wolves, coyotes, and rabbits of different kinds. Birds were of numerous kinds but not very abundant, although quail were increasing. The woods contained "all kinds of trees". The rivers were well stocked with many kinds of fish, all good. The hills of the province afforded gold and silver, as well as some metals of less value. The Indians in the pueblos numbered 51,910, representing twenty-five nations: Xiximes, Tubares, Berroxios, Xixies, Tharaumares, Nuris, Tepehuanes, Babos Arigames, Atapabondas, Conchos, Chizos, Otequitatomes, Sumas, Xocomes, Mezquites, Cacalotes, Paxalames, Mammates, Julimes, Tapalcomes, Poarames, Hopomes, Sibulos, Julicas, and Sisimbres. These pueblos were

administered by Franciscans and Jesuits. The ecclesiastical government of the province was under the Bishop of Durango; the judicial, under the Audiencia of Guadalajara.

Rivera's general description of Nueva Vizcaya was seemingly derived partly from his own observations and partly from the reports of Engineer Barreyro. That officer made four explorations in the province, beginning respectively at Durango, Pasage, Gallo, and Conchos. According to his account, Nueva Vizcaya extended from the mouth of the Cañas River, 22° 37' north latitude, to the presidio of El Paso, 32° 9' north latitude, and was in the center of the Interior Provinces. His list of natural resources was the same as that of Rivera, except that the Engineer added a few factual items. To the list of wild animals he added lynxes, foxes, squirrels, and mapaches, and to that of food-products he added pears, apples, large quinces, and vegetables. Agreeing that every hill in which metals were sought rewarded the searchers to some extent, he added that in the Sierra Madre there were two mining camps, Urique and Batopilla, where much of the silver was pure enough for the ore to require no reduction.[12]

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[12] Francisco Alvarez Barreyro, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730 (San Phelipe de Chihuahua, 1726), Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). Incomplete.

From Las Bequillas Rivera traveled alternately northeast

and northwest to El Paso, a distance of forty-one leagues, in six days. He said of Ojo Caliente, his first stop after leaving Las Boquillas, that it was the first Spanish town that he encountered in New Mexico. In that town he met seven Indians, a cacique among them, who lived at Carrizal, and loyally urged them, for they could understand Spanish, to have no further dealings with rebels. These Indians seemed pleased, either with his advice or with the food and tobacco with which he regaled them. The road to El Paso was level, but very sandy and somewhat difficult. Thickets of rosemary and other shrubs, and occasional woods of mesquites and huisaches relieved the monotony of the scene. The few springs, two of them hot, and the lakes near Candelaria looked attractive in comparison with the sand dunes, which seemed to extend from the Gila region in the northwest down the Valley of the Rio Grande to La Junta de los Rios. The presidio of El Paso was on the south bank of the Rio Grande in the present city of Juarez, adjoining a Spanish town and an Indian pueblo which was divided into two wards, inhabited by the Mansos and the Piros, and directed by a Franciscan. Within four leagues east of the town were the small pueblos of Socorro, Ysleta, Senecú, and San Lorenzo, managed by Franciscans and inhabited by Tiguas, Sumas, and Piros. Near them were spacious farms, producing wheat, corn, vegetables, and grapes. The wine made there was superior to the famous wines of Parras in Nueva Vizcaya. Fertile soil and irrigation from the river made the region of El Paso independent of the weather. Rivera seemingly gathered this information, along with

necessary supplies, in about a week.

There was nothing uninteresting to him in his journey of sixteen days from El Paso to Santa Fé, a distance of one hundred thirty-two leagues. His party spend one-half day in crossing the Rio Grande at El Paso, in canoes. The route then followed the left bank of that river for the entire distance north to Santa Fé, with the exceptions of two days' travel across the territory within the most westward angle of the river and two days' travel eastward from the Rio Grande up its small tributary, the Santa Fé River, to the city of that name. East of and parallel to the road, as far up as a few leagues above Albuquerque, he saw daily the mountain range which he called Sierra de los Mansos. Along the way were some long, low hills and mesas, a few very sandy areas, several dry creeks, and, more to his liking, large tracts of level pasture-land. He admired the mesquite trees and thickets of aromatic rosemary, and most of all the cottonwoods and some cypresses which grew along the river-banks. For his two days' march across arid, saline land that was more than ten leagues away from the river he had to carry supplies of water and firewood. His stopping places were Indian pueblos or else deserted villages, and he did not tarry in passing through the town of Albuquerque. He found that most of the citizens of that town lived scattered among ranches. He was especially interested, like a tourist, in the ruins of former pueblos along the way. These were the pueblos of San Pasqual, Senecú, Socorro, Sevilleta, Sandía, "and many others", which, like many ranch-houses, were virtually

destroyed during the "General Rebellion."[13] At the pueblo of Santo

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[13]This was the Pueblo Revolt, 1680-1698, which almost destroyed Spanish possession of New Mexico.--Hackett, Pichardo's . . . Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 523-524. Charles W. Hackett, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680" in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, XV, 93-147.

Domingo, twelve leagues north of Albuquerque, he met the Governor of New Mexico, who was expecting him, having been told of his coming by Indians who had seen him leave El Paso. At Santa Fé, as at Albuquerque, Rivera encountered a mixed population of Spaniards, mestizos and mulattoes.

On his return to El Paso in September, 1726, he collected his notes and impressions of New Mexico into a clear description. The northernmost province of New Spain, New Mexico, extended seventeen degrees in latitude and six in longitude. Las Boquillas, he declared again, was the southern point of entry. On every side except the south New Mexico faced non-Christian Indian nations. Its fertile lands, aided by the rivers and creeks, afforded abundant wheat, corn, vegetables, grapes and other fruits, and "the liquors of El Paso", as well as horses and cattle. A great asset to the farmers was the Rio Grande, rising fifty leagues northwest of Santa Fé, entering the province three leagues north of the pueblo of San Gerónimo de los Taos, watering the farms of the valley and beautifying both banks with cottonwood trees, and containing a variety of excellent fish. Partly of cold, partly of temperate climate, the

country produced forests of pines, oaks, cypresses, live oaks, and many other kinds of trees, affording considerable wood. The pines ranged in size from very large to merely as tall as a man, but the medium-sized pines bore no fruit. The principal animals were bear, wolves, coyotes, mountain sheep, and deer, one variety of which was sorrel in color, horned, as fat as a mule, and two varas in length.[14]

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[14] A vara is thirty-three and one-third inches.

Birds abounded too, especially partridges, which were caught alive most of the time, particularly in the winter. Copper and several other mineral resources existed but were not exploited, because the cost of working them was greater than their value.

The Christian Indians inhabiting the twenty-four pueblos of New Mexico were 9,737 in number, comprising the nations of Piros, Tiguas, Mansos, Querez, Zuñis, Alonas, Xemes, Xeres, Picuries, Thanos, Pecos, Teguas, Thaos, and Sumas. Rivera considered them all very virtuous. They were of good appearance, wore clothing and sheepskin shoes, and were industrious, the women in weaving blankets of wool and cotton, and the men in farming and implement making. Consequently they were prosperous. All of them rode horseback. Drunkenness among them was unknown. One of their old customs, taught to them by early missionaries and still kept inviolate, was the salutation of all comers, Spanish or Indian, with the "Sweetest Name of Ave Maria". These Indians' houses were different from those

of all other provincial pueblos. Well constructed, flat-roofed, three or four stories in height, the houses had no doors in the lower stories, but hand-ladders instead, reaching up to the second stories. The inmates pulled the ladders indoors at night, for safety against enemies. Houses faced one another, so that enemies attacking could be more easily repulsed. The pueblos were under Franciscan administration, and their inhabitants loyally and promptly responded to every call by the governor for military service, completely equipping themselves at no cost to the treasury.

The enemy Indians of the province were the Apaches, Pharaones, Natajees, Gilas, Mescaleros, Coninas, Quartelexos, Palomas, Jicarillas, Yutas, Moquiños, and others. They engaged in war and sought peace as their inclinations suggested. Every year the wandering Comanches, never less than 1,500 and from nowhere in particular, invaded New Mexico to fight any or all other nations. The invaders brought field-tents, made of buffalo hides, and some large dogs, bred for war-purposes. The men's clothing was waist-high, the women's of knee-length. After securing the desired number of animal-hides and captive children, and killing the adult prisoners, the Comanches usually retired from the province until "another time".

Lieutenant Colonel Barreyro shared his chief's favorable views concerning New Mexico, and described it similarly. The Engineer too named Las Boquillas, south of El Paso, as a boundary point common to Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico. In his opinion, the Indians

of New Mexico excelled all others of New Spain in appearance and achievement. The lands were more nearly level, fertile, and pleasant then any others that he had seen during this tour, and more nearly like those of Europe. In Santa Fé and in the northern pueblos of Taos, Picuries, and Pecos, the climate was very cold in winter, and the brief summers were far from hot. The pueblos of Santo Domingo and Galisteo marked the region of former mining, abandoned because of the poor quality of the minerals. His list of Christian Indian nations in New Mexico was the same as Rivera's, with the omission of the Xeres and the addition of the Apaches and the Navajos. Rivera named the Apaches among the enemy nations.[15]

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[15]Francisco Albarez Barreyro, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730 (Sinaloa, January 12, 1727), Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). Incomplete.

Having completed, early in October, 1726, the inspection of the presidio of El Paso, the Inspector General began his journey to the western provinces. Traveling twelve leagues south to El Ojito, a deserted place through which he earlier traveled on his first journey to El Paso, he turned his course westward and southwestward, in the direction of Janos. Through level pastures he rode, seeing hills and one mountain range in the distance, but actually crossing only one small group of hills. He saw a few sand dunes, and very little timber. His camping places were lonely spots, one

of which was on the west bank of the Bachimba, or Santa Buena Ventura River, and another, near a cattle-ranch, was on the west bank of the Casas Grandes River. The ride from El Paso to Janos, fifty nine leagues long, required seven days. After his inspection there he traveled six days to the presidio of Coro de Guachi, or Sonora, fifty-seven leagues west of Janos. On this journey he found more trees, mainly mesquites, palms, alders, live oaks, and ash, as well as thickets of prickly-pear. One large marsh was full of green grass and tall cat-tails. Creeks and hills became more numerous as he climbed into higher altitude. Camping one night on the bank of a dry creek, his party dug a well and found plenty of water. This journey too was very lonely. Passing by the presidio that he sought, he went two leagues farther, to Cuquiarachi, a pueblo of Opata Indians. There in the Jesuit mission he was a guest during his inspection of the neighboring presidio. Storms of rain and snow raged eleven days of that time, causing the streams of the province to leave their banks and do a great deal of damage.

Leaving the mission and pueblo of Cuquiarachi December 1, 1726, Rivera traveled four weeks to the presidio of Sinaloa, a distance of two hundred seven leagues. On the first day he passed through the town ofSan Juan de Sonora, a mining center and the capital of Sonora, on his way to the Sonora River. He went down the upper valley of that river, crossing it repeatedly, and briefly visiting, on its east bank, another Spanish mining town, Motepora. His course, hitherto southwestward, continued in that direction, although

gradually away from the river, to Tecoripa, a Jesuit mission and pueblo in Pima Baja. There he turned eastward and traveled two days across the water-shed to Onabas, a pueblo on the Río Grande de Hyaquis. That river, which he crossed with canoes, was a boundary between the provinces of Sonora and Ostimuri. Turning south and southwestward from Onabas he followed the river and crossed its tributaries, Río Chico and Cedar Creek. On the Río Chico he found a mining town of that name, ministered to by the parish priest. Within five days he crossed another water-shed and reached the Mayo River, the boundary between Ostimuri and Sinaloa. From Agua Calientes, a silver mine one league south of the Mayo, he rode across prairies and small streams to the mining camp of Los Álamos, known as Los Frayles, near the river of both names. Continued travel southwestward brought him on Christmas Eve to the mining town of El Fuerte de Montes Claros on the south bank of the river of the same name, where another parish priest ministered. Four days later he arrived in San Phelipe y Santiago de Sinaloa, the capital of that province, where stood, on the north side of the Sinaloa River, the presidio which he was to inspect.

The journey from Sonora to Sinaloa, southwestward throughout except two days' travel eastward in Pima Baja from Tecoripa to Onabas, led the Inspector through five Spanish towns, fifteen pueblos, and numerous private estates, and across level pastures, rugged hills, dense forests, and deep streams. The Indians whom he found in the pueblos were Opatas, Eguee, Pimas Bajos, and Mayos.

All of the pueblos, the mission adjacent to some of them, and some of the towns were under Jesuit administration. Northern snows contributed problems as well as beauty to the first part of the journey. As he entered the province of Sinaloa Rivera saw in the eastern distance the Sierra Madre, "dividing these provinces". However difficult to travel this entire road might be, it was unfailingly and impressively scenic.

In January and February, 1727, the Brigadier spent another four weeks returning from Sinaloa to Janos. As far as Onabas he merely retraced his former trail, but from that pueblo on the Río Grande de Hyaquis he continued north and northeast on the direct route to Janos, leaving on the west the road on which he had come to Onabas from the presidio of Sonora. On his new course he crossed the Hyaquis, Opozura, and Santa María de Basaraca Rivers, and "many creeks, with water and without". The only town that he saw was Tepache, but the pueblos of Opatas and Eguas Indians were as numerous as those on the western road, and, like them, under Jesuit administration. Only sixteen leagues from Janos he found, at Carretas, the ruins of an old pueblo and mission of the Sumas Indians, whose adventures from Janos to El Paso were already of some concern to him.[16] On the following night began a prolonged snow-storm, which

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[16]See Chapter IV, page 116.

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permitted him to finish his journey to Janos, but held him there a

a whole week. On the whole he did not object to the severity of the weather so much as to the lack of grass for his weary horses and mules.

While he waited for better weather at Janos, Rivera summarized his recollections of the provinces of Sonora, Ostimuri, and Sinaloa. On the whole he thought favorably of them. Lying between Nueva Vizcaya and the Gulf of California, they extended eight degrees in latitude, but only two in longitude. Sinaloa was hot, but its winds were not strong. Sonora and Ostimuri were temperate in climate, but occasionally very cold, as his two experiences in the snowstorms of northern Sonora gave evidence. The hills and mountains of these provinces, west of the Sierra Madre, were not so high as those of Tharahumara Alta, on the other side. The valleys were consequently more suitable for grain fields and pastures and the roads were much easier to travel. The three provinces were good producers of grain, although only Sonora could boast of wheat. Fruits and vegetables, however, were sometimes scarce, because of unsuitable soil. Cotton was a major crop, and the Indians wove a great many tents, tablecloths, and clothing. Another crop was cane, from which the Indians made brown sugar and molasses. Meat, however, was somewhat scarce in these provinces. So was timber, fit for building purposes, although the growth of poplar, ash, and cypress along the rivers and pine in the hills afforded the necessary material for buildings. Wild animals were plentiful, especially venomous species. Minerals abounded in the hilly country, mostly gold and silver,

and the whole region was known for its mining towns, of which Los Frayles, Río Chico, and Motepore were active illustrations. The Indians living in the Jesuit-administered pueblos numbered 21,764, consisting of Opatas, Southern Pimas, Jobas, Eguas, Tubaris, Sudeves, Hyaquez, Mayos, Toros, Choiz, Seris, and Tepocas. Along the coast of Ostimuri were the heathen nations of Salineros, Cocomaques, and Guaymas. In northern Sonora was the large nation of Pimas Altos. Among all of these nations the Jesuit missionaries were making good headway in the work of conversion. The three provinces were, in ecclesiastical affairs, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durango, and in judicial, under that of the Audiencia of Guadalajara.

As usual, Rivera gathered his information concerning these provinces not only from his own observations but also from those of his official explorer, Engineer Barreyro. In the reports of Barreyro concerning these provinces, written partly at Los Álamos in Sinaloa and partly later at Gallo in Nueva Vizcaya, appeared practically the same description as in Rivera's summary, with three small additions. The engineer included walnuts and fruit trees among the trees that afforded building material. He considered the mining activities of the three provinces the same as those of Nueva Vizcaya. He discovered along the Sonora coast the illegal pearl fisheries operated by some Spaniards and some yet un-Christianized Seris and Tepocas. The illegality of this pearl-fishing consisted in its secrecy, with the consequent evasion of the required payment of one-fifth of the pearls to the royal treasury. Barreyro, having notified the Viceroy of

this "intolerable fraud", was confident that he would place the whole pearling industry of the Gulf of California in one contract that would establish monopoly and thus protect the royal rights.[17]

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[17] Francisco Albarez Barreyro, Descripzión de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730 (Gallo, June 20, 1727), Archive General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12. University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). Incomplete.

At Janos the Brigadier was 480 leagues, by road, from the nearest boundary of the province of Texas, in which four presidios awaited his inspection. His journey thither, beginning February 17, 1727, lasted six months, though he spent less than half of that time in actual travel. From Janos he went southeast five leagues to the cattle ranch of San Antonio which he visited four months earlier when on his way to Janos from El Paso. From San Antonio he continued southeast, leaving the El Paso road on his left and following the Casas Grandes River. Near this stream he found, on the third day, the ruins of a former palace which tradition ascribed to the energetic leadership of the "Emperor Montezuma", who presumably used the place for the refreshment of his followers on their way south. The height and size of the structure, which was originally a parallelogram "in figure" and some two hundred "toises of Paris" in length produced the belief that Montezuma was the builder.[18] Some of the

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[18] These old buildings gave name to the Casas Grandes River, and marked a stage in the southward migration of the Aztecs. Montezuma

I reigned from 1440 to 1469, but the Aztec migration was probably in the eleventh century.--Herbert I. Priestley, The Mexican Nation. 21, 23.

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timbers in the ruined palace were still in excellent condition, and Rivera estimated their age at three centuries. He crossed the Casas Grandes near the old ruins, and rode southeast and east, through open country and small mountain passes, experiencing another snow storm, and crossing the Pachimba River and several creeks, until on the seventh day he arrived at San Martín Lake, which he saw nearly a year before on his way north to El Paso. From this lake he traveled four days southeast to the city of San Phelipe de Chihuahua. There, where he sojourned three weeks in April, 1726, he remained three months in 1727. In June he re-traveled the road through Nueva Vizcaya to Gallo. From here he went eastward, across hills and wooded prairies and through the Tlaxcaltecan pueblo and Spanish town of Santa María de las Parras, as well as the deserted pueblo of Las Cruzes de Parras where hostile Indians long ago slaughtered the entire population, to Saltillo, the eastern limit of Nueva Vizcaya. This large town, ministered to by a parish priest, was the headquarters of a military company. Almost adjacent was a Tlaxcaltecan pueblo of over 700 inhabitants, administered by a Franciscan.

From mid-July to mid-August, 1727, Rivera traveled north and northeast, occasionally turning briefly to the northwest in the first week of this journey, from Saltillo to San Antonio de Béjar, a distance of 164 leagues. Too far east for the great

mountains, he saw rocky hills and level fields, the prickly pear and mesquites becoming more numerous and the water holes more noticeable as he neared the Río Grande del Norte. A few rain storms contributed to his water supply. Most of his camp sites were in uninhabited places, although he saw some pueblos and missions, and visited the town of Monclova, the capital of the province of Coahuila. Of this town, which was under the ministrations of a parish priest, Rivera formed a poor opinion, calling it one of the most tenues towns of his acquaintance. Between Monclova and the Río Grande he followed the little Coahuila River, which ran into the Nadadores River. Crossing that river, the small Sabinas River, and two creeks, tributaries all to the Río Grande, he found that he could get water in seemingly dry places between these streams by digging in the sand. Near the south bank of the Río Grande he found the presidio of San Juan Bautista. Two leagues away were the pueblos os San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo, managed by a Franciscan and inhabited by Indians of various tribes, "mostly wanderers". At two leagues northeast of the presidio Rivera crossed the Río Grande and continued to observe with pleasure the absence of high hills and the vast areas of pasturage and mesquite trees. His second night north of the river was a miserable experience because of an "intolerable plague of venomous mosquitoes." On three successive days thereafter he crossed, respectively, "with fatiguing labor", the Nueces River, the Frio River, and a deep creek. Delayed by stormy weather, he required three more days to reach and cross the Medina River, the

boundary of the province of Texas. Eight leagues beyond that river he reached the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar. By that time he was finding even more pleasingly "specious meadows", and not only mesquites, but oaks as well, some of which were in dense groves.

The journey of Rivera, through the province of Texas, including his visits to the four presidios therein, lasted from August 16 to December 13, 1727, and covered 554 leagues, quite long enough to give him vivid impressions of the country. At Béjar he learned that a small pueblo, one-half league northeast of the presidio, was governed by a Queréteran Franciscan, while a Zacatecan brother managed the still smaller pueblos on the southwest side, inhabited by the Mezquites, Payayas, and Aguastayas. Equally interested was the visitor in the cottonwoods, the plum trees, and the blackberry bushes near the banks of the San Antonio River. Going northeast from the presidio he crossed, within a week, the Rivers San Antonio, Salado, Cibolo, Comal, Guadalupe, San Marcos, Blanco, and Colorado, as well as the intermediate creeks. In the manner of his day, however, he mentioned three of these rivers by names that they later ceased to bear. He called the Comal the Guadalupe, the San Marcos the Ynocentes, and the Colorado the San Marcos. The Blanco he called San Raphael Creek. He described the Comal as a "spring of water equivalent to a considerable river", but considered it as a branch of the Guadalupe. He crossed the present San Marcos "twenty-three leagues" above its junction with the Guadalupe. He instructively mentioned that the Colorado River, which he called the

San Marcos, emptied into San Bernardo [Matagorda] Bay.[19] Distant

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[19]For identification of each of the rivers of Texas as Rivera knew them, see Hackett, Pichardo's . . . Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 485-486.

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hills along the west side of his course emphasized his satisfaction in the level grazing lands across which he traveled. Herds of buffaloes were another source of satisfaction. Truly this was a good province of New Spain. The water supply, however, was uncertain. In the Colorado River the water was copious, but between there and the Brazos, which he said was also called the Colorado, the land was dry, the creeks were empty or nearly so, and water-holes were somewhat scarce, making the watering of the horses an almost daily problem. About halfway between the two rivers he spent two days riding through wide forests of oak, walnut, and many other kinds of timber. This was the Monte Grande. Two days later he crossed the Brazos "at the place where both [Brazos, arms] join into one, making one river, which in time of flood will be formidable, as its channel shows."[20]

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[20]From the Guadalupe River to the Trinity River the route of Rivera was more southerly than that of Aguayo, who crossed Texas seven years earlier to protect it from French aggression. See Ibid.; also Buckley, "The Aguayo Expedition into Texas and Louisiana, 1719-1722", in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, XV, 1-65.

This was the junction of Little River and the Brazos, near the present

town of Cameron. On its banks the growth of timber and brush was so thick that it made "travel difficult". Between the Brazos and the Trinity rivers he found more water in the creeks, among which he classified the Navasota River, and also more frequent forests, in which were not only oak and walnut trees but also an increasing number of pines. Some of the creeks were almost too boggy to cross.

Beyond the Trinity River the Brigadier found East Texas a land of considerable sand, wonderful timber, dense undergrowths, numerous creeks, some of which were dry, and at least four rivers, the Neches, the Avnays, the Atoyaque, and the Sabine. Within seven leagues of the Trinity he found chestnut trees, which he did not see west of there. Five leagues west of the Neches he met fifty Indians of the Neches nation, who were equipped, "like the most expert troops", with French muskets, powder, and bullets. Somewhat more than a league east of the Neches River he came to a group of huts, called San Francisco de los Neches, where a "Queréteran religious resides, to minister to the Indians when they wish to be Christians." Such was Rivera's opinion of the first Spanish residence of any kind that he found east of San Antonio de Béjar. After spending one night at this mission he turned southeast, and rode ten leagues to the "mission [Concepción] and the presidio of Dolores de los Texas." This mission, like San Francisco de los Neches, was, he considered, merely a reception-post for possible Avnays Christians and a waiting-post for another Queréteran Franciscan. Within the next three days the Inspector found two more Franciscan outposts of Christianity, for

the "Nacodoches" and the Aes Indians, both in charge of Zacatecans but neither of them busy. At thirteen leagues east of Nacodoches and six west of Los Aes, he crossed the Atoyaque River. Crossing the Sabine River four days later, fourteen leagues northeast of Los Aes, he turned eastward for the last nineteen leagues of this crossing of the province of Texas. For two more days he rode through dense forests and crossed San Miguel Creek, turning slightly north and turning slightly south again, arriving on September 15, 1727, at the capital of Texas, the presidio of Los Adaes.

Seven weeks later the energetic Rivera, once more in Béjar after his inspection of the eastern frontier, began his six days' journey of fifty-four leagues to La Bahía. This time his course was southeast, across the Salado and Cibolo rivers again but considerably farther downstream than his first crossings were, eleven weeks earlier. When he reached the Guadalupe River, thirty-nine leagues from Béjar, he followed that stream the remaining distance to his goal, crossing at a point three leagues below the mouth of the tributary Robalo Creek. On this journey he saw numerous but scanty growths of mesquite and oak, but delighted, as usual, in the level pastures, some of which appeared liable to inundation.

Upon the completion of his work at La Bahía, and then at San Antonio de Béjar, Rivera returned to San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande, where, according to his custom, he compiled his general thoughts about Texas. That province extended across eight degrees

of latitude, from the mouth of the Medina River to the northern Hill Country of the Apaches, and twelve degrees of longitude, from the Medina River to the Rio de San Andres de Caudachos, "which the French call the Red River, the boundary of Louisiana". The climate of Texas resembled that of Europe, cold enough in winter and hot, in summer, in proportion to altitude, the hottest portion being along the Gulf Coast. The fertile soil of Texas, cultivated by the still pagan Indians, produced vegetables, corn, and other grains, even without the benefit of irrigation. Nowhere along the road across the province were there any mountains or even any hills that a man could not climb on horseback, and pasturage was plentiful. Timber was abundant, with some clearings therein which were not very difficult to cross. Many of the trees were of "unknown species", but there were a great many pines, oaks, live oaks, and mesquites, besides wild fruit trees which produced food for the Indians. Among such productive trees were the medlars, which like those of Spain, afforded some fruit for winter use, and also the nut-trees, which were very plentiful. There were many medicinal herbs, "good for conserving health". Since several of his servants fell ill and died during the return journey from Adaes to Béjar, Rivera felt especial interest in the medicinal resources of Texas. Among the animals used for food were buffaloes, which were a "kind of dark cattle", deer, which were very numerous, bears, the grease from which was a seasoning for food, young rabbits, and even mice which the Indians ate. Birds were abundant, especially turkeys.

There were nocturnal birds called Texolotes, of which the song was so dismal as to bring melancholy to the hearer. The rivers supplied abundant fish for food during most of the year, especially the large cat-fish. The only settlements in Texas were at the three presidios of Adaes, Béjar, and Bahía. At San Antonio de Béjar were the two small pueblos, inhabited by not more than 250 Payayes, Mezquites, and Aguastayas, and administered by Queréteran and Zacatecan Franciscans. All Indian nations of Texas were pagan, most of them continual wanderers. Their clothing was usually the unadorned hides of deer or buffaloes. These nations were the Adaes, Aes, Aynays, Nacodoches, Neches, Nazones, Nabidachos, Naconomes, Yojuanes, Anames, Ervipiames, Cusanes, Valleyes, Pampopas, Pastias, Cocos, Coapites, Copanes, Carancaguazes, Tacames, Aranames, Atastagonies, Pelones, Salinas, Perchines, Annas, Pacaos, Pajalat, Pitalac, and others whose names Rivera confessed that he forgot. In religious affairs the province was under the episcopal jurisdiction of Guadalajara, and in political, directly under the government of the Viceroy.

Engineer Barreyro likewise described Texas favorably. Implying that the province was but in its beginning he noted that in it were presidios but neither Spanish towns nor Indian vassals. Although most of it was "continuous timber", yet this was usually light enough to permit easy traveling, even without roads or paths. The trees were much like those of Europe except that Texas had no beeches. The two pueblos in Texas, adjacent to San Antonio de

Béjar, contained not over 243 persons. In only these minor items did Barreyro's description of Texas differ from the one which he probably helped his chief to compile.[21]

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[21]Francisco Álbarez Barreyro, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730 (Bautista, December 28, 1727), Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). Incomplete.

Completing his work at Bautista on the first day of 1728, Inspector General Rivera returned by his former road to Monclova, where similar work detained him three weeks. From that provincial capital he traveled seventy-eight leagues east and southeast to the town of San Gregorio, headquarters of the presidial company of Cerralvo. On this journey into the province of Nuevo León he saw mesquites, huisaches, and underbrush as in Texas, but he also found hills as well as prairies, and no less than four organized settlements. On the third day he entered the pueblo and mission of San Bernardino de la Candela, administered by a Franciscan and inhabited by "fragments of the Indian nations" Síbolos, Canoscatujanes, Pacoches, and Apes. Fifteen leagues farther he came to the mining town and parish of San Pedro de Boca de Leones. The population of that town was smaller than formerly, because of the ravages of hostile Indians. A prolonged storm kept the Brigadier there three nights. On the day that he resumed his journey he crossed several

times the little river from which the town derived its name, and at seven leagues he reached another mining town of mixed population, San Pedro de las Sabinas. Two days later death deprived Rivera of another servant, whose burial occurred in the chapel of a private estate on Álamo Creek. On the following day the expedition halted in the pueblo of San Nicolás de Gualeguas. Leaving this pueblo, in which no Indians dwelt, Rivera made a right-angle turn to the southwest, and soon covered nine leagues, the distance to San Gregorio.

At this point the Inspector decided to conduct his investigations of both of the Nuevo León garrisons, not in their stations, but in the provincial capital, Monterey. Ordering the Cerralvo squad of San Gregorio to proceed thither, he betook himself twenty-four leagues farther southwest, across the Salinas River, to the town of San Juan de Cadereyta, to the garrison of which he issued the same order. On the following day he rode slightly northwestward into the city of Monterey. On that ride he crossed the Santa Catharina River, encountered a great many mesquites, huisaches, and other thorny growths, and visited the Tlaxcaltecan pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, which was only one league southeast of Monterey.

In that city he expressed his observations of the provinces of Coahuila and Nuevo León. Extending over nine degrees of latitude and five of longitude, the two provinces were not alike in climate, Coahuila being temperate because of its better latitude and comparative levelness of surface, and Nuevo León hot because of

its nearness to the coast, hilly surface, and mountain range, which extended from north south and blocked the Gulf breezes. Coahuila was more fertile than Nuevo León, producing more fruits and grains. Nuevo León, like Sinaloa, raised no wheat. Coahuila enjoyed better pasturage than Nuevo León, and supported far larger numbers of horses, mules, sheep, and goats. Both provinces, however, contained prairies as well as hills, and produced considerable timber for building, and many kinds of animals and birds. The scarcity of rivers, however, meant the comparative lack of fish. Mineral wealth was evident in the hills, and silver was their best yield. The Indians of Coahuila who inhabited its pueblos were Therocodames, Pacpoles, Cacquites, Ocanes, Payaguanes, Sibulos, Canos, Catujanes, Pachoches, Apes, Colorados, Cuayas, Tobosos, Sixames, Sillanguayas, Sadujanes, Siguanes, Pitas, Pacuasin, Pajalatames, and Carrizos, a total of not over 815. The Indians in the pueblos of Nuevo León were Socarros, Xanambres, Gualaxifes, Borrados, Pelones, Posuamos, Zalayas, Malahuecos, Pitisfiafuiles, Guachinochiles, Telaguichis, Alazapas, and Paxaltos, about 700 in all. Some of these were pagans who spent certain times at the missions and retired at will to their own locations. There these Indians mingled with other pagan nations. The most celebrated center of hostile Indians was Tamaulipa Hill. Both provinces were under the Bishop of Guadalajara in religious affairs and under the Viceroy in military and political matters. The description of Coahuila and Nuevo León by Engineer Barreyro differed not at all from that of Rivera, except to point

out that Nuevo León extended thirty minutes of latitude into the zone of the tropics.[22]

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[22] Ibid., (San Luís Potosí, June 4, 1728).

During the first week of March, 1728, Rivera moved southwest from Monterey in Nuevo León to Saltillo in Coahuila, a distance of twenty-one leagues. He saw no towns or pueblos, but he found several farms and ranches, some of which seemed as fertile and desirable as the lands in Texas. He crossed numerous hills and high ridges, noting among these the names of Live Oak Pass and Dead Man's Hill, which got its name from "hostile Indian excesses" there.

Turning south from Saltillo, April 8, 1728, Rivera journeyed two weeks to the city of San Luís Potosí, his course being alternately southeast and southwest. The country, a series of hills and prairies, exhibited not only the mesquite trees and prickly-pear similar to those farther north but also many tropical growths, especially palms. Spring rain storms occasionally delayed travel, but Rivera was too well pleased with the good pastures to object to the weather. He lodged one night in the mining town of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Charcas and one night in the Tlaxcaltecan pueblo of San Sebastián de Benado, both of which were under Franciscan administration. San Luís Potosí, ninety-six leagues south of Saltillo, was an admirable city. It contained disbursing offices

of the royal treasury, temples of architectural beauty, and attractive waters.

Turning to his left at that city, Rivera rode six days northeast and southeast, a distance of fifty-one leagues, to make his last inspection. Through dense forests and across farms and cattle ranches he went, rejoicing in pastures as he found them. The hills were very rocky. His goal was the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción del Valle de los Naíses, in the province of Guasteca. Suffering from fevers, he sent orders ahead to the garrison at La Villa de los Valles to come to him at the pueblo for inspection. Completing this and recovering from his illness, he returned to San Luís Potosí. Here he remained long enough to finish the reports of his recent visits to Saltillo and Guasteca.

The Brigadier left San Luís Potosí June 5, 1728, and sixteen days later he re-entered the City of Mexico. During four of these days he went southwest, encountering timber and undergrowth, hills and meadows, heavy rains and very muddy roads, until he re-entered a private estate named La Quemada near the town of San Phelipe. The prairie roundabout was covered with water. At La Quemada he turned southeast and retraveled the remaining distance over the same road that he first saw three and one-half years before.

In a later document quite different from his diary and from Barreyro's descriptions Rivera set forth the conditions in each presidio as he saw them. He carefully noted the number of officers and men enrolled and their salaries, and the practices which he

found occasion either to praise or to condemn.[23] In nine of the

[23]This entire description of conditions in the presidios is derived from Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto, Primer Estado, Mexico, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXXIX, University of Texas transcript.

twenty-three posts the salary rolls showed no additional salaries whatever for officers. This fact was due to various circumstances. At Santa Fé, Monclova, and Adaes the governors of the respective provinces of New Mexico, Coahuila, and Texas commanded the garrisons directly and received salaries as governors rather than as mere captains. In La Villa de los Valles the alcalde mayor similarly commanded the eight soldiers stationed there. In Durango there was no designated commander, the fifteen soldiers there being under the orders of the capitulars, or diocesan authorities, of that city. Taking advantage of that fact, the captain of the presidio at Mapimí, who resided however in Durango, sometimes appropriated to the service of his own presidio the entire Durango squad, asking leave of no one for the seventy-leagues transfer. In the garrisons of Nayarit, San Bartolomé, Béjar, and Saltillo the captains enjoyed higher rank than the private soldiers, but no higher pay, and therefore appeared in the lists merely as members of the garrisons.[24]

[24]See Table No. 3, page 95.

In the remaining fourteen presidios, the captains received superior salaries as such. The highest of these salaries was at the presidio of Sinaloa, where the commander received 800 pesos a year. He was also governor of the province, and perhaps received this comparatively high salary for that reason, for he was the only provincial governor whose position as presidial commander was indicated on the military salary rolls. The captains at Cerralvo and Cadereyta received 725 pesos each. Although their garrisons were small, numbering respectively only twelve and eight men, yet they were expected to do a great deal of aggressive work against hostile Indians along the near-by Rio Grande. The captains at Mapimí in Nueva Vizcaya, Dolores in Texas, and Bautista on the Rio Grande drew 500 pesos each, while the other eight captains, at Pasaga, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, Conchos, El Paso, Janos, Sonora, and Bahía, enjoyed each an annual reward of 600 pesos. Altogether the annual cost of military leadership in these fourteen presidios was 8,550 pesos.

There was even less variation in the annual salaries of the soldiers of subaltern and private grades. In the presidio of Bautista the individual rate was only 300 pesos, the smallest in the whole military establishment; and at Mapimí the rate, for nine of the men, was only 337 pesos. It was 400 pesos in the presidios of Nayarit, Dolores, Bahía, and Béjar. In the remaining seventeen posts it was 450, as well as for twenty-four of the men at Mapimí. That presidio had two rates of salaries because when it was established, in 1712, its thirty-three soldiers were detached, for that

purpose, from older garrisons in Nueva Vizcaya, the salaries remaining as they were before. Twenty-four of these were therefore at the annual rate of 450 pesos, while nine, formerly paid at an old place named Santa Catalina, were at 337. The grand total, 438,833 pesos, was considerably more than the Viceroy's estimate of 370,000, in his letter of May 25, 1723, to the King. The average salary was approximately 440 pesos.

There was less variation in salaries than in the numbers of soldiers stationed in the presidios. The smallest garrison, that of Villa de los Valles, numbered eight men, while the outposts of Nayarit, Santa Fé, and Adaes each boasted one hundred men. Bahía, almost as large, had ninety, but the next largest post, Béjar, had only fifty-four. Eleven of the presidios contained fewer than forty men each. The average enrollment was forty-four men to the garrison, but only Sinaloa contained that exact number. Exclusive of aid from civilians, the entire defense of the northern and northwestern frontiers of New Spain depended upon 1,017 men, including their officers.

As Inspector Rivera visited each presidio in turn, his practised eye quickly measured the required activities of the soldiers, and his questions soon elicited further information. It appeared to him that presidial functions varied considerably. Every garrison was responsible for the defense of its region against hostile Indians, responsible indeed for the steady conquest of such Indians. In East Texas, however, Rivera found no Indians except those who were

peaceful residents on plantations, and the presidios of Adaes and Dolores were therefore guarding a region which needed little if any protection. Seven garrisons Rivera found engaged in the duty of escorting merchants, missionaries, and other travelers, and their baggage trains through Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila along the royal highway between El Paso and Bautista. Military, commercial, and ecclesiastical supplies were thus guarded on the way either to New Mexico or to Texas. Four of these garrisons, at Pasage, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, and San Bartolomé, were in Nueva Vizcaya, and the other three, at Saltillo, Monclova, and Bautista, were in Coahuila. As a rule an escort traveled only from one presidio to the next, where another escort became available. The Saltillo squad, numbering twelve men, was there for no other purpose than that of convoying supplies and alms to the presidios and missions in Texas. At Adaes, Dolores, Béjar, and Bautista the soldiers served in small shifts as guards and assistants, and sometimes as laborers, in near-by missions, and were therefore less than fully available for regular military duties.

Willing to admit that defense of the frontier, protection of traffic, and assistance to missions were well within the services to be expected from these twenty-three military units, Rivera looked with much less favor upon the expenditure of time, energy, and money by the soldiers in activities related only slightly if at all to the royal service. The Durango soldiers, whenever the Mapimí captain left them there, had to serve the capitulars. The Mapimí

soldiers spent their time in traveling to and from Durango, where their captain stayed and where their supplies were purchased. At San Bartolomé the governor's correspondence required much of the soldiers' time in messenger service. The soldiers of Sonora worked on the distant properties of their absent captain and also managed their own service of supplies. Both at Adaes and Dolores the soldiers were farmers and carpenters, since their military duties were few. The eight men at La Ville de los Valles were decorative escorts for the alcalde mayor and guards for the houses of other resident officials. In several presidios there was a real lack of required work of any kind by the soldiers. In the absence of service the Crown was not receiving, along the military frontier, the value equivalent to the cost.

Rivera observed also an occasional lack of housing and even of fortifications. The members of the Durango squad had "no especial place to stay", but lived with families scattered throughout the city. The same was true of the San Bartolomé garrison. Neither at Adaes nor at Dolores was there any real fortification, for the structures were of wood and were repaired only by the soldiers themselves, none too often. As for the presidio of Sonora, hostile Indians could enter it at will, so poor was its maintenance.

At every presidio Rivera directed his most penetrating glances towards the commander and his work. Almost all that the Inspector saw, good or bad, he attributed in some way to the officer in command. It was a satisfaction to find that a captain was

honest, efficient, and at his post. Only at El Paso, at Janos, at Sinaloa, and at Béjar did Rivera find such an officer, although the captain at La Bahía was quick enough to qualify himself for inclusion in that same class, soon after Rivera's arrival at that presidio.[25] On the contrary there was visible evidence at the other

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[25]The captain did this by making some prompt payments. See Chapter IV, page 120.

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presidios of official cupidity, or else of official inefficiency. At Nayarit there were more names on the pay roll than there were soldiers in the whole province, a discrepancy which netted the governor, if not the five captains, an additional annual income of about 12,000 pesos. At the presidios of Pasage, Gallo, and Conchos the reductions and discounts suffered by the soldiers in the collection of their salaries seemed to Rivera the direct acts of the captains. He found, in most places, unjustly high costs of supplies to the soldiers. At San Bartolomé and at Santa Fé he saw that this evil was the work of subalterns who were assisting the governors. The captain at Sonora and the Governor of Texas, at Adaes, were employing for their own profit the labor of some of the soldiers. At the presidios of Nayarit, Santa Fé, Adaes, and Bautista there were too many officers, captains at Nayarit and subalterns at the other three places, due to excessive appointments by the provincial governors. The captains of the Mapimí, Conchos, and

Sonora garrisons were usually absent from their posts, much to the detriment of the service. The Governor of Nayarit, who commanded the five companies and their captains of that presidio, was eighty leagues away from his duties there, contributing much to the general disorder and inefficiency of his soldiers. In at least nine of the presidios[26] the commanding officers displayed such inability to

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[26]Nayarit, Durango, Pasage, Gallo, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, Conchos, Sonora, and Cadereyta.

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direct and control the activities of their soldiers that they were accomplishing practically nothing of value to the country. This incapacity displayed itself to Rivera's disgusted eyes also in the failure to make equipment properly available to the soldiers. On the whole the Inspector saw more to criticize than to praise, as he viewed the presidial commanders along the northern frontiers.

His journey was indeed full of revelations. He went through an almost complete variety of scenes and climates, seeing some portions of this continent that are even now scarcely traveled, and realized dimly the vastness of the opportunities for royal and and private exploitation. Effective defense and efficient development of the already enormous New Spain might well be preferable, temporarily at least, to further expansion either of territory or of military administration. It seemed obvious to the Inspector that the Crown was spending more upon than it was receiving from this magnificent country.

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TABLE NUMBER II

Locations as expressed by Rivera in his Diary. Longitude was calculated east from Tenerife in the Canary Islands.

Presidios	Latitude	Longitude
Nayarit	22° 23'	262°
Durango	24° 38'	264°
Pasage	25° 28'	265° 30'
Gallo	26° 3'	263° 50'
Mapimí	26° 23'	265° 16'
Cerro Gordo	26° 48'	262° 45'
San Bartolomé	27° 10'	261° 55'
Conchos	27° 57'	262° 18'
Santa Fé	37° 28'	262° 40'
El Paso	32° 9'	261° 40'
Janos	31° 30'	258° 24'
Sonora	31° 40'	255° 22'
Sinaloa	26°	256° 25'
Adaes	32° 20'	284° 15'
Dolores	32° 16'	281° 20'
Bahía	28° 10'	277° 15'
Béjar	30° 7'	274° 50'
Bautista	28° 40'	272° 5'
Coahuila		
Cerralvo	26° 11'	272° 50'
Cadereyta	25° 36'	271° 40'

Presidios	Latitude	Longitude
Saltillo		
Villa de los Valles		
Provinces		
Nayarit	21° to 23	261° to 264°
Nueva Vizcaya	22° to 32°	255° to 271°
New Mexico	31° to 38°	258° to 264°
Sonora, Ostimuri, and Sinaloa	25° to 32°	251° to 259°
Texas	28° to 34°	274° to 286°
Coahuila and Nuevo Léon	23° to 32°	269° to 274°
Towns (non-presidial)		
Zacatecas	23°	267°
San Diego de Nuesuguilla (pueblo)	22° 26'	264° 50'
San Joseph de Parral	27° 10'	261° 30'
San Phelipe de Chihuahua	29° 11'	261° 50'
Los Álamos	27° 8'	256° 15'
San Pedro de Roca de Leones	26° 45'	271° 40'
Monterey	26°	271° 25'
San Luís Potosí	22° 20'	269°

TABLE NUMBER III

Enrollments and annual salaries (in pesos) in the presidios as reported by Rivera in Proyecto, Primer Estado.

Presidio	Men	Salaries	Officers	Salaries	Totals
Nayarit	100	400			40,000
Durango	15	450			6,750
Pasage	40	450	1	600	18,600
Gallo	39	450	1	600	18,150
Napimí	(24	450)	1	500	14,333
	(9	337)			
Cerro Gordo	30	450	1	600	14,100
San Bartolomé	30	450			13,500
Conchos	45	450	1	600	20,850
Santa Fé	100	450			45,000
El Paso	49	450	1	600	22,650
Janos	50	450	1	600	23,100
Sonora	50	450	1	600	23,100
Sinaloa	43	450	1	800	20,150
Adaes	100	450			45,000
Dolores	24	400	1	500	10,100
Bahía	90	400	1	600	36,600
Béjar	54	400			21,600
Bautista	32	300	1	500	10,100
Coahuila	35	450			15,750
Cerralvo	12	450	1	725	6,125
Cadereyta	8	450	1	725	4,325
Saltillo	12	450			5,400
Ville de los Vallos	8	450			3,600
	999		14	8,550	438,883

The governors of New Mexico, Sinaloa, Coahuila, and Texas served also as presidial commanders.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORK OF RIVERA AS INSPECTOR, 1724 - 1728

The journey of Rivera from and to Mexico City, 1724-1728, must have been rich in beauty of landscape and in prospects of interest to a patriotic Spaniard. His Diary[1] gives frequent proof

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[1]The description of Rivera's travel is derived from his Diario y Derrotero.

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of his appreciation of the country that he covered. He had more to do, however, than merely to enjoy the scenery. He had work to do, and he did it, if his own records of it are correct. On that work rests his chief significance in the history of Spanish North America.

Aside from his presidial inspections and administrative problems, Rivera's tour was itself a task that required patient labor to perform. In his Diary occur casual mentionings of many evidences of that fact. In order to inspect twenty-three military posts he must traverse the provinces of Mayarit, Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, Sonora, Sinaloa, Texas, Coahuila, and Nuevo León. The distance covered was over three thousand leagues, according to his

estimates. His route represented an enormous circuit, including his retracings of considerable mileage. These were between Mexico City and Quemada; Zacatecas, Fresnillo, and Mayarit; Gallo and Mapimí; El Paso and Santa Fé; Onavas and Sinaloa; Laguna de Martín, Chihuahua, and Pasage; Monclova and Adaes; Béjar and Bahía; and San Luís Potosí and Naíses; and there was almost a retracing between Janos and Sinaloa. The necessity for all of these duplications in mileage, except two, may not seem apparent. One of these two was in New Mexico, and the other was in Texas. Rivera had to consider the problems of surface, trails, water supply, and Indians, and therefore found advisable those very retracings which a mere glance at the map might regard as unnecessary.[2] He also made at

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[2]See map on page 92

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least two "elbows" of some length in his journey of more than nine hundred leagues from the presidio of Sinaloa to that of Adaes. His retracings of distance caused him to travel twice to Zacatecas, Chihuahua, El Paso, Onavas, Janos, Monclova, Bautista, Dolores in Texas, Saltillo, San Luís Potosí, and Quemada; and three times to Fresnillo, Gallo, and Béjar. For none of these increases of mileage does his Diary give any explanation, probably because the necessity of increase was so obvious that explanation would have been absurd.

After long and careful preparation in the City of Mexico Rivera began the slow journey, accompanied by his helpers, servants,

and armed escort, with remounts and a baggage train of horses and mules. Leaving Mexico City November 21, 1724, and arriving there again June 21, 1728, he spent three years and seven months on this tour. On the actual march he spent slightly less than one-third of that time, or a total of one year and three weeks.[3] He made

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[3]See list on pages 132-133.

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one-night halts at three hundred twenty nine places. Although the actual labors of making and breaking camp or entering and leaving quarters, refreshing the men and the horses and mules, the maintenance of equipment, and the purchase and transportation of supplies were not Rivera's personal efforts, nevertheless the control of and responsibility for all of these matters were parts of his task. Frequently the severity of the weather hindered progress or at least made it difficult and uncomfortable. Climbing mountains and crossing deserts were taxes upon health and endurance, as were also the traversals of damp, insect-infested areas. Timing the day's march to fit the locations of water supply was a frequent problem. The presence of Indians near the line of march was not often an assurance of peaceful progress. Illness sometimes attacked members of the party, several of them dying in Texas in October, 1727, between Dolores and Béjar. Each victim was buried immediately, and at the place of his death. Rivera himself suffered from fevers

in May, 1728, near and in San Luís Potosí. Even when all went well, the necessary size of the party made travel somewhat tedious. In spite of these labors and delays, Rivera made an average distance of eight leagues per day.

The more important part of the work during this journey was done, of course, at the various points of sojourn. In each of fifty-six sojourns Rivera remained more than one night. The total time that he thus spent was two years and twenty-eight weeks, more than twice as much time as the actual travel required.[4] These

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[4]See list on pages 134-136.

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halts varied in length from one additional day to one hundred thirty days. Short stays, of ten days or less, occurred from a variety of causes. Saddle horses and pack mules were wearied considerably, requiring rest and sometimes the exchange for or purchase of fresher and stronger animals. The repair of travel equipment consumed some of the time. Storms of wind, rain, or snow sometimes forced such delays. Occasionally Rivera halted for several days in order to catch up with his writing, the preparation of his records of procedure, his letters, orders, descriptive accounts, and reports which he despatched to the Viceroy. Christmas day, 1726, found Rivera at El Fuerte de Montes Claros, twenty five leagues north of the presidio of Sinaloa, on his way to that post. He wrote in his

Diary merely that he refrained from travel on that day because it was the day "of Pasqua". Most of such special occasions fell conveniently within his temporary residence periods.

The more noteworthy sojourns, in presidios and a few towns, varying in length from six to one hundred thirty days, consumed most of the time not spent in traveling. In these places Rivera observed and recorded the locations in latitude and longitude and sometimes in estimates of distance.[5] In each presidio the

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[5]See list on pages 93-94.

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visita followed the same general plan. On arrival Rivera wrote and posted, usually at guard quarters, or, lacking these, at his own or the captain's quarters, an announcement of the scope, dates, and general purposes of the visita.[6] He next required the commanding

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[6]The general and specific accounts of Rivera's work during his sojourns are derived partly from his Diario but mainly from his Proyecto. Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto mandado por Casafuerte, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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officer to surrender, for auditing, his account books and his enlistment contract book, and to retire, with his lieutenant if he had one, some distance from the presidio. In this way the investigation of his work would not be hampered or embarrassed by his presence.

Rivera prepared a written list of questions concerning the officers, soldiers, expenses, prices, duties, and performances. Then he called in the soldiers, or as many of them as he needed, and received their testimonies, one by one, and in secret.

From all of these replies and depositions he prepared a written description of all conditions present in the presidio. The commanding officer or officers then returned from retirement to give additional information, especially concerning the items recorded in the account books while these were being audited. Supplied with all available information, which was increased by his own keen observation, Rivera decided whether or not to prefer any charges against the officer or officers. Whenever he made any accusations he gave a copy of them to each person accused, suspended him from office, and assigned him a limited time within which to plead and to offer evidence in defense. Full hearing ensued, Rivera presiding and deciding judicially the degree of conviction or acquittal. If conviction occurred he changed the suspension from office to removal from office. He gave the commanders to understand, whether they were convicted or acquitted, that all of his opinions and decisions were to be subject to the subsequent approval or disapproval of the Viceroy, to whom the commanders, through their attorneys, were to apply for final decisions. The entire judicial proceedings at each presidio Rivera carefully recorded in an official auto, or judicial decree.

Following this judicial work came the formal review and

inspection of the soldiers. Whether Rivera considered this sequence proper at every presidio because rank gave officers precedence over soldiers even as objects of investigation, or whether he merely wrote his narratives of procedure in this order because it was convenient to write them all somewhat alike, his records do not disclose. Having observed the number, appearance, equipment, and skill of the soldiers, Rivera combined this information with that derived from investigation, auditing, and perhaps trial or trials, and produced a reglamento, or code of instructions, for the future management of the presidio. In preparing this list of rules he was guided not only by the information which he acquired since arrival but also by the viceregal and ministerial advice and instructions which he brought with him. Particularly potent among these was the often cited Capitulo XXIV of the Royal Reglamento for the Audiencia of Havana, concerning presidial salaries and expenses. This rule for Havana seemed to be a model by which to adjust continental presidios. Either included in or added to the reglamento made for each presidio by Rivera was the list of changes he made in the personnel and the budget of the presidio, usually reductions. He asserted that a soldier's annual salary of 350 pesos uncut by compulsory discounts, extortionate prices for supplies, and forced contributions, was better than a previous salary of 450 pesos burdened with these losses.

In certain towns Rivera performed special tasks, not directly connected with his work at the presidios, in accordance

with special instructions and requests from the Viceroy. In each case the obedient Inspector General carried out these instructions and, as he recorded, "brought the matter to a successful conclusion." Whether these special tasks could be properly considered as parts of the work for which Rivera's salary was being paid from royal funds, is doubtful. He was certainly rendering, in these extra performances, additional services to New Spain. He included all of these in his official records of his expedition.

During some of his sojourns Rivera visited nearby missions, observing their equipment, neophytes, missionaries, and activities.[7] He was particularly interested in the relations

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[7]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme de lo estado de las misiones . . ., Mexico, November 13, 1728, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript, (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

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between the Indians and the missionaries and in the problem of the agricultural self-support of the missions. This careful observing of the missions was really included in his general task, for the protection of the missions was a part of the functions of the presidios, and the more that he and the Viceroy could learn about conditions in these missions, the easier it would be to provide correct conditions for the presidios.

Ten times during the tour Rivera sent away his assistant, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Alvarez de Barreyro, Chief Engineer of

the province of Texas, with a small number of soldiers and assistants, commending him to explore, describe, and map the province or provinces nearest to the ten points of departure. Ten times the Engineer rejoined his commander to prepare and submit the desired maps and descriptions. These Rivera attached to the supply of official reports destined for later examination by the Viceroy.[8]

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[8]Francisco Alberez de Barreyro, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730; Casafuerte to Ustariz, Mexico, April 9, 1730; Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 2, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1723-1729, 1730-1736).

It is apparent that Rivera needed assistance in reading the papers that he brought with him and in preparing those that he was to send to Mexico City, as well as those that he was to keep for his own later use in making his final reports and recommendations. Two secretaries and a notary went along with him for these purposes, the Treasury having provided payment for them as well as for Rivera himself, when approving his appointment in 1724. These secretaries, Engineer Barreyro, and Rivera gradually accumulated a large collection of edicts, decisions, letters, descriptions, and reports. Occasionally Rivera despatched some of these by post to the Viceroy, keeping copies of them along with other documents. Daily notations for use in the completed Diary were themselves

enough to require some time and labor.

Even this general description of Rivera's tour of inspection easily suggests an appreciation of the impression which the difficult labors of the tour made upon him and upon the Viceroy. In a letter to the King in 1730 Viceroy Casafuerte said that these labors were all the more remarkable, since Rivera was already an elderly man before undertaking them.[9] The Brigadier himself confessed that he acquired his knowledge of the frontier provinces at the cost of much fatigue.

[9]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 2, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

Concerning the fifty-six sojourns, or halts, of more than one night each, which Rivera made in forty-three places, he recorded not only these general labors of routine, but also many more particular features of his work. Some of these are of interest because they contribute additional information concerning his administrative problems and efforts. It was in Zacatecas, in the winter of 1724-1725, that he carried out the first special commission entrusted to him by the Viceroy. There from December 7 to January 21 Rivera consulted and made plans with local mine owners and others who were interested in the matter of improving drainage conditions and the costs thereof. He reported the adoption of a plan seemingly favored by all concerned, and the subsequent success

of it, but he did not describe the plan itself. His later stay in Zacatecas, thirty seven days in April and May, 1725, was for the purpose of preparing copies of his and Barreyro's records and maps, based upon inspection and exploration in the province of Nayarit, for transmission to the Viceroy. There was no presidio in Zacatecas.

In the Presidio of San Francisco Xavier de Valero, in the Mesa of Tonat, the capital of Nayarit, Rivera remained fifty-three days for the visita and other purposes; but he did not record these other purposes specifically. He found there a garrison with an enrollment of one hundred soldiers, in five companies, somewhat scattered, commanded by five captains, all under the governor of the province, and costing the royal treasury 40,000 pesos annually. Inspection revealed only sixty-one soldiers instead of one hundred, and these were ill equipped and almost worthless. Rivera attributed to the governor of the province, who spent most of his time eighty leagues away, the inefficiency of the presidio, the lack of equipment, the practical embezzlement of the salaries of thirty-nine soldiers who did not exist, and the payment of extortionate fees by the sixty-one soldiers in order to collect their salaries. The Inspector General found the governor guilty and removed him from office but acquitted the five captains. He then reduced the five companies of nominally one hundred men (actually sixty-one) to two companies of fifty four men, including two captains and two lieutenants, reduced the scale of living-costs to the soldiers, eliminated

their fee-payments, and reduced their salaries from a total of 40,000 to a total of 17,000 pesos, allotting each captain 600, each lieutenant 400, and each private soldiers 300.

During three weeks of this period of fifty-three days Engineer Barreyro made his first exploring expedition, by command of Rivera, securing information concerning the province of Nayarit and its frontiers.

In the city of Durango, or Guadiana, the capital of Nueva Vizcaya, Rivera remained one hundred thirty days in the summer and autumn of 1725. He had some special commissions from the Viceroy to execute which were not parts of the visita at all. The work here was much more than the size of the flying squadron, fifteen soldiers, would indicate. These soldiers, having no barracks, were lodging with their families, scattered throughout the city, under no command except that of the capitulars of the city. The military protection afforded by such arrangement was small. When the sargento-mayor of the province of Nueva Vizcaya became captain of the presidio at Mapimí he virtually incorporated the Durango squad with his own force, whenever military service to the province required it. The Durango capitulars were highly indignant at this presumption, as they considered it, and reported it plaintively to Rivera on the day of his arrival. Rivera in turn reported it, by post, to the Viceroy, whose reply was an order to establish the squad in a place of its own, under its own corporal, where presumably it would be relatively independent of both the Mapimí captain and

Durango capitulers. Rivera obeyed, of course, selecting as location the Boca del Río de la Sauceda, eighteen leagues from Durango. Duly instructing the new corporal about the financial and mercantile evils that must be avoided in this presidio, Rivera reduced the salary per capita from 450 to 350 pesos, reducing the total from 6,750 to 5,250 pesos. During five weeks of this Durango sojourn, Barreyro was making his second exploration by order of Rivera,--this time throughout Nueva Vizcaya.

Nineteen days Rivera spent at the Presidio de la Concepción del Pasage, in October, 1725. He passed through that place again nearly two years later, on his way to Texas, but did not tarry then more than one night. During these nineteen days he found definite evils and prescribed definite remedies. He found forty soldiers and their captain interested chiefly, not in protecting the frontier, but in commercializing their monthly service as part-time convoy to caravans that crossed the province. Contacts with Indians proved less worrisome and costly to the caravans than the fees and the refreshments exacted by the convoy. Additional evils lay in the facts that the soldiers were regularly subjected to extortion in the purchase of their necessities, to discounts in the collection of their salaries, and to payment of contributions for the Río Grande presidio. Each soldier thus lost about 125 pesos annually. In the judicial proceedings following the investigation, the captain won acquittal from Rivera; but Rivera eliminated those evils. He then reduced the private soldiers' salaries from 450 to

350 pesos, with an allowance of six pounds of gunpowder per year and one new gun every two years, and believed that he greatly improved their condition. Perhaps he did so, by about forty pesos annually, per capita. He at least reduced the cost of salaries to the royal treasury from 18,500 to 14,600 pesos, leaving the captain's salary at 600 pesos. During ten of these nineteen days Barreyro made his third exploration for Rivera, around Parras and Saltillo and the frontier of Nueva Vizcaya and Nuevo León.

At the Presidio de San Pedro del Gallo the visita also occupied nineteen days, in November, 1725. It was much the same procedure throughout as the Pasage visita, with these exceptions: at Gallo there were thirty nine private soldiers instead of forty; the payment of their salary was in arrears two-thirds of a year's amount; and the soldiers behaved fairly and respectably in escorting caravans to Cerro Gordo. The salary adjustment was a reduction from 18,150 to 14,250 pesos. From Gallo began the fourth expedition of Barreyro, in western Nueva Vizcaya because heavy rains cut short his previous attempt to explore in that direction.

Only ten days, in November and December, 1725, were required for the visita at the Presidio de Santiago de Mapimí. This presidio did no convoy service, not being located on the Royal highway. Of the thirty four men in this garrison, the captain was receiving a salary of 500 pesos; twenty-four soldiers, detached for this presidio from other presidios in Nueva Vizcaya, were receiving the usual 450 pesos each; the remaining nine, detached from

an old settlement at Santa Cathalina, were receiving its old rate of pay, 337 pesos each; a total of 14,333 pesos. Dismissing one soldier for unfitness and finding another one missing already, Rivera enlisted two new soldiers, and set each private soldier's salary at 350 pesos with six pounds of powder per year and one new gun every two years, and the captain's at 600, an increase for him. The new total was 15,140 pesos. This lucky captain also won acquittal from the charges of causing the soldiers losses through high prices, salary discounts, and contributions to the Rio Grande presidio, and also of causing military inefficiency through neglect of military work and through use of the soldiers as mere couriers for himself while he spent his time in Durango, seventy leagues away. Rivera corrected these defects and abuses of the presidio and warned the captain that if any of these conditions persisted he would certainly lose his position.

The next inspection, at the Presidio de San Miguel de Cerro Gordo, required sixteen days of Rivera's time, in December, 1725. He found the garrison of thirty-one men characterized by the same fiscal, mercantile, and military faults and burdens that he had found at Pasage, including the scandalous conduct of the men while serving as convoy for travelers,--in this case on the way to San Bartolomé. It seemed that previous attempts to reform the presidio at Cerro Gordo had never been completed. Rivera drew up charges against the captain, seemingly a very unsoldierly and worthless fellow; but luckily for the captain he secured an

acquittal, and suffered not even a reduction of salary. The lieutenant, not so fortunate, remained deprived of his office. Rivera issued firm orders for the elimination of the faults that he found in the presidio, and, by changing the salary rate from 450 pesos to 350 and six pounds of powder per year and one new gun every other year, reduced the total pay roll from 14,100 pesos to 11,100 pesos.

During the twelve days' visita in El Valle de San Bartolomé, at the beginning of 1726, Rivera learned that this flying company of thirty men was good in appearance, well behaved, and employed mostly in guarding travelers on the way to Cerro Gordo. No blame attached to the captain, but there were three or four matters which required straightening. One of these was the fact that the soldiers, like those of Durango, had no quarters and lived scattered among the civil population. Another trouble was burden of salary of each soldier caused by dishonest supply contractors, commission collectors, really racketeers on a small scale, and enforced contributions for the Rio Grande presidio. This burden amounted to fully one-third of the salary. Lastly, there was an unfinished task left for Rivera to complete. The presidio had been visited recently by a Comisario, presumably one Don Juan de la Cavada. This worthy duly inspected and duly recorded what he saw, but wrote no summaries and no conclusions or diagnoses whatever. The Viceroy ordered Rivera to finish this writing, in addition to his own. These tasks Rivera performed,

along with his usual reduction in each salary from 450 to 350 pesos with gun and powder, a total reduction from 13,500 to 10,750 pesos.

Seven leagues beyond San Bartolomé was the mining town of San Joseph del Parral, the virtual capital of Nueva Vizcaya. Here Rivera remained fifty-seven days, early in 1726, executing a special commission from the Viceroy. This was the filling in, by investigation, some blanks in the records of the residencia of a deceased governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Don Martín de Alday. This work was, of course, only incidental to Rivera's inspection tour. Here also ended, during Rivera's sojourn, the fourth expedition of Barreyro, which began at Gallo.

At the Presidio de San Francisco de Conchos, in the spring of 1726, Rivera spent twenty-four days in observing and correcting evils. The garrison of forty-five men was poor in every sense of the word, and much of that fact, military and financial, was the fault of the usually absent captain. Although this officer cleared himself of some of the charges brought against him by restoring to defrauded soldiers the amount of 4,095 pesos and 6 tomines, yet the remaining charges were grave enough to cause Rivera to remove him from office. The Inspector General dismissed four other men as worthless, replacing them with better recruits, and applied his new salary-scale of 350 pesos and gun and powder, and was sure, as usual, that the soldiers felt better. The total reduction was from 20,850 to 16,350 pesos. From Conchos the fifth expedition of Barreyro started northwestward, to explore the

Nueva Vizcaya-Sonora frontiers.

Rivera stayed three weeks in April, 1726, in the town of San Phelipe el Real, known now as the City of Chihuahua. Here he prepared and despatched to the Viceroy several reports, some of which concerned the city and were based upon statements of the town council and of certain prominent citizens. One item of such news was that the people of San Phelipe recently aided in subduing rebellious Indians of the pueblos of La Junta de los Ríos, and rescued from the rebels two missionaries of that region. The observance of Holy Week occupied some of the days devoted to this sojourn. Barreyro ended here his fifth expedition, which he began at Conchos.

A year later Rivera spent three months, in the spring, in San Phelipe, attending to special errands for the Viceroy. Among these was the consideration of the proposed establishment of a new presidio at La Junta de los Ríos, the junction of the Conchos River and the Rio Grande.

Affairs in Santa Fé, New Mexico, occupied Rivera's attention eighty days in the summer of 1726. The Presidio de la Exaltación de la Cruz, nominally one hundred men strong, was under the command of the governor of the province. He appointed too many needless and expensive subalterns, and allowed too many vacancies to remained unfilled on the roll of the garrison without stopping any of the salaries thereof. Twenty of the one hundred soldiers were seemingly not on duty at all, but were classified as

reserves. Charges therefore ensued against the governor, who cleared himself only by restoring over 3,000 pesos to the treasury. Rescue of soldiers' salaries from the usual frauds and discounts promptly took place. Rivera cut the names of the twenty reserved men off the roll and set the salary of each of the remaining eighty at 400 pesos. This was a reduction of only fifty pesos instead of 100, a concession to the fact that the presidio was six hundred leagues from the City of Mexico. The salary roll was thus reduced from 45,000 to 32,000 pesos. Barreyro made from Santa Fé, during this period, his sixth expedition, exploring the province of New Mexico.

The Inspector General had also some matters of the past in Santa Fé to investigate and complete. There had been a previous visita, the official records of which were incomplete. There was an earlier governor of the province, Don Antonio Valverde Cosio, 1719-1722, whose administration was not cleared of certain charges. Among these alleged offenses was the holding of 2,084 pesos for the pay of a former captain who was no longer in the service. Another accusation was that Governor Valverde negligently sent to its death an expedition into the region of the Arkansas Valley Indians, in that he had placed in command of this expedition an inexperienced officer instead of leading it himself. These extra tasks Rivera performed, including the trial of ex-governor Valverde [10]

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[10] Hackett, Pichardo's . . . Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 199-213.

The financial difficulty was cleared by the simple expedient of restitution to the royal treasury by the former governor. The military delinquency required much more time and trouble for its correction. The defendant produced nine witnesses and many arguments during the long investigation over which Rivera presided. He sent the findings to the City of Mexico. There the Auditor-General advised the Viceroy that Valverde should be adjudged innocent in having failed to lead the expedition himself, but guilty in having chosen an inexperienced man to lead it, and should pay for all losses caused by the unfortunate choice. The Fiscal, however, advised the Viceroy to absolve the ex-governor from that judgment and require instead that he pay fifty pesos for masses for the men killed in that expedition, and one hundred fifty pesos for chalices and ornaments for the missions of La Junta de los Ríos. This decision seemingly ended the ex-governor's misadventure, six years after it began.

Rivera's first visit to El Paso, of eight days in the early summer of 1726, was merely to replenish supplies for the trip to Santa Fé. It was on his return, early in September, 1726, that he began his twenty nine days' visita in the Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar y San Joseph del Paso. It had a captain and forty nine soldiers, whom Rivera found excellent. A few financial scandals existed but they were soon remedied. The salary reduction, as in Santa Fé, was only fifty pesos per capita, and for the same reason, the great distance of the post from the City of

Mexico. The total reduction therefore was only from 22,650 to 20,200 pesos. The captain was commended for his work in having assisted the settling and farming operations of some Indian families whom he moved down from the neighboring mountain-range into the town of San Lorenzo, near El Paso. Rivera himself made terms of peace with the Sumas Indians, who requested it, although seventy families of the Sumas refused to accept these terms and left the place. The Sumas had recently waged war against the Spanish. From El Paso Rivera sent to the Viceroy the accounts of his visitas in Santa Fé and El Paso, of these Indians affairs, and of the province of New Mexico.

At the Presidio de San Phelipe y Santiago de Janos ten days, in October, 1726, sufficed for the visita, because the captain and his fifty men were practically flawless, in the estimation of the visitor. The usual burdens upon the soldiers' salaries existed, but seemed to be nobody's fault in particular and were soon remedied. The reduction of salary here, as in Santa Fé and El Paso and for the same reason, was only fifty pesos per capita, the total reduction being from 23,100 to 20,600 pesos. Barreyro began at Janos his seventh expedition of exploration, leaving there the same day that Rivera began his journey to Sonora.

On his return eastward through Janos, in February, 1727, Rivera remained there six more days, partly because of prolonged bad weather, partly because he encountered those same seventy families of Sumas who had refused to settle at El Paso and had

followed him to Janos. He offered them another residence settlement at Janos, and this time they accepted. It was there that he prepared and sent to the City of Mexico his report on the missions in Sonora and Sinaloa.[11]

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[11]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme del estado de las Misiones de la Compañía en las provincias de Sinaloa y Sonora, Janos, February 14, 1727, Archivo General de México, Historia, XVI. See chapter V, note 4.

A complete contrast to Janos presented itself to Rivera at the Presidio de Santa Rosa de Coro de Cuachi, or Fronteras, or Sonora, as the presidio was variously called. The visita required thirty three days in the autumn of 1726. The fifty men were leaderless and destitute of all equipment and of all good soldierly qualities. As a result hostile Indians did not spare even the presidio itself from occasional attack and pillage. The province had no protection at all. True, there was a captain, who had held that office eighteen years, but he had spent those years thirty leagues away from the presidio. He had committed every possible offense, military and financial. Rivera brought fifteen charges against this officer, and finding him guilty of some of them, removed him from office. Nearly every feature of the presidio had to be reformed. The salary reduction was the same as that in Santa Fé, El Paso, and Janos, and for the same reason--distance from Mexico City. The reduction was, like that at Janos, from 23,100 to

20,600 pesos. While at Sonora Rivera attended also to some provincial matters for the Viceroy, but did not disclose their nature either then or later.

In late December, 1726, and early January, 1727, Rivera spent fifteen days inspecting the Presidio de la Villa de San Phelipe y Santiago de Sinaloa. Here the presidial conditions were excellent. The forty-three men and their caudillo were under the command of the provincial governor as captain. He was so efficient that the correction of a few financial evils, the dismissal of a few soldiers who were too old, and the filling of their places with young men were the only remedies applied. The salary of each soldier was set like that in Sonora, in Janos, in El Paso, and in Santa Fé. The lieutenant's salary was set at 500 pesos. Rivera detached thirteen men from the presidio for service in the proposed new presidio to be established at La Junta de los Ríos. He did not and could not know then that this proposal was later to be abandoned.[12] These changes reduced the annual salary roll from

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[12]Consejo de Indias, Consulta, July 27, 1740, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1741).

20,150 to 12,500 pesos.

Barreyro, who completed his seventh expedition and rejoined Rivera in December at a place forty seven leagues north of Sinaloa, now left Sinaloa in January, 1727, to make his eighth

exploration. This time it was to include Sonora, Ostimuri, and Sinaloa. The explorer had orders to go finally to Gallo or to Pasaga, there to complete his maps of the West and await the return of Rivera. This return was destined to be delayed by the second sojourn of Rivera, lasting three months, in San Phelipe de Chihuahua. Re-united at Gallo in June 1727, Rivera and Barreyro proceeded on to eastern Texas.

The Brigadier made his first inspection in Texas, during ten days of September, 1727, at the Presidio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragosa y los Adaes, located at the capital of the province of Texas and east of the Sabine River. The governor of the province served as captain of the garrison of one hundred men. He appointed too many needless officers, used too many soldiers as his own laborers, and allowed prices of commodities to remain too high, but he seemed on the whole no worse than the average, and Rivera made no charges against him. The soldiers did civil work, in farming, in building, and in helping the neighboring missionaries, rather than military; for the Indians were so peaceful in the province and so nearly absent from Adaes that no need of military service existed. Rivera dismissed only two of the one hundred soldiers, enlisting two new men in their places. He reduced the per capita annual salary only from 450 to 420 pesos, making the total reduction from 45,000 to 42,000 pesos. A possible reason for this slightness of reduction was that Adaes, although no farther from the City of Mexico than Santa Fé was, was never-

theless very near French Louisiana.

Only five days, early in October 1727, were required for Rivera's inspection of the Presidio de la Virgen de los Dolores de Tejas. He spent one day resting there, in September, on his way to Adaes. The twenty four soldiers and their captain lived as the one hundred soldiers at Adaes were living, in doing civil work instead of military and for the same reason. At Tejas, or Dolores, as the presidio was also called, Rivera held no military review or inspection, made no reduction in the salary rate of 400 pesos, and formulated no list of regulations. These omissions were not due to special regard for Dolores, but merely to "good reasons", as Rivera said. These reasons later turned out to be Rivera's intentions to do away with this presidio.[13]

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[13] In part three of his Proyecto Rivera recommended the abandonment of this presidio. The Viceroy so decreed in 1729. See Chapter VI.

His third visita in Texas was at the Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto y Bahía del Espíritu Santo, lasting eighteen days in November, 1727. The captain, who was also called governor, and the ninety soldiers seemed almost perfect in appearance, equipment, and skill. Nothing was out of order except some high prices of goods, which were promptly reduced, and some losses to the royal treasury in soldiers' salaries or claims, which the captain promptly made good by writing and handing to Rivera a personal

warrant, or pay order, in favor of the royal treasury, for 2,907 pesos and 7 tominos. The captain's promptness in this matter may be explained by the fact that several accusations were already pending against him before the Viceroy, who had especially commissioned Rivera to complete the proceedings that set forth these matters. The reduction that Rivera made in individual salaries at Bahía was from 400 to 380 pesos; the total reduction, from 36,600 to 32,800 pesos. Barreyro went out from Bahía on his ninth expedition, to explore the province of Texas.

Rivera returned from Bahía to Béjar to inspect the Presidio de San Antonio de Béjar. He was there twice before, resting there one day on his way to eastern Texas and two days on his return from eastern Texas before going to Bahía. The visita now kept him in Béjar nine days, in December, 1727. For the fifty-four soldiers of this garrison Rivera had only praise. They spent their time in keeping the region safe from the Apaches of the Hill Country, often aggressively, and in serving by turns in the two missions near Béjar. Two at a time the soldiers were on duty in each of these missions, as stewards, in the management of the congregated Indians. There were some unduly high prices at the presidio, but Rivera reduced them at once and blamed nobody for them. He reduced the salaries, like those at Bahía, from 400 to 380 pesos, the total reduction being from 21,600 to 20,740. The new salary rate indicated the relative importance which Rivera attached to such conditions or facts as distance from the City of

Mexico and defense against Indians and the French.

The last two weeks in December, 1727, Rivera spent in the Presidio de San Juan Bautista del Río Grande del Norte. He was there five days in August preceding, getting supplies for his journey into Texas. The thirty two soldiers of Bautista and their captain constituted a flying company. Though burdened with the high cost of living and with too many officers, the total of thirty three men including one captain, two alferezes, and twenty sergeants, these soldiers were nevertheless very active. They made raids upon hostile Indians, gave escort to goods and travelers on the way to Texas, and served by turns as stewards, two at a time, in each of four missions. Two of these missions were close by, but the other two were respectively ten and fifty leagues away. The soldiers had no land for their own uses, the missions keeping it all for themselves. Rivera gave this presidio a very clean bill of health. He did not reduce the salaries, which were only 300 pesos per capita, but he raised the captain's salary from 500 to 600 pesos, thus increasing the pay-roll from 10,100 to 10,200 pesos. This was the only presidio in which Rivera's visita sent the official cost-figures upward. Rivera's records showed later, in connection with this presidio, the origins of the escalfes or pensiones "for the Presidio of the Rio Grande", which were among the financial burdens upon the soldiers in most of the other presidios.[14] It was at Bautista that Barreyro

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[14]See Chapter V, note 27.

reported the completion of his ninth expedition, which explored portions of Texas, and began his tenth and last task of that series, the exploration of Nuevo León.

Rivera used three weeks in January, 1728, inspecting the Presidio de Coahuila en la Ville de Santiago de la Monclova. He rested there two days in the preceding July, on his way to Texas. The governor of the province of Coahuila was the commander of the thirty five soldiers of this garrison. Although they did excellent service in the defense of the province against hostile Indians and in convoying travelers, yet these soldiers were so deeply in debt and so financially afflicted that Rivera brought charges accordingly against the governor. That official, however, produced enough evidence to clear himself. Besides correcting the abuses from which the soldiers suffered, Rivera made the usual salary reductions from 450 to 350 pesos and the allowance of six pounds of powder per year and one gun every two years. The total reduction was from 15,750 to 12,250 pesos.

A copy of Rivera's reglamento for the Monclova presidio still exists, together with a copy of his official decree concerning the prices of commodities there.[15] In this reglamento, no

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[15]Pedro de Rivera, Reglamento para la Compañía de esta villa de Santiago de la Monclova, Monclova, January 21, 1728, Saltillo Archives, I, no. 76, University of Texas photostat.

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doubt typical of the regulation which he provided for every presidio

Rivera listed eighteen matters which he considered important in the future conduct of the Monclova presidio. These were as follows:

1. The reductions in salaries did not deprive the soldiers of pay, because of the lowered scale of prices of commodities which the soldiers bought and because of the freedom from payment of discounts and enforced contributions.
2. The soldiers must take care of their arms and practice with them regularly, for the sake of skill and readiness.
3. For Indian warfare, the soldiers should use lances fourteen hands long, and oval shields.
4. The soldiers were to be skilled in the use of short broad-swords.
5. Each soldier must keep six horses, fresh and untired.
6. The clothing of the soldiers must be alike, the costumes blue and the hats black.
7. The soldiers were to live in the presidio, never absent except on service. Officers who absented themselves would lose their positions.
8. Neither the governor nor any other officer might use the labor or services of the soldiers in private enterprises.
9. Permission should be given each soldier to mark out (apuntar) his position, provided that: (a) one man

remained in each group, with arms and horse;
(b) if indebted, the soldier securing this permission must not name his creditor, on account of the possible bar to later purchases.

10. Vacancies in enlistments were to be recorded, with exact dates, in the account-books of the presidio, so that the salaries for such positions could remain in the royal treasury.

11. Punishment should not include bloodshed or the use of the sword. Officers were to punish with marks. The sergeant should punish with a thin, pliable, wooden stick. In case of a capital crime the accused should be tried and, if convicted, imprisoned, pending the decision of the Viceroy. Punishment was for improvement, not for horrifying the soldiers.

12. A soldier could not serve in judging cases involving the care of horses and equipment, because he would be prejudiced for or against, according to his own circumstances in such matters. Such was not conducive to carefulness.

13. When the governor made an expedition against the Indians of the Sierra de Santa Rosa, he should take one detachment from Monclova, go to the Rio Grande presidio, and get another detachment there.

14. To keep the detachment at Monclova available for

service, the governor should give orders to its officers concerning fighting-tactics, the care of camps, and the morning changes of horses, in order to guards against a surprise attack.

15. Obedience was necessary; of soldiers to corporal, of corporal to sergeant, of sergeant to alferez, of alferez to lieutenant; and of all to the captain, to the governor, and to other officers of war.

16. Soldiers must keep clean. No slovenliness should be permitted, for it was harmful to the military spirit.

17. This reglamento was to be posted at the presidio, read to the soldiers on the first of each month, and entered into the contract-book, so that the soldiers and officers, and the governor and his successors, would always know the rules.

18. Religious duties must not be neglected. Mass should be celebrated daily, and Our Lady's Rosary said daily. Annual duties required by the Holy Church must be performed. The men of the presidio should conduct themselves as good Catholics, avoid scandals, and hold respect and veneration for the clergy.

Rivera himself read this reglamento to the assembled garrison of Bondlova, January 22, 1728, and required the governor to sign the document with him and two witnesses.

In a regulatory decree distinct from the reglamento and

preceding it by two days, Rivera formed a list of forty one commodities, each of which was to be sold to the soldiers of Monclova at a specified price.[16] The prices ranged from five reales for

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[16]Pedro de Rivera, Auto, Monclova, January 19, 1728, Saltillo Archives, I, no. 76, University of Texas photostat. See Appendix C, part 2.

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an ounce of thread to thirty pesos for a gun. The list included hardware, cloth of various kinds, leather goods, blankets, stockings, paper, tobacco, chocolate, sugar, thread, hats, shoes, corn, gunpowder, horses, weapons, and a few articles of clothing. This price list and the reglamento alike illustrate the detailed rules that Rivera established in every presidio that he visited.

When the Inspector General visited in the town of San Gregorio de Cerralvo to inspect the presidio there, he found that the records and accounts of this small garrison were kept in Monterey, thirty three leagues away. He therefore ordered the twelve men constituting the force, and their captain, to go to Monterey for the visita. Arriving three days later at the town of Cadereyta, where there was a small presidio called San Juan Baptista, he found there also that the bookkeeping was done in Monterey, nine leagues away. Giving the same order to this small force of eight men and their captain, Rivera went on to that city.

The two visitas there required seventeen days, ending March 1, 1728. Rivera considered the Cerralvo garrison and its

captain very efficient in keeping the Indians quiet who lived along the Rio Grande, twelve leagues to the north. The Cadereyta garrison, which was stationed farther south and nearer Monterey, the Inspector regarded as well-nigh useless because of the inefficiency of the captain. Some previously written findings concerning the poor conduct of this captain were delivered to Rivera at Monterey, and he duly wrote their conclusions and carried out their provisions, as specially requested by the Viceroy. What these were the existing records of the visita do not disclose. Rivera himself made no charges against either of the captains. He found their salaries too high and reduced each of them from 725 to 600 pesos. He reduced the salary of each soldier from 450 pesos to the new level of 350 pesos, powder, and gun. Both garrisons were suffering financially from discounts, fees, and high prices,--some of which misery was inflicted by a merchants in Monterey. Rivera reduced the total of the Cerralvo salaries from 6,125 to 4,800 pesos, and that of the Cadereyta salaries from 4,325 to 3,400 pesos. Barreyro rejoined Rivera in Monterey, completing the tenth and final expedition of exploration undertaken during this long series of visitas.

From Monterey Rivera moved on, early in March, 1728, to Saltillo. He had spent seven days there in July, 1727, securing supplies for his journey to Monclova and to Texas, but now he had a visita to make. This, with additional clerical work, occupied thirty four days. The Saltillo squad consisted of twelve soldiers,

one of whom served as captain. The sole duty of the squad was to escort the supplies, gifts, and travelers on their way towards the missions and presidios of Texas. The sole defect revealed by the visita seemed to be the subjection of the soldiers to unreasonable prices for all of their supplies. Rivera promptly corrected this evil, but reduced the per capita salary from 450 to 350 pesos, with powder and gun, the total reduction being from 5,400 to 4,200 pesos. While in Saltillo Rivera prepared and despatched to the Viceroy the proceedings of the visitas of eight presidios, but did not finish there the record of the Saltillo inspection.

Traveling ninety-six leagues south from Saltillo, Rivera arrived in San Luís Potosí, spent three days there getting supplies for the march into the province of Guastecs, and went fifty one leagues east of San Luís Potosí to the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de la Concepción del Valle de los Maíses. As he was then enduring a series of fevers he ordered the squad of soldiers stationed nearby in La Villa de los Valles to report to him at that pueblo for the visita. That work and hisconvalescence occupied the first eighteen days in May, 1728. The Valles squad consisted of only eight men, commanded by the local alcalde-mayor. Accompanying him on his journeys and gaurding his and other officials' houses seemed to be the only duties of these soldiers. Their only trouble seemed to be the high cost of living. Rivera made the usual correction of this trouble and the usual salary-reduction from 450 to 350 pesos and powder and gun. The total reduction in salaries was from

3,600 to 2,800 pesos.

On his return from Nafses to San Luís Potosí late in May, 1728, Rivera remained there ten days. During that time he completed and copied the records and decrees of the visitas at Saltillo and Cuastaca, or Nafses.

Seventeen days after leaving San Luís Potosí the Inspector General and his assistants arrived in the City of Mexico, June 21, 1728. He had made reglamentos, records, decrees, and copies thereof in considerable quantity. He had reduced the salaries in twenty three military posts from 438,883 pesos to 350,640 pesos.[17] He was proud of this economy and claimed to have

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[17] See list on page 137.

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effected it in spite of formidable opposition, especially in Nueva Vizcaya. This opposition he attributed partly to ignorance, partly to selfish interests. By this time, however, he was preparing to amend considerably some of the recommendations which he made during the visita. Among these were his allowances of guns and powder to the soldiers of twelve presidios as parts of their salaries, and his advice concerning the removal of the presidio of Sinaloa.

As he ended his long journey Rivera felt quite satisfied in his own mind about two things. One of these was that he had done, dutifully and efficiently, the work for which the King and

the Viceroy had chosen him. The other was that greedy governors and lazy captains in Nueva Vizcaya had greatly lowered the vitality and effectiveness of its defense. Impressed with these ideas and possessed of ample records of his inspections, the Brigadier and Inspector General was soon at work again, writing his recommendations to the Viceroy for the future conditions and management of the frontier presidios.

Rivera's Travel, in Time and Distance

	Days	Leagues
Mexico to Zacatecas	15	120
Zacatecas to Nayarit	13	94
Nayarit to Zacatecas	13	94
Zacatecas to Durango	7	67
Durango to Pasage	5	44
Pasage to Gallo	4	26
Gallo to Mapimí	2	17
Mapimí to Gallo	2	17
Gallo to Cerro Gordo	3	24
Cerro Gordo to San Bartolomé	2	22
San Bartolomé to Parral	1	7
Parral to Conchos	2	19
Conchos to San Phelipe	4	40
San Phelipe to El Paso	12	95
El Paso to Santa Fé	16	132
Santa Fé to El Paso	15	132
El Paso to Janos	7	59
Janos to Sonora	6	59
Sonora to Sinaloa	23	207
Sinaloa to Janos	28	237
Janos to San Phelipe	12	91
San Phelipe to Pasage	22	146
Pasage to Saltillo	11	87

	Days	Leagues
Saltillo to Monclova	7	52
Monclova to Rio Grande	6	50
Rio Grande to Béjar	9	62
Béjar to Tejas	20	154
Tejas to Adaes	7	61
Adaes to Tejas	10	61
Tejas to Béjar	21	154
Béjar to Bahía	6	54
Bahía to Béjar	7	54
Béjar to Rio Grande	7	62
Rio Grande to Monclova	5	50
Monclova to Monterey	14	111
Monterey to Saltillo	3	21
Saltillo to San Luís Potosí	12	96
San Luís Potosí to Maíses	6	51
Maíses to San Luís Potosí	7	51
San Luís Potosí to Mexico	17	100
Total	385	3,080

Rivera's Halts of More Than One Night

November 27-29, 1724	San Miguel
December 1-3	San Phelipe
January 7, 1724--January 22, 1725	Zacatecas
January 22-24	Fresnillo
January 28-February 3	San Diego de Huesu-gilla
February 9-April 4	Nayarit
April 13-May 21	Zacatecas
May 21-May 24	Fresnillo
May 26-28	Llerana
May 30-October 8	Durango
October 12-November 1	Pasage
November 4-24	Gallo
November 25-December 6	Mapimí
December 7-9 ?	Gallo
December 11-28	Cerro Gordo
December 29, 1725--January 11, 1726	San Bartolomé
January 11-March 9	Parral
March 10-April 4	Conchos
April 7-30	San Phelipe
May 11-20	El Paso
June 4-August 24	Santa Fé
September 7-October 7	El Paso
October 13-24	Janos

October 29-December 2	Sonora
December 4-6	Motepore
December 20-23	Los Álamos (Frayles)
December 24-26	El Fuerte de Montes Claros
December 28, 1726--January 13, 1727	Sinaloa
February 2-4	Boca de Guachi
February 10-17	Janos
February 22-24	Piedra Blanca
March 1-June 4	San Phelipe
July 2-7	Parras
July 10-18	Saltillo
July 24-27	Monclova
August 1-7	Rio Grande
August 11-13	"near a creek"
August 16-18	Béjar
August 24-26	Las Ánimas de Arriba
September 7-9	Tejas
September 15-26	Adaes
October 9-11	Tejas
October 31-November 3	Béjar
November 8-27	Bahía
December 2-12	Béjar
December 18, 1727--January 2, 1728	Rio Grande
Jan. 6-27	Monclova

January 31-February 4	San Pedro de Boca de Leones
February 8-10	San Gregorio de Cerralvo
February 13-March 2	Monterey
March 4-April 8	Saltillo
April 11-13	San Lorenzo de Papagayos
April 17-20	San Sebastian de Benado
April 22-26	San Luís Potosí
May 1-19	Concepción del Valle de los Naíses
May 25-June 5	San Luís Potosí

The total number of days spent in the places listed above was 925.

GARRISONS AND ANNUAL SALARIES AS RIVERA ADJUSTED THEM

	Men	Pesos	Capts.	Pesos	Lieuts.	Pesos	Total
Nayarit	30	300	2	600	2	400	17,000
Durango	15	350					5,250
Pasage	40	350	1	600			14,600
Gallo	39	350	1	600			14,250
Mapimí	33	350	1	600			12,150
Cerro Gordo	30	350	1	600			11,100
San Bartolomé	29	350	1	600			10,750
Conchos	45	350	1	600			16,350
Santa Fé	80	400		(Gov.)			32,000
El Paso	49	400	1	600			20,200
Janos	50	400	1	600			20,600
Sonora	50	400	1	600			20,600
Sinaloa	30	400			1	500	12,500
Adaes	100	420		(Gov.)			42,000
Tejas	24	400	1	500			10,100
Bahía	90	360	1	600			32,600
Béjar	53	380	1	600			20,740
Rio Grande	32	300	1	600			10,200
Monclova	35	350		(Gov.)			12,250
Cerralvo	12	350	1	600			4,800
Cadereyta	8	350	1	600			3,400
Saltillo	12	350					4,200
Valles	8	350					2,800
Total	914		17		3		350,640

CHAPTER V

THE DOCUMENTARY WORK OF RIVERA

1725-1736

Travel, inspection, and adjustment were not the only activities of Brigadier Rivera during his tour of the presidios, nor did his return with his assistants and escort to the City of Mexico in June, 1728, end his work and responsibilities. By that time he was already an experienced recorder, and his records, both during and after his tour, were to become his most truly permanent achievements. Two secretaries traveled with him to assist in handling the written instructions and information that he carried and to commit to manuscript his inquiries, facts, conclusions, and commands, as well as his periodic correspondence with Viceroy Casafuerte. Engineer Barreyro also contributed a great deal to the written descriptions of the provinces, knowledge of which he acquired from his ten explorations as well as from his intermittent travels with Rivera. The Inspector and the Engineer produced suspiciously similar descriptions. After the return to the City of Mexico Rivera probably continued to employ, at least occasionally, secretarial assistance in his documentary work. In all of the voluminous writings, however, which Rivera signed during the decade following the beginning of his inspection, the

responsibility for the tone and for the accuracy of the contents was his alone. His authorship was therefore practically genuine and a very important part of his contributions to Spanish presidial policies and administration.

At intervals during his long journey of inspection Rivera dispatched to the Viceroy collections of documents, some of them lengthy, containing autos, both judicial and executive, reglamentos which he prescribed for the presidios, descriptions of the provinces, and reports concerning not only presidial matters but also special projects and procedures authorized by the Viceroy. Included among these papers from time to time were some of the maps and accompanying descriptions prepared by the explorer, Engineer Barreyro. The first of these collections the Inspector sent from Zacatecas, where he tarried from December 7, 1724, to January 21, 1725, and again from April 13 to May 20, 1725, reporting his consultations and other activities there in the cause of flood-prevention and his investigations and regulations of the presidio of Nayarit.[1] He sent his next papers from Durango, setting forth his

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[1]This list of periodic collections of documents is derived from Pedro de Rivera, Diario y derrotero de lo caminado, visto, y observado en el discurso de la visita general de presidios situados en las provincias yternas de Nueva Espana, and from Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto y visita de presidios hecha el año de 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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inspection of the squad there and his management of some affairs

"entrusted to me, not incidental to the Commission." Among these were the selection of the new location of the squad, the adjustment of the quarrel between the military and ecclesiastical officials, and the investigation of the annual expenditure of 6,000 pesos by the Governor of Vizcaya "for the costs of peace and war."[2]

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[2]For the nature of this annual appropriation, see pages 143, 184, 227, 320, and 321 below.

Remaining in Durango from May 30 to October 7, 1725, Rivera sent several advisory statements to the Viceroy and received there the replies to them. From the presidios of Pasage, Gallo, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, and Conchos, in each of which Rivera remained more than a week, he presumably dispatched at least some of his documents dealing with his activities and conclusions in those places. In Parral, where there was no presidio, he worked from January 11 to March 8, 1726, to complete the records concerning a previous governor, a work which was "incidental to the visita." Rivera, however, did not mention later the actual sending of any documents to the City of Mexico from any place between Durango and San Phelipe de Chihuahua. In that city, during the last three weeks of April, 1726, he sent "mail to His Excellency" concerning the city, a recent uprising of Indians at La Junta de los Ríos, and probably some or all of the work recently completed in the Vizcaya presidios. From El Paso, between September 7 and October 6, 1726, he sent complete accounts of his inquiries and

reforms in the presidios of Santa Fé and El Paso, including his investigation, in Santa Fé, of the error committed in 1720 by Governor Valverde. Again in San Phelipe de Chihuahua, March 1 to June 3, 1727, Rivera dispatched not only his reports concerning the presidios and provincial affairs of Janos, Sonora, and Sinaloa, but evidently also some advice about the proposed new presidio at La Junta de los Ríos, for he waited at San Phelipe "until His Excellency decided upon the more convenient." A year later, at Saltillo from March 4 to April 7, 1728, the Inspector sent ahead of him the complete records of his observations, labors, and recommendations relative to the eight garrisons of Adaes, Dolores, Bahía, Béjar, Bautista, Monclova, Cerralvo, and Cadereyta. Finally, at San Luís Potosí, May 25 to June 4, 1728, he sent the records of his inspection of the soldiers of Saltillo and Los Valles.

The total number of the papers sent to the Viceroy by Rivera during his journey is not known. Probably there were more than one hundred. Few of them, however, survived in their original form throughout the two ensuing centuries. Typical of the material contained in these papers were his decree of prices and his Reglamento, January 19 and 21, 1728, for the Monclova garrison. In one of these documents he listed forty-one commodities and the prices at which they might be sold to the soldiers. In the other he laid down a code of conduct and discipline.[3] No doubt he sent nineteen

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[3]Pedro de Rivera, Auto, Monclova, January 19, 1728, and Reglamento, Monclova, January 21, 1728, Saltillo Archives, I, no.

76, University of Texas photostats. The contents are shown, illustrative of Rivera's work during the inspection, in Chapter IV, above. See also the Monclova price-list in Appendix C, Part 2.

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such sets of documents to the Viceroy, applicable to as many presidios. All papers of local presidial concern the Inspector's secretaries wrote at least in duplicate, and Rivera signed originals and copies alike, so that both the viceregal and the provincial archives contained these records, at least temporarily. Another document thus sent by Rivera and illustrative of the wide variety of his investigations was his report concerning the Jesuit missions in the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, signed at Janos, February 14, 1727, during his second and snow-bound visit to that presidio. In that report the Brigadier expressed approval and encouragement of the work which the missionaries were doing among the Indians of the northwestern provinces. He seemingly considered most of those Indians as exemplary neophytes.[4] A fourth document

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[4]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme del estado de las Misiones de la Compañía en las provincias de Sinaloa y Sonora, Archivo General de México, Historia, XVI, exp. 21. Cited by Bancroft, Texas and the North Mexican States, I, 513, from Materiales para la Historia de Sonora, 833-836, Mexico, 1829. Bancroft says that the report was unduly complimentary, describing the missions as well located, the missionaries as kind, diligent, skillful, and wise, the neophytes as intelligent, industrious, well dressed, docile, devout, and well versed in Spanish, and the "Gentiles" as eager for baptism. He also says that the report was dated in 1730, after Rivera's return to the City of Mexico, instead of 1727.

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written during and preserved since the tour of inspection was a

description of Texas, unsigned but possibly the work of either Rivera or Barreyro. This account expressed the observer's pleasure in the spacious meadows, the fertile and well watered lands, the variety of food resources, the temperate climate, and the potential value of that great province.[5]

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[5]Descripción de la provincia de los Tejas, January 2, 1728, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 136-7-7, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

Rivera evidently kept private copies of most of the documents that he dispatched during his journey, for he referred to many of them later, and in his general report he summarized, if he did not reproduce entirely, no less than nine of them.[6] One

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[6]These nine summaries are found in Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto y visita de presidios hecha el año de 1728. Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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of these was his report from Durango, in the summer of 1725, enclosing the evidence which he gathered and the advice which he offered concerning the possible reduction of the annual royal allotment to the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya for "expenses of peace and war". In 1724 a royal despatch expressed the hope of reducing this amount, which was becoming increasingly burdensome to the treasury. In the opinion of Rivera a reduction from 6,000 to 2,000 pesos was

practicable without impairment of the security of Nueva Vizcaya, and therefore advisable. His other report from Durango advised the "restoration" of the Durango garrison to, or at least near, that city from the presidio of Mapimí where the soldiers were then serving at the behest of the captain of Mapimí. Their return was desirable, for the better protection of the vicinity of Durango from possible depredations by hostile Indians. Because of these recommendations the Viceroy forthwith reduced the Nueva Vizcaya "peace and war" appropriation to 2,000 pesos and authorized Rivera to select a site near Durango for the new station of the squad.

The next two of these nine documents later summarized by the Brigadier were among the papers which he prepared, in the spring of 1727, at San Phelipe de Chihuahua. One of these was his advice that four or five soldiers be detached from each of the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya for service in the future presidio of Sacramento at La Junta de los Ríos. Regardless of opinions of the presidial captains of Nueva Vizcaya to the contrary, these decreases in their garrisons would not endanger the efficiency of presidial service, for the hostile Indians were not numerous in Nueva Vizcaya. The soldiers detached from these presidios could remain in San Phelipe until the time for their removal to Sacramento. In another report from the same city, dated March 20, 1727, he expressed the belief, which he later renounced, that the presidio of Sinaloa should be moved one hundred sixty leagues

farther north to a place named Pitiqui, twenty leagues from the coast. His belief was based upon investigation, which he made as the Viceroy's agent in obedience to royal command. The change of location would make easier the suppression of hostilities in that region caused by the mingling of apostate and Gentile Indians.

The remaining five of these later summarized documents were first written by Rivera at Saltillo where, between March 4 and April 7, 1728, he compiled and dispatched the papers resulting from his inspections of Adaes, Dolores, Bahía, Béjar, Bautista, Monclova, Cerralvo, and Cadereyta. Rivera's later summaries of these five documents were so long, in comparison with his summaries of his earlier reports, as to imply that his reports from Saltillo were indeed lengthy. One of these was his advice, dated March 23, concerning the presidio of Adaes. In his opinion the garrison of one hundred men there should be reduced to sixty, to the benefit of the treasury and the really better defense of the border. The French fort on an island in the "Nachitoos" River, though only seven leagues from Adaes, had a garrison of only twenty-five men and merely possessed the site for France. Adaes, having been founded as a boundary marker, should continue as such, needing for that purpose no more than sixty men. The neighboring Indian nations, though equipped with French arms, were very docile and quite respectful to mounted Spanish soldiers. If France and Spain remained peaceful, sixty men would be ample for the Adaes garrison. If war should come, not even the customary one hundred men would

be sufficient, for the French, employing skilled officers and experienced troops brought from Mobile and Canada, armed with their long-range rifles, could easily defeat the Spanish inexperienced soldiers armed with short-range arquebuses. The French might not attack the sturdy timbered fort of Adaes but could easily invade the province, leaving the fort to their left, establish themselves in control of the Nasonas, Aeinai, Neches, and Navedoches, and from that region cut the Adaes garrison off from all communication westward and force its surrender without a blow.

Even if one hundred men were sufficient for the defense of Adaes in time of war, it would be easier to send the extra forty men thither when needed than to keep them there when not needed. The commander there could send a request to the presidio of Béjar for twenty men, a request to the presidio of Bahía for another twenty, and receive these additional forces in Adaes, all within fifteen days, for the one-way journey between either Béjar or Bahía and Adaes required only six or seven days. Forty men thus sent to Adaes for an emergency would be soldiers chosen especially for their skill, and the quality of the enlarged force would be much higher than would be the case if one hundred men always remained there, merely guarding horses and missions. Béjar and Bahía could well spare twenty men each for aid to Adaes, since those presidios would not be in the war zone.

The annual salaries of the sixty men kept at Adaes should be 450 pesos for the lieutenant, 440 for the alferez, 435 for the

sergeant, and 420 for each of the fifty-seven private soldiers, besides the allowance of six pounds of powder for each man. The total amount, 25,265 pesos, would be far less burdensome to the treasury than was the former cost of maintenance.

A much briefer statement signed in Saltillo by Rivera that same March 23, 1728, conveyed his belief that the presidio of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Texas should be abolished. Neither in appearance nor in function did the presidio deserve its honorable name, being composed solely of huts poorly made of grass and sticks and performing no service after it was established "in 1715". The natural quietness of the neighboring Indians, as yet unfailing, could be expected to continue. For that reason the soldiers did no sentry or guard duty, their only activities being in the three missions nearby, to which the captain assigned soldiers to relieve other soldiers whenever the missionaries so requested. The presidio was utterly unnecessary. Each of these three missions should have two soldiers in it, having no Indians living "under its bell", but these six soldiers could be assigned from the presidio of Adaes. The amount paid in salaries to the captain and twenty-four soldiers of the presidio of Texas, 10,100 pesos, would be better used in some other enterprise in the royal service.

A third document which Rivera signed in Saltillo, also on March 23, expressed his opinions that the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar should be reduced in size from fifty-three to forty-three soldiers and that the money thus saved should be used in

settling twenty-five families as colonists in the neighborhood. The only enemies near were the Apaches of the Hill Country and they, having acquired by sad experiences a wholesome respect for the Spanish, usually committed no worse crimes than horse-thefts and were generally punished for these. There would therefore be no grave risk in reducing the garrison. The introduction of twenty-five families of civilians would promote agriculture and stock raising for which the fertile soil, available cattle, ample pasturage, and abundant streams made San Antonio an ideal location, and would serve both as protection to the country and as inducement to other immigrants. All that the region lacked was more people. The annual salaries of the garrison, besides the individual allowance of six pounds of powder, should be 600 pesos for the captain, 410 for the lieutenant, 400 for the alferez, 385 for the sergeant, and 380 for each of the forty private soldiers, a total of 17,005 pesos.

On the following day Rivera signed his report concerning the presidio of La Bahía del Espíritu Santo. He advised that the force be reduced from ninety to forty men and that they be employed not only in military vigilance but also in making the Guadalupe River navigable and in deriving from it a system of irrigation. To support the idea of reduction he sketched the origin and the successive environment of the presidio. It was established with forty men, and its first captain was Joseph Ramón.[7]

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[7]Rivera cited here the diary of the Marquis of San Miguel

de Aguayo, the founder of the presidio in 1722. The diary was that of Juan Antonio de la Peña. His "Derrotero de la expedición en la provincia de los Texas . . . 1722", the official diary of the Aguayo expedition, is cited and described in Castañeda, Morfi's History of Texas, 1663-1779, 69, 233, 453.

Some time later this number was raised to ninety, for what reason Rivera did not know.[8] The original purpose of the presidio was

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[8]See Morfi's comment on Rivera's ignorance of these reasons, in Chapter VII, below.

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the prevention of any such foreign entrance and occupation as the French attempted in 1685 when, surviving their shipwreck, they built a fort near the coast but perished at the hands of the Indians. The bar of the bay was only fourteen hands deep, preventing the entrance of any vessel larger than brigs or sloops and thus insuring the coast against trespass, for invaders required larger ships. The land thereabouts was marshy, subject to floods and generally uninhabitable. Since nature protected the place from foreigners and also made it undesirable, the presidio was moved northwest ten leagues, on the Guadalupe River. The presidio never could protect the coast, anyway. If the bar were not shallow and the invaders could come, they would have sufficient space in which to conceal and to defend their operations from the soldiers of the presidio, for the bay was twenty-two leagues long. Whether near the coast or ten leagues inland, the presidio did not need

more than forty men. With ordinary vigilance they could easily hold in check the Cocos, Carancaguases, Coapites, Cujanes, Copanes, Tacames, Aranames, Mayeyes, Pampoas, Pastias, and other neighboring tribes, all of whom were few, nomadic, and cowardly.

In danger from neither foreigners nor Indians, the region really needed no presidio at all but the services of the soldiers in developing the economic possibilities of the Guadalupe. When he inspected the presidio, Rivera ordered its captain to explore the river downward until, near its mouth, he found the "San Raphael which empties into the Bay."[9] The captain was expected to

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[9]Here, as in his Diario, Rivera believed that the San Raphael (the present Blanco River) flowed into the Bay of Espíritu Santo. It flows into the San Marcos River, the San Marcos into the Guadalupe, and the Guadalupe into the Bay.

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make the Guadalupe navigable. This work would facilitate commerce by sea with Guastece and by land with Nuevo León, which, according to direction and latitude, was only about one hundred leagues away. He was also expected to undertake, six leagues above the presidio, a system of irrigation. There the channel was deep and a drainage ditch would convey enough water to insure plenteous crops and therefore the country could support some civil settlements. The forty soldiers, under the direction of their captain, should be employed in this work of preparing the Guadalupe Valley for a great future. Their salaries should be, besides the allowances of powder,

600 pesos for the captain, 410 for the lieutenant, 395 for the sergeant, and 380 for each of the thirty-eight private soldiers, a total of 15,845 pesos.

The last of the documents which Rivera sent from Saltillo and later frankly repeated in summary was his report, March 29, 1728, concerning the problem of protecting the mines of Boca de Leones, in the province of Nuevo León. He advised the Viceroy to detach five soldiers from the presidio of Coahuila at Monclova and station them at Boca de Leones to protect that property from the raids of the Indians. These raids formerly prevented the operation of the mines, killed the workmen, made off with their mules, and wrought general havoc. From this ensued great loss to the owners, to the community, and to the King, whose portion of the output of these mines was thus ended. The citizens requested the Governor of Nuevo León, Don Francisco Barbadillo, to protect them from this devastation and he complied, detailing for that purpose some of the soldiers of the presidios of Cerralvo and Cadereyta. His successor, however, discontinued that protection, whereupon the raids began anew. When Rivera visited the place he too heard the complaints of the harassed citizens. He believed that the transfer of five men from the presidio of Coahuila to Boca de Leones would solve the problem, giving ample protection. Before the year was over Rivera changed his mind on that question and withdrew the advice contained in this Saltillo dispatch.

The periodic transmission of dispatches from Rivera to

the Viceroy during the years of the inspection resulted each time in the slow but sure process of viceregal consideration and decision. From the Viceroy, through his secretariat, went copies of these dispatches, if not the originals, into the hands of Auditor-General Oliván Rebolledo or of Fiscal Palazios, or of both, for scrutiny and opinions. If either or both of these officials advised delay, the Viceroy postponed his decision pending further communication with or the arrival of Rivera. If these advisers, however, found no objection to the decisions or the plans set forth by Rivera, the Viceroy issued decrees validating and authorizing the presidial changes which the Inspector was making.[10]

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[10]Typical examples of viceregal validation of Rivera's reforms are found in Casafuerte, Decretos, Mexico, December 20, 1728, Saltillo Archives, I, no. 76, University of Texas photostat. Other examples of such validation and examples of postponement were mentioned occasionally by Rivera in his Proyecto. See note 17 below.

Very soon after his return to the City of Mexico, Brigadier Rivera began to prepare his long report of the task that he was completing. Before his preparation could show results, however, he had to postpone his general account in order to write a specially requested report. Early in the summer Father Andres Nieto, Commissary of the Jesuit missionaries in the western provinces, wrote to the Viceroy requesting the transmission of information from Rivera concerning the Jesuit missions in the provinces of Nayarit, Sinaloa, Sonora, and part of the Pimería.[11] The

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[11]Andres Nieto to Casafuerte, Mexico, n.d., 1728, Archivo

General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 87-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

Provincial based his prompt request upon the fact that the Viceroy instructed Rivera in 1724 to get information concerning all of the missions throughout his journey. The report of Rivera signed at Janos, February 14, 1727, concerning the Jesuit missions,[12] was

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[12]See note 4, above.

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either unknown or else unsatisfactory to Father Nieto. Viceroy Casafuerte sent the request to Rivera, directing him to comply with it.[13] He was then interested in the preparation of his great

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[13]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, July 27, 1728, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 87-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

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account of the whole tour of inspection, but obediently signed first this fresh report on the Jesuit missions, November 3, 1728, addressing it to the Viceroy for transmission to the Commissary. In the introduction of this report Rivera acknowledged that his instructions required him to investigate conditions in all provincial missions, and that he acquired a great deal of information about them. He asserted his prompt compliance with his instructions in sending, more than a year before, all of this information that he considered worthy of the viceregal attention,

and implied that he was not overly happy in receiving the command to write this special report for the convenience of the Reverend Father Provincial. Perhaps for this reason Rivera concluded the introductory part of his report by calling attention to the wide territorial scope of Franciscan missions in New Spain, organized in the ecclesiastical provinces of Mexico, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, and Michoacán. Devoting the important remainder of his remarks to the Jesuit missions in the northwest, Rivera praised the patience and devoted courage with which the missionaries worked to win converts, enduring poverty and hardships, ministering to the needy, promoting agriculture, and daily risking the loss of life itself. The administration of pueblos by these missionaries was admirably directed towards benefiting the Indians as well as enlarging the realm of Christianity. In the town of Sinaloa and in that of Fuerte de Montesclaros the missionaries served as parish priests. For thirty years the presidio of Sonora had no other chaplain than a Jesuit missionary. The Indian nations were showing good results of such labors. The Coras and Tecualmes of Nayarit, not yet numerously admitted to baptism because of the recent conquest of that province, were nevertheless well-behaved and very much interested in the ceremonies of the Church. The Opatas, mostly in Sonora, were already good farmers, weavers, and craftsmen, thanks to the training received from the missionaries, and made for the use of churches such articles as robes, pictures, and vessels of gold and silver. Indeed every Indian nation in Sonora, as well as

in Ostimuri, showed the influences of the missionaries for peace, agriculture, and industry. If the Jesuits had more help they would soon complete the Christianizing not only of all of these nations but also of the Pimas Altos as well. There were some Indians, it was true, who were still inclined towards "impertinences", such as the Baboseragames and some of the Chinarras and Tepocas, but the missionaries were bravely and patiently dealing with these, although the hardships of poverty made progress rather slow. On the whole, were it not for the missions, the Indians would not be civilized, would not have sufficient food and clothing, would not be amenable to the influences of Christianity, and would therefore be much more dangerous. The missions made good returns to the Crown in the development of territory.[14] On receipt of this report

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[14]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme, Mexico, November 3, 1728, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

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from Rivera the Viceroy ordered it sent forthwith to Father Nieto. Before the end of the year that worthy no doubt received the reassuring information that he sought.[15]

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[15]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, November 5, 1728; Juan Clemente Guerrero, Concuerda, Mexico, December 10, 1728, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

Meanwhile Rivera continued the preparation of his great report, the Proyecto, which he completed December 7, 1728. This work was expressely ordered by the Viceroy in his decree of August 2. For this purpose he gave Rivera access to the entire number of relevant documents produced before and during the great inspection.[16]

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[16]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, August 2, 1728, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Using the Viceregal decree itself as a preface to the Proyecto, Rivera made that document his own monumental portrayal of his problems, labors, and ideas concerning the presidios.[17]

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[17]Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto y Visita de Presidios hecha el año de 1725, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript. The following thirty pages present the essential contents of this document.

In the introduction which followed the preface, he acknowledged again the decree and announced that in obedience to it his report was in three parts. One part described the conditions prevailing in the presidios when he visited them. The second part narrated his investigations, decisions, and other activities in the presidios. The third part presented his advice concerning their future administration. In each part he numbered the consecutive articles, so that corresponding numbers in the

three parts would refer to corresponding items of information and thus make error both less likely to occur and less difficult to detect.

Concluding the introduction and beginning the Primer Estado, Rivera summarized the history of the origin of his work, mentioning each successive official step in its authorization.[18]

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[18]These steps are shown in Chapter II, above.

With his right to make the inspection thus plainly stated, he proceeded to tell what he observed in every presidio. His account included the size of the garrison, the salaries, duties, equipment, merits, and defects of the soldiers and their officers, as well as local circumstances that affected the quality of the service. Occasionally he mentioned his own activities also, such as perfecting some hitherto incomplete record or conducting some special investigation, and included very briefly his work in Zacatecas promoting flood-prevention and in Parral studying the affairs of former Governor Alday. Such items were rare, however, for they did not properly belong in the first part of the Proyecto.[19]

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[19]For the description of the presidios in Primer Estado of the Proyecto, see Chapter III, pages 84-91.

The second part Rivera devoted to his actual activities

in the presidios, dividing it into two portions of unequal length. In the first and longer portion he arranged in order the narratives of his arrivals, questionnaires, hearings, decisions, reviews, auditings, reglamentos, and adjustments in the twenty-three posts of the frontier.[20] In the second portion he presented explanations,

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[20]In Chapter IV above are presented the presidial labors of Rivera which he recounted in Segundo Estado of the Proyecto.

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arguments, and suggestions arising from his changes in the salary schedules of the presidios. Opposition to these changes came, he believed, partly from ignorance and partly from endangered selfish interests, especially in the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, where lowered salaries meant lessened mercantile profits. The reforms which he made were urgently needed, most of the presidios having been, since their establishment, without regulations. The reasons for the reforms were of much greater weight than the malicious arguments advanced in opposition. The new salary-rates were justifiable on the grounds of the relative distances of the presidios, the values of goods sold to the soldiers, the absence of hitherto burdensome discounts, and the royal desire to apply to the presidios of New Spain the fiscal standards of Habana. Only from Nueva Vizcaya did any complaints go to the Viceroy against the salary adjustments. The soldiers of Bautista on the Rio Grande were quite content with their salary-rate of 300 pesos, not being accustomed to any more than that. Comparing Bautista, which was

in Coahuila, with Conchos, the northernmost presidio of Nueva Vizcaya, in their distances from the City of Mexico, Rivera believed that the complaints coming from Nueva Vizcaya were groundless and that some of the officers were guilty of inciting discontent among the soldiers.

His defense of his salary schedules led Rivera on to defense of himself and criticism of the officers in Nueva Vizcaya. His conscience was clear, in the fixing of these salaries, for he carried out faithfully the instructions of the Viceroy, serving God and the King. On the other hand, the commanders in Nueva Vizcaya required too much money and too many soldiers. In the earlier days of that province the presidios of San Sebastián and Santa Catharina rendered good service at the individual salary-rate of 337 pesos. Later, however, the governors engaged in the commercial handling of supplies for the soldiers, which soon resulted in requests for increases of salaries. Higher salaries for the soldiers and more numerous presidios produced more profits on such merchandise. If Nueva Vizcaya had better government the task of exterminating hostile Indians would be easier and would require fewer soldiers. He said that the presidios of that province "with fewer soldiers and more attention to what concerns them would comply more exactly with their purposes. The carrying out of this work proved that to me, showing me what they should have done as well as that which it is needful for them to do."

The foregoing statements concerning salaries in Nueva

Vizcaya prompted Rivera to present five of his ideas about presidial salaries in general. For one thing, the salary of 600 pesos which he assigned to every captain was quite sufficient, however scanty it might appear. Although there were some demands, such as in some places the maintenance of chaplains, upon the salaries of captains, yet those officers, like their soldiers, really profited from the lowering of the costs of living. In the second place, Rivera acknowledged that his official instructions were silent concerning the regulating of the salaries of the four provincial governors who served as captains of the presidios of Sinaloa, Santa Fé, Monclova, and Adaes, but he ventured the opinion that those salaries, especially the two at Santa Fé and Adaes, were too high.

Furthermore, he suggested two changes that should be made in the allowances of guns and powder which he prescribed during his inspection of the presidios. In twelve garrisons[21] each

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[21] These were Nayarit, Pasage, Gallo, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, Conchos, Coahuila, Cerralvo, Cadereyta, Saltillo and Valles. See Chapter IV. The garrisons at Saltillo and Valles were to be abolished.

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soldier was entitled to a new gun every two years and six pounds of powder every year. Instead of receiving a gun every two years each of these soldiers should receive annually an extra allowance of fifteen pesos. This would place upon private instead of official shoulders the responsibility for the safe transportation of

the guns. The soldiers of the other presidios, however, should be given to understand that this allowance was not extra salary, but mere a commutation of the guns into a form more convenient to administer. The annual allowance of six pounds of powder should be made to each soldier in all presidios instead of in the twelve specified posts only, because the cost of the powder to the royal treasury was only five reales per pound. This powder could be sent in bulk to each presidio and there distributed as needed.

Finally, the Inspector mentioned the fact that lieutenants, alfereces, and sergeants received hitherto no higher salaries than private soldiers in the presidios. Such equality was, he admitted, as old as the presidial system itself, but he asserted that without some modification of this rule the forthcoming Reglamento of the Viceroy would be defective. Although the "constitution of the country" forbade paying to these subalterns the salaries due their rank, a distinction nevertheless between officers and private soldiers could be recognized by the additional payment of thirty pesos to each lieutenant, twenty to each alferez, and fifteen to each sergeant. This distinctive recognition would result in more careful efficiency among the subalterns themselves.

The lengthy conclusion of the second part of the Proyecto implied the reluctance of Rivera to quit that theme. From explanation he drifted into recommendation, as in the matters of of allowances and distinctive salaries. He confessed that in order to complete properly this account of his labors he must add

another statement about the presidio of Nayarit, concerning which he would continue to write in the third and final part of his Proyecto. This statement, undoubtedly out of place, was an afterthought concerning his visit to that presidio. He left as many as fifty-four men there, without change of location, because he then feared possible further disorder among the Indians of that province. They seemed industrious and more commercial than military in spirit, but he was not then so sure of their harmlessness as he was after he observed the Indians in the other provinces. Before the conquest of Nayarit, the Indians there were influenced by half-breed outlaws among them to oppose the coming of the Spanish. Some such condition might reappear, if the presidio were not retained where it was.

At last Rivera brought himself to desist from lengthening the second and to begin the third part of his Proyecto. To this part he wrote no introduction, for sufficient introduction was already to be found in the concluding pages of the second part. He therefore delved immediately into his recommendations. Discussing in turn the twenty-three military posts which he inspected, he proposed concerning each of them his estimates of its proper size, salaries, location, and functions. In some of these matters his proposals differed from his own adjustments made on corresponding points during his inspection. His figures of enrollments and salaries were later incorporated into the Viceroy's Reglamento.[22]

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[22]See Chapter VI, below. See Appendix B for comparisons

of presidial sizes and salaries shown in the Proyecto.

Along with these recommendations the Brigadier presented his reasons, sometimes argumentatively. He also reproduced, in brief form, nine of the advisory letters which he wrote to the Viceroy during the tour of inspection.[23] Some of these contained advice which

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[23]For the contents of these, see pages 143-151 of this chapter.

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their author now admitted was, in his opinion, unsound. Probably most of the recommendations and supporting arguments which Rivera wrote in this third part of his Proyecto were repetitions of the decisions and advices which he wrote separately during the course of his inspection.

For the presidio of Nayarit he recommended that its two companies contain a total of only forty-four men, including their captains, alferaces, and sergeants. One company should guard Tonatí and Peyotán; the other, Guaynamota and Santo Domingo de Ycatán. The province was tranquil and Rivera felt sure at last that forty-four men were sufficient to keep the Indians peaceful.

The Durango squad should be abolished entirely. His change of its location from Durango to the Nazas River and his his assignment of a commander, which occurred in 1725 during Rivera's sojourn in Durango wrought no improvement in that lazy group. The Governor of Nueva Vizcaya ordered it to go to San

Bartolomé to aid in the fight against some Indians, but the squad made no impression whatever upon the Indians. Such a garrison was too lazy even to keep watch on the Thepaguanas, if they should ever become unruly. Other garrisons, nearer the pueblos in which trouble was possible, would have to attend to it. Rivera acknowledged that he was mistaken in his former belief that the Durango squad was useful.

Pasage and Gallo should lose respectively five and four men, each presidio retaining a force of thirty-six men. These reductions were intended when the new presidio of Sacramento was intended, and might as well be carried out for the sake of economy. Of course the captains objected to them during the brief time when these detachments were in San Phelipe awaiting transfer to Sacramento, but the objections were not worth credence. Indians were really few in Nueva Vizcaya. Statements of two captives rescued by Berroterán[24] proved that Rivera was correct in his willingness

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[24]Don Joseph Berroterán was captain of the presidio of Conchos. See Chapter VII, below.

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to detach that many soldiers from Pasage and Gallo. Each of these presidios needed only fifteen men for monthly convoy service, eight for guarding and managing the livestock of the presidio, and twelve for protecting the presidio itself.

At Mapimí there should be a reduction of ten men. Only three were detached in 1726 for the intended presidio of Sacramento,

and they were duly returned to Mapimí, but that presidio needed only twenty-four soldiers. It was established in 1712 by Viceroy Linares,[25] who for that purpose detached soldiers from other

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[25]Fernando de Alencastre, Duke of Linares, was Viceroy of New Spain, 1711-1716.--Priestley, The Mexican Nation, 183.

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presidios. The function of Mapimí was to protect the mines near there and to prevent fugitive Indians from rallying at the stream or along the hills of Mapimí. Not being located on the royal highway, the garrison did no convoy-duty. The Governor of Nueva Vizcaya called for aid from Mapimí only when he was on a campaign, and then only for a few soldiers. The presidio needed only ten men for its own protection, six for detachment and supply-service, and seven for guarding the animals.

Among the ten garrisons that should suffer no further reduction were those of Cerro Gordo and San Bartolomé. Rivera detached none of their soldiers for the intended presidio of Sacramento, and he believed that Cerro Gordo should keep thirty-one soldiers and San Bartolomé thirty. He offered no defense for that belief, but he did insist upon a renovation of the San Bartolomé force. The soldiers there, living not in a presidio but scattered in a town of two hundred people, were exposed to the dangers of vice and laziness. The squad was established for campaigns, and formerly protected the entire region, but the governors of the province kept the soldiers in the town as mere guards, an abuse

which was already fifteen years old. Instead of condemning the squad, like that at Durango, to abolition, Rivera advised its transformation into a regular presidio and its removal from the pueblo and town of San Bartolomé to Atotonilco, a place between the Florido and Parral rivers, fourteen leagues from San Bartolomé. The new location was excellent for pasturage and for defense. The captain of the new presidio should be appointed as in any other presidio, by the Viceroy and the King. Hitherto the captains of the San Bartolomé garrison were appointees of the governors. The last captain thus appointed should be retained, but he should receive only a private soldier's salary until he was officially named captain by the Viceroy.

The presidio of Conchos, which contributed five soldiers to the Sacramento project and received them again, should now lose ten. Thirty-six men would afford ample protection, for the presidio was in a comparatively safe location. The Sierra de Terrazas, visible from the presidio and following the course of the river, was not the home of any Indians, although it occasionally harbored fugitives. If Indians were to become numerous enough there to endanger the presidio, help could soon come from San Bartolomé. The Conchos soldiers did no escort-duty, but only guard service.

The presidio of Santa Fé should remain a force of eighty soldiers, as Rivera left it in 1726, but should never recover its former size of one hundred men. For the permanence of that reduction he adduced six reasons. The twenty men whom he dismissed

were politicians, not soldiers, drawing salaries but doing no service, and thus violating a principle of the King, who in his Habana Reglamento forbade the labeling of such men as soldiers. The twenty men thus employed in Santa Fé could and did indulge in considerable license in the towns of the province, under the pretext of military orders and necessity. This was an abuse which only the dismissal of these men by the Viceroy could rectify. The Governor of New Mexico alleged his need of these twenty positions in the service for purposes of political patronage, because opportunities for political employment were scarce. This was not true, for in a population of more than six hundred families there were many such opportunities. Neither was there truth in the charge made by the governor and signed by many residents, that the dismissal of the twenty men weakened the presidio to the point of endangering the province. The loss of these twenty so-called soldiers and their annual 8,000 pesos from the governor's commercial market was the source of his worry, not the danger to the province. The supporting signatures of the residents meant little, "for it is a custom here to sign whatever is written and put before them without asking what is in it."

The fears of the missionaries of Santa Fé were equally groundless. The missionaries of Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna, some eighty leagues from Santa Fé, felt no such fear, for whenever they wished military protection a squad of eight or ten men from the presidio proved adequate and the need was soon ended. The same

was true concerning Theos, Yeleta, Pecos, and Picuries. In 1693 the "pacification" of Santa Fé required only one hundred ill-organized and unskilled recruits. With eighty skilled, well-armed soldiers, and over six hundred Spanish families in Santa Fé, surely the missionaries there had nothing to fear.

Rivera acknowledged that in previously intending to detach five men from each of the presidios of El Paso, Janos, and Sonora, for Sacramento, he was in error. He attributed his error to ignorance, at that time, of the relative needs and abilities of the several presidios. Each of these three should keep its full force, for any reduction from that would impair the service. In the Sierra de Gila, which extended over one hundred leagues northwest and southeast, lived more than 5,000 Apaches of about six different tribes. The southeastern end of that range was sixty leagues from El Paso, sixty from Janos, and sixty from Fronteras, or Sonora. El Paso was sixty leagues from Janos, which in turn was sixty leagues from Sonora, and Sonora was fifty leagues from Pimería Alta. Those Apaches were therefore able to attack one of the three presidios as well as another, and not one of them should lack defenders. The total force of El Paso was fifty men, each of the other presidios having fifty-one.

Concerning the presidio of Sinaloa the Inspector acknowledged another error in judgment, and recommended that his previous advice be disregarded. His advice to the Viceroy early in 1727 to move the presidio from the town of Sinaloa to Pitiqui

seemed reasonable enough then, but after the Viceroy decided, August 26, to postpone the matter until the inspection was over, Rivera found his former suggestion unwise. Asserting that he was as conscientious in his opposition to the removal as he formerly was in his advocacy of it, he carefully listed his reasons for urging the retention of the garrison in Sinaloa. It was only twelve leagues from the sea, and the inhabitants of that evicinity needed expert aid in resistance to the designs of any invading corsairs. Such aid the captain could give with a few soldiers. Pitiqui was, it was true, only twenty leagues from the sea, but that sea was the "Strait" of California, where pirates usually dared not go. They preferred to stay below Cape San Lucas for their robberies and bargains. The presidio should therefore also remain that far south. In Pitiqui it could be of little or no help against pirates. Piratical damages would be irreparable, and Rivera wanted for himself none of the responsibility for them.

Rebellious Indians, unlike pirates, could be pursued a great distance by the soldiers of the presidio. When the uprising Seris, Theopocas, Southern Pimas, Salineros, Cocomacaques, and Guaymas, in 1725, destroyed twenty-two lives in the town of Opodepe and ruined the mission-church of Thecoripa, only fifty leagues from the presidio of Sonora, and the soldiers there gave no aid, the Alcalde-Mayor of Sonora and forty civilians, aided later by the Governor of Sinaloa with twenty-two of his soldiers, easily suppressed the rebellion. If such disorders should occur again,

"tranquility" could be restored as easily again, either by the soldiers of Sinaloa or by those of Sonora, whose captain expressed, in his letter of June 6, 1728, his willingness to put down any Indian disturbances. The presidio of Sinaloa should remain where it was in order to be near the Thepeguanes Indians, who would remain quiet only so long as they were watched and denied access to arms. On the contrary, the Yaquis and Thubares, near Pitiqui, were always faithful and needed no watching.

Even if those Indians should become disorderly, a detachment of ten soldiers from Sinaloa, stationed in the town of Río Chico and aided if necessary by the alcalde-mayor and the citizens of that town, could deal effectively with the disturbers. The detachment at Río Chico could be relieved by another from Sinaloa, as was done in 1724. Besides, the captain of Sonora could visit the Indians, to aid in keeping them quiet.

Repeatedly apologetic for his change of opinion concerning Sinaloa and for his opposition to the royal reasons for the change of location, Rivera advised that the garrison retain only thirty-one men. He detached thirteen when he was there, for the intended Sacramento garrison, and they should not be restored. The remaining thirty-one were enough, for they had no duties as escorts, save for an occasional traveling bishop, and no duties as guards of livestock, for the presidio possessed an enclosed pasture.

At last Rivera left the subject of Sinaloa and turned

to that of Texas. In writing his recommendations concerning Adaes, Dolores, Bahía, Béjar, the four presidios of Texas, he virtually repeated the letters which he wrote about them in March, at Saltillo. His themes again were the abolition of the presidio of Dolores, the reduction in the sizes of the other three garrisons in Texas, and the settlement, at royal cost, of twenty-five families at Béjar. Acknowledging that the Viceroy, on the advice of Auditor Oliván Rebolledo, decreed in July the postponement of this colonization problem until other reforms wrought from the inspection could also go into effect, Rivera sought now to strengthen that prospect. He asserted that the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar was located in the best place that he had seen in all of his travels. One-half league north of the presidio was a small hill on each side of which gushed an abundant spring of water. From one of these springs a stream flowed along the east side of the presidio. From these waters irrigation canals could be made, to the great benefit of the land cultivated near by. The crops of wheat, corn, and cotton would be plentiful, if the farmers would work. Also important were the cattle in an enclosure at the junction of these streams with the Medina River, seven leagues from the presidio. If properly increased these cattle would furnish food for a much larger pueblo, for the pastures were as abundant as the springs. The fertility and attractiveness of the region invited settlement. If it were made there it would be successful and would be imitated in other localities. Civil population

would aid in provincial protection. Apparently Rivera was eager for the real colonization of Texas to begin.

For the garrison of Bautista, on the Rio Grande, he advocated significant if not drastic changes. When he was there the captain presented to him, in the name of the soldiers, a memorial setting forth the peculiar conditions from which they sought relief. Viceroy Moctezuma[26] established in 1698 a flying

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[26]José Sarmiento Valladores, Count of Moctezuma, was Viceroy of New Spain, 1696-1701.--Priestley, The Mexican Nation, 149.

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company of thirty-three men, to defend the missions located near the Rio Grande. He told the missionaries to select a location for the company. The padres thereupon placed the soldiers so close to the Mission of San Juan de Bautista that the prayers of its Indians were audible in the farthest barracks of the soldiers. According to the memorial of the soldiers, the missionaries gave them neither any land to cultivate nor any water from the spring there, on the pretext that the lands and the water belonged entirely to the Indians. No one ever relieved the soldiers from this predicament, and they supported themselves only on their subsidy wages, having no land except that on which their quarters stood. Rivera did not act upon the soldiers' plea when he inspected the company, for, since the missionaries exercised seemingly delegated authority over it, he preferred to wait until the

Viceroy could act.

The first condition needing remedy was that of financial uncertainty. When the garrison was established, thirty years before, the royal treasury could not afford its support. It was therefore arranged "that in all of the presidios then existing there should be divided into shares the amount to go to each of these soldiers, up to the total of the funds necessary for the maintenance of the new company", at the annual rate of 300 pesos for each soldier and 500 for the captain. This arrangement continued unbroken, sufficiently maintaining the soldiers but causing the people of that region to suppose that the King gave the missionaries the right not only to locate but also to control the garrison, surrendering his entire interest in it.[27]

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[27]Rivera implied, in the first part of his Proyecto, that the 10,100 pesos paid annually to the soldiers of Bautista came from the royal treasury, and he included that amount in the annual presidial total of 438,883 pesos. He mentioned frequently, however, the contributions from other presidios to the maintenance of Bautista. See Chapter III.

Investigating this matter for the Viceroy in the office of Don Joseph de Gorraez, of the viceregal secretariat, Rivera found ample verification of the two grievances contained in the memorial presented to him by the captain. One of these was that the title, "flying company", was unworthy, implying aimlessness as well as homelessness. The real purpose of the establishment was the defense of the missions and the pacification of the country.

For this end the Viceroy should no longer call the garrison a flying company but a regular presidio, and should make public the fact that the royal treasury would be henceforth the sole source of the presidial salaries. He should also order the Governor of Coahuila to employ an intelligent person to survey lands west and north of the river for the use of the presidio. The spring of water should also be assigned to the presidio. There was plenty of land east of the Nogales River, and water in that river for the use of the missions, and they would suffer no harm by the change. It should be made known that the King was the sole owner of the unreduced garrison and its lands.

The remaining grievance was the employment of the soldiers, two at a time, in each of the four missions of San Juan de Bautista, San Bernardo, Peyote, and La Punta de Lampazos. As mayordomos in these missions the soldiers were overseers of farming. They should be restored to military functions in a location of their own. The King should not have to pay for service that he was not receiving. The missions had Indians enough for their farm work, and the plea of the missionaries that they needed two soldiers at each mission to control the Indians was unworthy of consideration. Instead, the missionaries should employ some of the numerous poor men thereabouts, give them enough land for their own crops, and get as much service as from the soldiers. The King expressly ordered that his soldiers do only the work for which their units were established. More than one hundred

fifty missions should heed that statement, and refrain from using the labor of soldiers, even with the dignified pretext of protection. Such abuse should be corrected also in the two missions near the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar.

It might be argued, Rivera continued, that these four missions near the Rio Grande had as much right to employ soldiers as the missions in eastern Texas. The eastern missions, however, had no Indians "under the bell" as the Rio Grande missions had, and therefore actually needed the presence of soldiers to relieve the solitude of the missionaries. According to that principle, neither the two missions at Béjar nor these four on the Rio Grande should enjoy the privilege of using soldiers, in pairs, as mayordomos. When the flying company was established at Bautista, the missionaries were alone and needed the presence of the soldiers. That need disappeared as the four missions acquired many Indians. The presence of soldiers in these missions should therefore cease, as it should also in the missions in eastern Texas if they had resident neophytes. The thirty-two soldiers of Bautista would improve in duty and discipline if removed from the service of the missions. When Rivera inspected the garrison, one of its soldiers had been working, for a year and a half, in the mission of La Punta de Lampazos, fifty leagues from the Rio Grande and in the province of Nuevo León. Nevertheless, two adjacent missions, Candela and Santiago, had no soldiers and needed none. The Governor of Coahuila advised the Viceroy on this matter,

which needed reform.

Rivera briefly advised that the presidios of Monclova in Coahuila and Cerralvo in Nuevo León remain as they were when he left them, except of course in the creation of a lieutenancy in each and the allowances for the biennial purchases of guns. Each presidio needed its full force for the protection of the country.[28] Cerralvo was ten leagues from the Rio Grande, and in

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[28]Rivera showed, in his later discussion of escort-service between Saltillo and the Rio Grande, his reason for desiring the retention of the whole force at Monclova. See page 181.

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that part of the province the Indians were un-Christianized and unfriendly.

At great length the Brigadier unfolded his advice and explanations concerning the small garrison of Cadereyta. In the first place, the soldiers were no longer needed in that location. They were needed when the presidio was established, for at that time there were few or no settlers between the town of Cadereyta, which was seven leagues east of the city of Monterey, and the Sierra de Tamaulipas, which was the resort of hostile Indians. Since then, however, the towns of Pilón, San Christóval, and Linares, centers of sheep-ranches, had sprung up southeast of Cadereyta, between it and Tamaulipa. Raiding Indians therefore struck these towns first, and their citizens and shepherds bore the brunt of these attacks, repelling them or suffering from them,

while the presidio, in the rear of these civilians, was of no aid. The citizens were all armed and the ranchers maintained their own hired guards. The town of Cadereyta was safe behind such a barrier. The Indians, in fact, were already reduced to the scale of mere occasional horse-thieves, of little future danger to that neighborhood. The royal purpose in promoting the organization of provincial towns was the insuring of their self-defense. Cadereyta had within "the sound of its bell" more than one hundred fifty families, able to muster at least one hundred mounted defenders and independent of the services of the royal garrison.

The garrison therefore should be moved to the town of San Pedro de Boca de Leones, which was also in Nuevo León and in great need of military assistence. Rivera acknowledged here another change of mind in him, for in the preceding March he recommended the transfer of five men from the presidio of Coahuila to Boca de Leones as a sufficient solution of the Indian problem there. His advice underwent the usual scrutiny of Auditor Olivén Rebolledo, who said that Rivera should have further access to the official documents concerning that town. These documents, among which was a royal decree, caused this change in Rivera's recommendation.

From them he learned that Governor Barbadillo advised and the missioneries of Nuevo León requested that a presidio be established at Boca de Leones for the protection of the neighboring mines. When the proposal reached the King he decreed, at San

Ildefonso, October 1, 1727, that the Viceroy should decide, from further information available to him, whether or not the presidio should be established. The benefit to the locality from the temporary protection afforded by the soldiers sent there by Governor Barbadillo, from the two presidios of Nuevo León, was proof that the town should have a permanent presidio.

Combining the need of Boca de Leones for a presidio with the lack of any such need in Cadereyta, Rivera supported with two more arguments his proposal of transfer. In the first place, he withdrew entirely his earlier advice that five soldiers detached from Monclova should protect the mines of Boca de Leones. He was convinced that the Coahuila garrison needed its entire force of thirty-five men and should be deprived of none of them. In the second place, if the eight soldiers of Cadereyta were removed to Boca de Leones, which was only twenty leagues from Monterey, the province of Nuevo León would be losing none of its soldiers by the abolition of the presidio of Cadereyta. On the contrary, royal, public, and private interests would be conserved in that province by the removal of the soldiers from a place of no need to a place of real need.

Rivera urged also a change in the command of these soldiers. Their captain should be dismissed, for he was so wedded to the comforts of his age and the interests of his home in Cadereyta that he would not be willing to leave that town. Besides, the soldiers would need no captain at Boca de Leones, for the

lieutenant could serve as well, commanding his seven fellow-soldiers. To insure faithful, uninterrupted protection to the mines, the lieutenant and his seven men should be under some superior in that service, although not in their other duties. For this directorship, in the interests of the mines, Rivera nominated Don Juan de Noriega, a wealthy mine-owner, known for his ability, good character, and civic spirit. As director of the garrison's services to the mines, he should have the power to dismiss any soldier for disobedience or inefficiency and appoint another in his place. In the hands of Noriega also should be the administration of the supplies for the soldiers, but because of past experiences of the presidios in dealing with handlers of supplies, he should receive no salary. Above him in command of the eight soldiers should be, of course, the Governor of Nuevo León, not with the power of taking them away from Boca de Leones or from their duties there, but with that of reviewing them and maintaining the quality of their service.

The squad of twelve soldiers stationed at Saltillo was, in Rivera's opinion, no longer necessary, and should be abolished. When he inspected it he received a petition from its captain, Don Mathias de Aguirre, for a regular schedule of the escort-duties required of the soldiers. There was no schedule of any kind, and the soldiers were used incessantly for that service by all parties traveling to Texas. The resulting overworking of men and horses caused extra labor, worry, and loss. A fixed rule

governing the times of escort would effect a great relief. Rivera sent the petition to the Viceroy, who in October ordered it sent, with documents relative to the origin of the Saltillo garrison, to the Auditor-General. He advised, in November, that Rivera should suggest both a time-schedule for escorts to the Rio Grande and possibly a new form. Upon the Viceroy's order Rivera read the relevant documents and reached the conclusion that the escort-service through Coahuila needed reorganizing.

The squad was stationed at Saltillo by Viceroy Valero[29]

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[29]Baltazar de Zuñiga, Marquis of Valero, was Viceroy of New Spain, 1716-1722.--Priestly, The Mexican Nation, 183.

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to do that service for the supply train of an expedition which was intending to enter Texas. A recent defeat of the Monclova garrison, with heavy casualties, by hostile Indians, meant that the supplies for that expedition would not reach the Rio Grande unless escorts were provided. The expedition having been completed, the Saltillo soldiers continued the escort-service with increasing strain on their time and strength. Whoever crossed the province called on them for protection. The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, recently in Texas, advised the Viceroy that the escort of the Saltillo squad was no longer necessary. Some kind of escort-service, however, was necessary, thought Rivera, for the protection of supplies on their way to the presidios in Texas.

In the meanwhile Viceroy Valero added ten men to the presidio of Coahuila in 1721, because the recent terrible defeat was attributed to the fact that the garrison then numbered only twenty-five. With the passing of years the danger of another defeat disappeared, and with it the need of the extra ten men. That number should therefore be detached regularly from the presidio for escort-duty as far as Bautista on the Rio Grande. For that reason Rivera abandoned his earlier idea of sending five men from Monclova to Boca de Leones. The assignment of the escort-duty to detachments of the Monclova garrison would make possible the abolition of the Saltillo squad, at a saving to the royal treasury.

The new escort-service should be systematic, in order to avoid the abuse which the former service endured. Instead of responding at any time to anybody's request for an escort, the presidio of Coahuila should send ten men, four times a year, down to Saltillo, there to be ready on the first day of each quarter to begin the journey as escort for travelers and supplies bound for the Rio Grande. Half-way between Saltillo and Bautista they would pass through Monclova, where these ten soldiers would be relieved by another ten who would complete the journey. Each detachment would be absent from the presidio about a month, and at the presidio two months, in every quarter. In this manner neither the escorts nor their horses would be overworked, and none of the soldiers would be limited, as was the

case at Saltillo, to escort-service only. The route from Saltillo to the Rio Grande should not include Boca de Leones, for that road was long and difficult and would miss Monclova, where the escort was to be changed.

Rivera was ready with arguments to refute possible objections to his new plan. If it caused irritation to people who preferred to request escort without regard to schedule, they could be reminded that such service was available between El Paso and Santa Fé only twice a year, and that the distance between these two presidios was the same as that between Saltillo and the presidio of the Rio Grande.[30] To critics who would compare

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[30]Rivera stated here that the distance from Saltillo to Bautista was one hundred thirty leagues. In his Diario he said that it was one hundred two leagues, and that the distance from El Paso to Santa Fé was one hundred thirty two leagues.

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the new system unfavorably with the monthly service between Pasage and Parral, he would reply that Pasage was the only gateway for travel into Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, and New Mexico, the first two of which were so thickly settled that they required frequent commercial traffic and therefore monthly escort-service. On the contrary there were in Texas only a few presidios and missions, and no other settlements. Travelers who considered three months too long to wait at Saltillo for escort could soon learn so to time their travel as to arrive there shortly before the first day of a quarter-year, remaining at home until the time came to go to

Saltillo. The new plan would save royal funds, lighten the burden of the soldiers, and assure the safety of traffic.

Another small and useless garrison was at Los Valles, and should be abolished. The eight soldiers there, commanded by the alcalde-mayor and paid from the royal funds of Christian Indians' tributes, did nothing but guard the house of the alcalde and accompany him on his tours of the provincial pueblos. The men of the vicinity called themselves soldiers and were therefore, being mostly of mixed races, exempt from tribute. Instead, they served as militia against hostile Indians, as was the case also at the town of Guadalcazar, west of Los Valles. These militiamen were so numerous that the alcalde-mayor used one hundred fifty of them as mounted guards for the "Monument" on Holy Thursday. Many more assisted, on foot. They could defend the region against any Indians possibilities. The small garrison of eight men, unnecessary to the peace of the province and attendant only upon the alcalde-mayor, should be discarded, and the money hitherto wasted upon them should be devoted to more urgent royal needs.

The abolition of the squads at Durango, Saltillo, and Los Valles, and of the presidio of Dolores, or Texas, meant the dismissal of their sixty soldiers from the royal service. They should not be received into any other military units, thought Rivera, for none of those units needed any additional soldiers. Wherever such need might arise, recruits of good quality would be available.

Before concluding his Proyecto the Inspector added the gratifying statement that, as a result of his investigation in and advice from Durango, the Viceroy reduced from 6,000 to 2,000 pesos the annual appropriation to the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya for "expenses of peace and war." This saving of 4,000 pesos per year was not exactly a result of his presidial inspections, Rivera admitted, but he felt entitled to mention it none the less, since the problem was among the causes of his inspection.

In conclusion he asserted that his only motives in all of his labors were the glory of God, the service of the King, and the improvement of the presidios. His conscience was clear whether or not all of his judgments and suggestions were wise, for he tried to carry out every item of the instructions given to him at the beginning of his task. He hoped that his Proyecto would bear out his motives, and that the Viceroy would not disregard it, and that inquiring readers of it would kindly ignore his errors, knowing that they were merely the results of his desire for greater accuracy. If his work should prove fruitful it would be due to the zeal with which the Viceroy showed the need of presidial reforms and the wisdom with which the King authorized the inspection. Conventionally requesting the Viceroy to use such parts of the Proyecto in the forthcoming Reglamento as were acceptable, Rivera advised him to keep the two documents separate, in order to avoid confusion, for the Reglamento would be governmental and would contain specific ordinances.

Although the new presidial sizes and salaries, as specifically recommended in Rivera's Proyecto, seemed meagre indeed, they were nevertheless reasonably in line with the adjustments which he had made when he visited the presidios. Four garrisons were to be abolished, but of the remaining nineteen, ten were to suffer no further reduction in personnel.[31]

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[31]They were Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, Santa Fé, El Paso, Janos, Sonora, Sinaloa, Bautista, Monclova, and Cerralvo.

Each of these ten was to receive a larger total salary than he prescribed during the inspection. The increase was due, in four of these, to his commutation of a biennial gun for each soldier into an annual allowance of fifteen pesos,[32] and, in all of them,

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[32]See note 21, above.

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to his addition of distinctive amounts to the salaries of subalterns. The only presidio which was to have no captain was that of Cadereyta, although in Santa Fé, Sinaloa, Adaes, and Monclova the office of captain was enveloped in that of governor. Rivera created only one office, and that without title, in proposing a civil directorship for the soldiers who were to be transferred from Cadereyta to Boca de Leones. He apparently left the number and

rank of subalterns as he found them.[33]

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[33]See note 22, above.

Very soon after he completed the Proyecto, Rivera was entrusted by the Viceroy with the task of drafting the Reglamento, which was to be the presidial code of New Spain.[34] With charac-

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[34]The Reglamento is summarized in Chapter VI. See Chap-VI, note 13.

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teristic thoroughness the Inspector prepared that official documentary expression of the reforms for which his whole work of inspection was planned, carried out, and reported. He finished this work in April, 1729.

Immediately thereafter he wrote for the Viceroy a report which, accompanying the Reglamento, pointed out certain features of it, made necessary explanations, gave some reasons in support of new regulations, and offered some suggestions concerning promulgation. This advice Rivera signed April 21, the day after the Viceroy signed the Reglamento.[35]

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[35]Pedro de Rivera, Consulta, Mexico, April 21, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 69-1-41. University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1739). Because this document was a part of the viceregal completion of the visita, the summary of

contents appears in Chapter VI, pages 218-220.

After the publication of the Reglamento, Rivera's documentary labors grew less strenuous and more occasional. While that lightening of his load was in process, he turned his attention to the compilation of his diary. When he wrote the final version of it is not known. Using the notes and records which he daily wrote during his travels, he prepared this unofficial work for publication. It was printed in 1736 by Sebastián Arebalo in Guatemala, where Rivera was at that time governor and captain-general.[36] In the introduction to the Diario the author summarized

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[36]See Chapter VIII, note 7, below.

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the story of the origin of his visita, and stated his purpose in writing the book. He wished to prevent the burial, in oblivion, of the facts which he acquired, at the cost of much fatigue, concerning the provinces and the presidios. He implied that his diary was to become a part of a series of historical accounts of New Spain.[37]

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[37]Pedro de Rivera, Diario y Derrotero de lo caminado, visto y obcervado en el discurso de la visita general de Presidios situados en las Provincias ynternas de Nueva España. From this book is derived, in large part, the account of Rivera's journey, in Chapter III, above. See also his itinerary, in Appendix A, below.

Rivera mentioned, in this diary, every place at which he spent a night during his tour of inspection, besides many places through which and near which he traveled. To some of the uninhabited places he gave names. He invariably recorded distances, directions, locations, sojourns, topography, and resources. He usually recorded also his impressions of landscapes, climate, weather, and inhabitants. At intervals he included general descriptions of the provinces, stating the location and relative size of each province and its general conditions, physical, social, economic, and political. His entries were not entirely descriptive, however, for they mentioned freely his tasks, his performances of some of them, and some of his adventures. Every sentence indicated the genuine interest of the writer in what he was seeing and doing. The diary ended with the simple statement of his arrival in the City of Mexico, June 21, 1728.

Indirectly a work of Rivera was the compilation, by Lieutenant-Colonel Barreyro, of the provincial maps and descriptions which that officer, as Rivera's assistant, produced serially during the journey of inspection. Barreyro, like his chief, prepared his reports at several places during that period, for transmission to the Viceroy. Upon official request the Engineer compiled from his earlier documents one general report, signed February 10, 1730 and consisting of six maps and six descriptions. In each description he included the number and nations of Indians living in the pueblos of the area described, some of the hostile

nations, the soil and its products, the climate, and the kinds of animals. In this way de described "the Province of San Joseph del Nayarit, in the Kingdom of Nuevo Toledo; the Province and Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya; the Province and Kingdom of New Mexico; the Provinces of San Juan de Sonora, San Yldefonso de Ostimuri, and San Phelipe y Santiago de Sinaloa; the Province of Coahuila in the Kingdom of Nueva Estremadura, and the Kingdom of Nuevo León; and the Province of Texas, in the Kingdom of Nuevas Philipinas." Five of the maps presented respectively the areas named in five descriptions. Accompanying the description of Texas, however, was a smaller-scaled map of the whole region of the Interior Provinces of New Spain, "from 21° to 41°, north latitude."[38]

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[38]Francisco Albarez Barreyro, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-3-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). From the original manuscript in Seville were removed the pages containing the maps and parts of the descriptions. The transcript indicates these omissions. See Chapter III, note 4, above.

Rivera continued his documentary labors at intervals throughout the remainder of the life of his patron, Viceroy Casafuerte.[39] These remaining documents, however, were neither reports

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[39]The Marquis of Casafuerte died March 17, 1734. Francisco Fernandez Molinillo, to Patiño, Mexico, March 30, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 90-217, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

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nor recommendations arising directly from his inspection, but were his responses to the Viceroy's requests for specific advice or explanation. The occasion for each of these documents was usually, though not invariably, one of controversy. Rivera came to be a regular counselor to the Viceroy, who called on him for information and advice concerning not only the presidios but also the missions, the problems of colonization, the provinces and their governors, explorations, and indeed almost any questions that confronted the government of New Spain. The Brigadier defended, in these later papers, his presidial decisions and regulations, as well as his impressions of economic, social, and military conditions in the provinces.

These defensive and advisory documents, like his serial reports of the presidios, survived only scantily the ravages of two centuries. The surviving papers represent, however, an illustrative variety of topics.[40] In 1729 the Inspector expressed

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[40]These documents are cited and summarized in Chapter VII, below, among the other results of Rivera's inspection.

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his disapproval of a recently concluded official exploration, which failed to achieve its objectives along the Rio Grande, in Nueva Vizcaya. In 1730 he urged the rejection of a special reglamento which the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya was proposing for his province. At that time it seemed necessary also to defend the

Reglamento of the Viceroy, in the application of that code both to Nueva Vizcaya and Sinaloa. In that same year Rivera wrote at least twice his criticisms of and opposition to some of the plans which the King was slowly maturing from the earlier suggestions of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, concerning especially the civil colonization of Texas. In 1730 and again in 1731 the doughty Brigadier defended his Texan reforms from the attacks made upon them by the missionaries. Throughout 1731 he was answering questions and proposing solutions of problems concerning the three remaining presidios of Texas. His services to the Viceroy included not only the making, but also the defending and sustaining of presidial and provincial reforms.

CHAPTER VI

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTARY COMPLETION OF THE VISITA

1728 - 1732

As keenly interested in completing as he was in beginning the entire project of presidial inspection was His Excellency, Don Juan de Acuña, Marquis of Casafuerte, Viceroy of New Spain. Neither the inspection itself nor the voluminous writings of Rivera and his assistants concerning it could have permanent legal effect until the Viceroy and the King, with their advisers, recorded final instructions and approvals. Six weeks after the return of Rivera to the City of Mexico the Viceroy gave him the formal order to write his triple account of the condition in which he found the presidios, the work that he did in them, and the recommendations that he made for their future administration. It was this order that Rivera used, in the following December, as a preface to his long report, the Proyecto.[1] The Viceroy was

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[1]Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto Mandado y visita de Presidios hecha el año de 1728, Mexico, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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explicit in this order that Rivera should write his account in

three distinct parts, making each part so plain as to leave no doubts concerning the motives and plans of the inspection, the procedure of the Inspector, and the proper arrangement of the presidios. The decree required him particularly to show what presidios should be moved, retained, or extinguished; how many officers and soldiers, and at what salaries, there should be in the presidios; the code of regulations that should prevail in each presidio; and the lands that should be utilized for presidial sustenance. Casafuerte was careful to add that he would make, later, the "final deliberation" for the presidios.

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[2]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, August 2, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

When Rivera submitted the desired report in December,[3]

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[3]See Chapter V, page 156

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accompanied by the maps which his assistant, Barreyro, made,[4]

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[4]See Chapter III, page 61 and Chapter V, page 188 above.

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the Viceroy lost little time in placing the documents in the course of official examination. His first step was to transmit

them to Auditor-General Juan de Olivan Rebolledo, for his formal opinion.[5] That dignitary, however, replied a few days later

[5] Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, December 13, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

that the examination of Rivera's general report and maps was a necessarily slow process and would require the presence also of the records of the inspection of each presidio. This would enable the Auditor to determine whether the recommendations of the inspector, in this report, conformed with the decrees which the Viceroy issued as results of the separate and serial inspection-records. This investigation was necessary, continued Olivan Rebolledo, because Rivera's report failed to cite, in its recommendations concerning each presidio, the Viceroy's decree or decrees on that subject.[6] On the following day the Viceroy ordered

[6] Juan de Olivan Rebolledo to Casafuerte, Mexico, December 17, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX. University of Texas transcript.

that these records be sent to the Auditor-General.[7]

[7] Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, December 18, 1728, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Thus equipped, Olivén proceeded leisurely to formulate his official opinion, which he completed on March 21, 1729. The first part of it he devoted to an introductory description of the report itself, listing its three divisions. This done, he approved two general recommendations contained in the report: that the allowance of six pounds of gun-powder be made to each soldier, the amount assigned to each presidio being entrusted to the agent or attorney thereof for his delivery to the captain, who was to distribute it to the soldiers; and that to this agent of each presidio be entrusted the entire amount of salaries thereof, with no discounts of any kind except those which the Viceroy should order the penalized captains to make good, payment being made annually by royal officials at the capital city to the agents as the Viceroy might direct. In the third and long portion of the opinion the Auditor-General expressed approval of the specifications in Rivera's report concerning the number of soldiers and officers, including a chaplain, to be maintained in each garrison, the extinction of the four garrisons of Durango, Dolores, Saltillo, and La Villa de Los Valles, the removal of the Cadereyta garrison to La Boca de Leones, and the establishment of the new presidio of Sacramento in the location chosen by Rivera. In order to make the approvals as precise as the specifications were, Olivén repeated them all, presidio by presidio.[8]

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[8]For these specifications, see Chapter V. Pedro de

Rivera, Proyecto, Tercer Estado, Mexico, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

In addition he made at least four suggestions of his own. One of these was that the salaries of the Durango squad of fifteen men should be paid only up until the end of December, 1728, the garrison being abolished thereafter. In the second place, he would confirm the recommendations of Rivera only in so far as they conformed to the Viceroy's plans and wishes regarding the whole project of presidial reform, refusing to confirm any possibly opposing recommendations. It should be left to the Viceroy, anyway, to determine the date of cessation of salaries of those soldiers whose services were to be discontinued. As for the recommendation of Rivera that twenty-five families be colonized in San Antonio de Béjar, the cost defrayed by the saving effected in the reduction of the size of the garrison there, Olivén deferred opinion until Rivera could further advise concerning the desirability of locating families near the presidios in general.[9]

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[9]Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, March 21, 1729, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Receiving this comprehensive opinion of the Auditor-General the Viceroy soon sent it on to Prudenzio de Palazios, the Fiscal,

together with all of the papers upon which Oliván Rebolledo based it. Palazios was requested to give his opinion also of Rivera's report, "with the understanding that the establishment of the Presidio of Sacramento is not now under discussion and that the formulation of the code of presidial regulations is already under consideration."[10] Palazios complied, almost a week

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[10]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, March 23, 1729, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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later, submitting a very brief report. He agreed with all that the Auditor-General said in his opinion and with all that Rivera said in his report, and praised the Inspector for his zeal and judgment in performing his great work. The Viceroy, said Palazios, could follow with confidence the recommendations of Rivera, in formulating the new code.[11] Satisfied with the approval of Palazios

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[11]Prudenzio de Palazios, Respuesta, Mexico, March 29, 1729, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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and of Oliván Rebolledo, and expressing his own approval of Rivera's report, the Viceroy ordered the drafting of the presidial code, and the preparation of copies of this preliminary correspondence for inclusion in the records to be sent to the King and

the Council of the Indies.[12]

[12]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, March 30, 1729, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Now that the report of Rivera was a legally valid basis for the code that was to govern the presidios, the production and promulgation of the viceregal decree containing this code were for the next six weeks primary matters of official attention. The document, signed on April 20, 1729, by Secretary Antonio de Aviles, was the Viceroy's formal Reglamento for the frontier presidios. It contained a full introduction, 196 regulations, nine complete price-lists of commodities that might be sold at the various presidios, and a concluding order of enforcement.[13]

[13]This Reglamento, summarized in the nineteen pages following, is found in Casafuerte, Reforma y ordenanzas, Mexico, April 20, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 52-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Bunn, 1723-1729).

There could be little or nothing necessary to the general management of the presidios that was omitted from the Reglamento.

In the introductory portion of this decree, the author neatly traced its evolution. Plainly he showed the unsatisfactory condition of the presidios that required remedy, the official procedure in launching the inspection of them, the minimum

narrative of that inspection, the making of the official report based thereon, and the official acceptance of that report, which made possible this Reglamento. Its provisions must be carried out, he ordered, until such time as His Majesty, the King, would either approve or disapprove them. For all presidial officers the Viceroy approved then and there the payment of annual salaries higher than those of private soldiers, at the rate of thirty pesos extra for each lieutenant, twenty for each alferez, and fifteen for each sergeant, and the same individual allowance of six pounds of gun-powder for the officers as for the soldiers.

Following this introduction came, in ten sections, the long list of presidial regulations. The first section, containing twenty-three of these, specified the number of officers and soldiers and the amount of their salaries in each presidio, following the schedule recommended by Rivera in his report.[14] This

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[14] See Chapter V, page 162.

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schedule included the abolition of four garrisons, and, for ten of the remaining nineteen, a higher salary roll than Rivera left in effect at the conclusion of his inspection. The Reglamento thus confirmed the decrease which Rivera effected in the cost of presidial maintenance. The Viceroy once estimated this annual

cost at 370,000 pesos and Rivera found it to be actually 438,883 pesos,[15] but now it was to be fixed at 281,930 pesos. The Viceroy

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[15]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, May 25, 1723, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript. Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto, Primer Estado, Mexico, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

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must have felt some satisfaction in this prospect of economy.

The next twenty-seven regulations set forth the military duties, responsibilities, and restrictions of governors and commandants of the presidios and of the Interior Provinces, as officers superior to captains. These governors were required to submit lists of their soldiers and officers regularly to the Viceroy, showing ages, service-records, and nationalities; to confer subalterns' positions temporarily, pending confirmations; to accept resignations of captains wishing to resign; to nominate to the Viceroy, for each captaincy vacant, three men worthy of appointment ad interim thereto, the Viceroy's appointee to receive two-thirds of the regular salary, pending royal confirmation; to see that this Reglemento was enforced in the presidios; to try presidial cases of capital offenses, sending the papers to the Viceroy for final decision; to put citizens, when needed for aid in expeditions against Indians, at the disposal of the captains; to give help, if possible, when asked by officers of other presidios; to direct the local alcaldes in assigning friendly Indians

to the captains for use in expeditions against hostile Indians; to command in order of precedence when cooperating with one another in military expeditions the highest rank belonging to the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya; to assign to captains the duty of hearing and adjusting disputes arising among the settlers adjacent to the presidios; and to reside in the governors' places of residence, particularly the Governor of Nuevo León in Monterey, and the Governor of Texas in Adaes.

These requirements were matched in number by the prohibitions laid upon the governors. They were forbidden to appoint any presidial inspectors, except themselves in emergencies of which they must give full account; to bestow the title of lieutenant of the captaincy-general except upon officers who were to assist the governors in their duties; to appoint company officers, such as alferez and sergeant, as was formerly done; to appoint captains or to permit them to leave the presidios except on official business; to use soldiers for unpaid private work and errands; to have anything whatever to do with the sales of goods to the soldiers; to perform judicial functions with secretaries of their own choosing; to make war against friendly or peaceful heathen Indians, or to assist any friendly heathen Indians in so doing; to hinder the captains in their pursuit of hostile Indians; and to receive any money from officers or soldiers, even for alms or for contributions to saints' fiestas, or to permit soldiers of one presidio to ask money of those of another for

any such purpose.

The third section of this main part of the Reglamento contained thirty-three regulations, numbered 51 to 83 inclusive, dealing with the duties of captains, included among whom were the four governors who served as such, in New Mexico, Texas, Sinaloa, and Coahuila. The captains were expected to keep accurate records of enlistments and salaries, and to fill all vacancies in the garrisons promptly with men fit for the royal service; to keep account of the duration of each vacancy, sending this account to the Viceroy and returning to the treasury all money sent out for salaries of soldiers whose service was less than the full time and who therefore were to receive less pay; to release soldiers who were too frequently sick to be useful; to see that the soldiers' confessions and other spiritual duties were attended to before making expeditions against Indians; to buy from soldiers who were leaving the service, any horses and arms needed for new soldiers; to require each soldier to carry lance, gun, and broad-sword, in expeditions against Indians; to enforce uniformity of dress and development of military skill among the soldiers; to maintain complete equipment of the soldiers in clothing, arms, and horses, each soldier to have one pack-mule and six horses, except at Nayarit where three horses for each soldier would be sufficient; to keep the books of enlistment-contracts open to the inspection of all soldiers; to afford escort

only to travelers who were entitled to it, requiring them, while using it, to conform to military schedules of departures and arrivals; to permit only legitimate creditors to collect money from the soldiers; to arrest criminal fugitives who might arrive, and surrender them to justice; to select only excellent soldiers for the position of sergeant; to pay personally for drums and trumpets included in captains' equipment; to send aid to other presidios at their request; to assist judges, when requested, in the apprehension of criminals; to see that the soldiers kept their horses in good condition and themselves clean and neat; and to require the soldiers to go promptly to guardquarters to hear mass on fiesta days.

There were almost as many restrictions upon the freedom of action of the captains. They were not permitted to exempt any soldiers from regular duties assigned; to recruit any men not personally known to them; to collect any salary for a soldier's position that was vacant; to allow the soldiers' loss of horses by gambling; to use soldiers on private errands or in private interests; to pay any soldier's salary in advance; to let any soldiers leave the district on trivial pretexts; to allow laxity in discipline; to make war against friendly heathen Indians unless they were "stubborn enough for punishment"; to impose any discounts or commission charges upon any soldiers' salaries; to take horses or mules away from the soldiers; or to tolerate any soldiers' debauchery, mistreatment of horses, or

falling out of line while on the march.

Neither chaplains nor missionaries escaped regulation, in this lengthy decree. A section of eight articles, numbered 84 to 91 inclusive, prescribed certain functions for these presidial clerics. They should remain at their posts to administer the sacraments, unless called away by duty; say Mass in the presidios on fiesta days at such hours that all of the soldiers could hear it, missionaries officiating in the absence of regular chaplains; accompany expeditions against hostile Indians, one chaplain or missionary with each detachment; remain after administering holy sacraments, in times of great danger, in order to help with "the necessary care that approaching death requires"; exact no higher fees for burial or marriage service than were permitted by the King for the archbishoprics in which the presidios were located; and refrain from meddling in the measures taken by presidial military officers, beyond the mere giving of advice.

At this stage of the formulation of the Reglamento, the author apparently considered it complete as far as instructions about general behavior of presidial officers were concerned, and devoted the remainder of this portion of it to topical matters of presidial administration. These, however, involved many questions of official conduct, and instructions thereon continued to appear in many of the regulations. Sixteen of these, numbered 92 to 107 inclusive, were ordinances concerning precedence in

rank and the rights and obligations of subordinates. Governors and commandants of provinces were to have precedence over captains when cooperating with them, and over one another according to the provincial origin of the enterprise, the governor or commandant of the province in which the common cause originated having precedence over his colleague or colleagues.

The order of precedence continued down from captains through lieutenants, alferezes, sergeants, and corporals, to the private soldiers. Subordinates must obey all orders from superiors. In the event of cooperation between two detachments from different presidios, commanded by subalterns of equal rank, seniority determined precedence for the occasion. Subordinates had to show respect in the presence of superiors by standing, uncovered. The consent of the commander of a presidio was necessary for the marriage of any officer or soldier. Mutinous acts or attempts by soldiers were to meet prompt arrest and punishment by the officers, the penalty to include imprisonment followed by banishment from the province. Deserters from any presidio, arriving at another, were to be arrested, held, and returned to their own officers. Soldiers who committed capital offenses were to be tried in full court by their commanders, complete accounts of each case being sent to the Viceroy for his final decision. The soldiers, nevertheless, had their rights, too, such as the right either to enlist or to resign without official compulsion or hindrance. The right of sanctuary, even in cases of

criminal offense, belonged to the soldiers, and when they sought refuge officers could secure custody of them only by judicial, non-violent procedure.

The sixth section of this main body of the Reglamento contained regulations numbered 108 to 138 inclusive, dealing with routine duties and prohibitions within the presidios. Every presidio not already equipped with guard-quarters was required to build some immediately and every guard station must be well equipped. Guard mount was to take place in the afternoon. The officer in charge of this duty was to register his soldiers before it began, to insure their providing themselves with arms and ammunition; to require them, while together, to recite devoutly the Rosary of Our Lady; to furnish armed escort for the Holy Sacrament whenever it was carried to a sick person in or near the presidio; and to bear full responsibility for the efficiency and the conduct of the soldiers of the guard. These likewise were obligated to keep their arms and shields ready for instant use, and to refrain from any looting of one another's equipment and from having any cloaks on their shoulders at the time for guard mount. Should the Holy Sacrament pass within view of the soldiers of the guard, they must present arms. Should an officer pass by, the sentinel of the guard must place his gun over his left arm, with his right hand over it. The squad guarding the horses was to number one-fifth of the garrison and was to be changed every fifteen days. This guard must be constantly alert to prevent

surprise-attacks. The sentinels must keep moving while the other members must keep silent, in order to detect the sound or the approach of enemies. Neither the guard commander nor any of his men might mount a horse without being fully armed for defense. When changing horses, these soldiers must work in two shifts, or in three if enemies were known to be near, so that while one-half or possibly only one-third of the guard might be changing horses, the other members would be mounted and ready for action.

In the presidio as a whole, soldiers were forbidden to carry pistols or other concealed weapons, to disappear from their quarters "with no other reason than their pleasure", to remove their arms for cleaning, without official consent, to sell any equipment either to residents or to travelers, to blaspheme any holy name, to fail in performance of duty without sufficient reason, and to perjure themselves as witnesses. For these offenses dire penalties threatened, ranging from mere fines to imprisonment and loss of salary. On the other hand, soldiers were commanded to inform the Viceroy, as Captain General, of any frauds perpetrated upon the treasury or upon themselves by captains or commandants who were drawing salaries for any soldiers' positions that were vacant or were collecting illegal prices and salary-discounts from the soldiers. Such complaints were to bring down neither menace nor penalty upon the complainants. The captains were to avoid all temptation to impose any discount upon any soldiers' salaries, by paying out only such sums, and to only

such persons, as were specified by viceregal authorities. Captains were carefully to send to presidial agents at the capital city, who were to transfer money due from the treasury to the presidios, accurate lists of the amounts that were due. These same presidial agents were also to transfer the allotted amounts of gunpowder to the presidios, at the rate of six pounds for each soldier. Captains who violated any of these regulations or who failed to enforce them faced such penalties as fines, compulsory restitutions, loss of positions, and imprisonment, according to degrees of negligence or guilt. The royal officials at Durango, formerly charged by the Viceroy with the duty of reviewing the garrisons at Pasage, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, and San Bartolomé whenever en route to Parral on provincial business, were now specifically ordered to discontinue that practice.

So important was the proper management of escort-service to travelers, goods, and their horses along the royal highway through the Interior Provinces that the Viceroy devoted to this matter fifteen articles, numbered 139 to 153 inclusive, of his Reglamento. A traveling bishop or missionary in any of these provinces, or a royal official on routine journeys between Durango and Parral, was to have an escort of at least eight men supplied by each presidio in turn along the way. This escort was to be larger if necessary. For travelers and pack trains, more liable to robbery than officials and clergy were, the presidios in Nueva Vizcaya must supply escort of fifteen men. Between El Paso and

Santa Fé, between Bautista and San Antonio de Béjar, and between San Antonio and Adaes mutual escort-service was to remain at the customary size, ten men from each presidio, whenever such service was needed. For pack trains entering the province of Sonora the presidio of Janos should furnish escort as far as El Río de Santa María Bazaraca. During each lunar month a corporal and ten men must go from Pasage to Durango and return by way of Saucedo, Puerto de Tumba Carretas, San Juan del Río, and Santiago Papasquiaro, affording regular escort to travelers from Durango to Sombrerete and for royal officials on their way from Durango to Parral.

Already effective by previous decree and ordered continued by the Reglamento was the detachment of a squad once every three months from the presidio of Coahuila at Monclova for use in the early part of each month as escort for travelers from Saltillo to Texas. If at the first part of any month during each three-months' period the squad should find no travelers at Saltillo awaiting escort, the Governor of Coahuila should assign these soldiers other duties until the beginning of the next quarterly period. Under no circumstances might any soldier serving as escort ask for any gratuity of any kind from any escorted person, although a voluntary gift from him was not forbidden. In traversing any region inhabited by friendly but non-Christian Indians, these soldiers must refrain from entering any group or settlement of such Indians, in order to avoid the risk of pro-

provoking hostilities.

The eighth section of the regulations contained thirty-five articles, numbered 154 to 189, and dealt with the duties of the governors and commandants of the Interior Provinces concerning the peace and security of Indian pueblos. Six of these regulations applied to all of the provinces in general, ordering the governors to visit the pueblos in their provinces, to send aid from one presidio to another when needed even though the two presidios involved were in different provinces, and to afford each mission full military protection from the nearest presidio whenever the mission was endangered; and forbidding officers and soldiers to take any horses, mules, or commodities from any Indians of the pueblos without paying full price therefor, and to stir up any disorder among Indians either in pueblos or on their farms.

The remaining twenty-nine regulations in this section concerned the obligations of specified presidios and provinces in this matter of dealing with the pueblos. In New Mexico the governor was to send a detachment of twenty men under a subaltern to visit the pueblos twice every year, in May and in October, on the express errand of maintaining peaceful relations; likewise to exercise great care in naming alcaldes in these pueblos who would deal justly with the Indians; and to send a squad of soldiers to protect any pueblo that was in danger of attack by non-Christian Indians. The commander at Janos was to visit the

settlements along the Valley of Buena Ventura, to guard carefully against hostile surprises by the Apache Indians of the Gila Valley and of the Chiricague Mountains, and to assign a corporal and twenty-five soldiers to the assistance of the presidios of El Paso and Sonora against hostile Indians. Upon the captain at El Paso rested reciprocal obligations, together with the duty of protecting the food-producing settlements near El Paso. The captain of the presidio of Sonora, likewise obligated to the assistance of Janos and El Paso, must also visit regularly the friendly Indians of the Pimería Alta, furnish twenty-five soldiers when necessary to the Governor of Sinaloa for fighting the Seri and Tepoca Indians, and guard the whole province of Sonora against the conspiracies of those Indians. The commandant of Sinaloa was himself to visit annually, with a squad of soldiers, the three pueblos of Mayogame, Baurigame, and Chinipas, and to send, at the beginning of December in each year, fifteen men in charge of a lieutenant to visit the other pueblos of Sinaloa and to observe the condition of the "restless" Indians, especially the Seris, Tepocas, and the Pimas Bajos. The commandant of Nayarit was expected to maintain, by reguler visits to pueblos in the province, the same peacefulness that had characterized it since its conquest.

In Nueva Vizcaya the governor with his escort, the captain of the presidio of Gallo with twelve men, and the captain of the presidio of Conchos with fifteen men were each required to

visit annually some of the pueblos of that province, the itinerary of each of these officials being so arranged that their combined routes would cover the whole province and forestall possible disorders. The two captains were to report their findings and activities to the governor, at the end of each regional visit. The governor was to appoint the annual times for these visits and to distribute the duties connected therewith among the officers and soldiers of all of the presidios in Nueva Vizcaya. The captains of these presidios were to make special efforts to extinguish seven specified Indian tribes, all notoriously hostile, and to capture as many of these Indians as possible and send them as prisoners to the neighborhood of the City of Mexico, in order to relieve the peaceful settlements from the assaults of these incorrigibles.

In Nuevo León the governor was to supervise annually the defense of the ranch men and settlers against the attacks of Indians from the Rio Grande Valley. In November the captain of the Cerralvo garrison was to lead his twelve soldiers to the small valley between Linares and the San Antonio, where each ranch owner, interested in this protection, was to add to this force two men, fully equipped and paid. Thus protecting the entire winter pasturage from devastation, the captain was to discard his ranch-paid soldiers in May and return with his own men to Cerralvo. During his six months' absence the residents of Cerralvo had the responsibility of defending the town against any marauders from

the Rio Grande Valley.

In Coahuila the governor must see to it that the pueblos were regularly visited, as well as the frontiers, for this province must protect not only its settlements but also its through traffic between Saltillo and the Rio Grande. The captain of the presidio of Rentists on the Rio Grande was required to patrol frequently the banks of that river thirty leagues above and thirty leagues below his presidio, to make expeditions with the captain of the Monclova garrison against unfriendly Indians, and to send thirteen soldiers to San Antonio de Béjar when it needed aid against the Apaches. The captain at Béjar was reciprocally obligated to the presidio of the Rio Grande. One of the main duties of the captain of Bahía was to lead expeditions against the Cocos, the Cujanes, and the Carancuas, along the coast.

The Governor of Texas, at Adaes, was expected to assign two soldiers to constant duty at each mission near his presidio because these missions contained no neophytes; to cultivate and maintain friendly relations with the Indians of his province, except Apaches; and to send an annual expedition of twenty-five soldiers, detached from the presidios of Adaes and Béjar, to explore that part of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, between Bahía and the Sabine River, which Rivera ordered explored in search of possible entrances of foreigners into the province of Texas. This annual march was to proceed from Béjar to the coast,

along the coast to the lower Sabine, and thence northward to Adaes.

Following this longest section of the regulations came a short one containing only six articles, numbered 190 to 195 inclusive. These laid down certain requirements concerning the treatment of Indian enemies in times of hostilities. Governors and captains were ordered to refrain from making any personal use of Indian prisoners; to restore captured Indian women and children to their families, in the hope of lessening reprisals; to send all other prisoners to the City of Mexico; to admit and negotiate with any Indian enemies who might come to propose peace, dealing with them generously enough to induce them to make and to preserve peace; to recover stolen horses and cattle and to capture the despoilers, without bloodshed if possible and without punishment unless they resisted; to send to the City of Mexico all Indians captured while fighting in Nueva Vizcaya since releasing them served hitherto only to encourage them to continue their depredations in that province.

The code-maker concluded his listed regulations with article number 196, which gravely stated that he was omitting from this Reglamento all rules that were not essential, since the inclusion of such rules would produce confusion and their omission would serve better to emphasize the regulations that were essential to the "greater service of His Majesty."

This final numbered article, however, did not conclude

the Reglamento, for the Viceroy had yet to deal therein with the problems of regulating the prices of goods sold to the soldiers in all of the presidios. Plainly he asserted that the lack of such regulation in the past caused inefficient and fraudulent administration of the garrison especially in the payment of salaries. He acknowledged gratefully the expert, disinterested advice of his official assistants concerning the formulation of fair price lists to be observed in the presidios. He took into consideration the original cost, the transportation, and the desirability of each commodity, and a reasonable profit for the purveyors. He would permit the sale of any commodity at less than the fixed price, but forbade both the raising of any price and the selling of any goods not named in the price list that was in effect at the place of sale.

Taking into account the differences in distance from the City of Mexico and from Vera Cruz, in costs of transportation, and in seasonal demands, the author put into the Reglamento nine complete price lists, to be effective in as many presidial regions. The first list was to be observed in the presidios of Nayarit, Pasage, Gallo, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, and Conchos; the second, in Santa Fé; the third, in El Paso; the fourth, in Janos; the fifth, in Sonora and Sinaloa; the sixth, in Adaes; the seventh in Béjar and Bahía; the eighth, in Bautista on the Rio Grande; and the ninth, in Coahuila, Cerralvo, and Cadereyta. The lists were almost of uniform length,

ranging from ninety-seven to one hundred three items. These prices were to remain in effect until the Viceroy himself permitted such changes as circumstances might warrant.

Naturally the contents of these nine lists were much the same, but the variations in prices of the same commodities in different presidios indicated that the Viceroy did indeed take into consideration the costs of transportation.[16] A gun,

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[16]See Appendix C, for a comparative view of the nine price-lists.

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for instance, which was priced at twenty-five pesos in the provinces of Nayerit, Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and Nuevo León, was to bring thirty pesos in any of the other provinces. A bushel of corn was to be worth only twenty reales[17] at Bautista if produced on

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[17]Eight reales made one peso.

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a private estate, or two pesos if produced at any of the nearby missions, but at Adaes that much corn would be worth five pesos, and in the far western provinces, four pesos. The lists included corn, flour, live stock, chocolate, tobacco, guns, swords, saddles, bridles, implements, hats, shoes, garments of every kind, cloth, thread, paper, and ornaments. Wearing apparel was classified in graded sizes for men and for women. Cloth-lists

included cottons, silks, and woolens of various grades, named from the Spanish towns and provinces and foreign countries in which the fabrics were made, and measured by the vara as the unit of sale.[18] Thread was to be sold by the ounce. The entire

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[18] A vara is thirty three and one-third inches.

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price-lists were evidences of the intention of the Viceroy to eliminate from the presidios all mercantile and financial practices that could lower in the least the quantity and the quality of service to His Majesty by the soldiers of the frontier.

In the concluding paragraph of the Reglamento was the viceregal command to every presidial officer and soldier to carry out these regulations without fail, "each one in the part that shall apply to him," and to the officials of the treasury to exercise care in calculating the annual salary-roll of each presidio according to the number of its soldiers and their length of service, as from January 1, 1729.

With the Reglamento the Viceroy had a map prepared which would give a quick view of presidial conditions as he was now establishing them. This map showed the locations of the presidios and their distances from the City of Mexico, together with figures representing presidial enrollments and salaries, the cost of the administration of Nueva Vizcaya, the former total annual

costs of the administration of the presidios, and the costs of this as set forth in the Reglamento.

That the Viceroy was only the nominal author of the Reglamento and that the real author of almost all of it was Inspector-General Don Pedro de Rivera might be easily surmised, then and now. That fact became apparent when Rivera, on the day after Secretary Aviles had signed the Reglamento, addressed a report to the Viceroy concerning that document. This report showed that Rivera prepared it immediately after his completion of the Reglamento in order to present to the Viceroy a brief description and certain explanations of that long document, not knowing that the Viceroy had already accepted it. The Inspector accordingly informed his superior that the Reglamento prescribed the "status in which the presidios have remained", their numbers of officers and soldiers, the reduction in size in some of the garrisons, the extinction of some others, the gradations of officers' salaries according to rank, the annual allowance of fifteen pesos to each man for his biennial purchase of a gun, and a long list of regulations governing the activities of officers and soldiers. These regulations could have been more numerous, continued their author, but would have become thereby the more confusing.

Of most importance, he thought, were those which dealt with salaries, the sale of commodities to the soldiers, and prices, for unless these matters were kept above reproach there could be

little efficiency in the presidios. Prices were therefore based upon those customary within a given province and upon the distance of a given presidio from the City of Mexico. The regulation of commodities needed by the soldiers of the presidios in Nueva Vizcaya was the same as that which the Duke of Linares[19]

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[19]Fernando de Alencastre, Duke of Linares, was Viceroy of New Spain, 1711-1716.--Priestley, The Mexican Nation, 183.

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had ordered used in Parral. Nayarit was included in the same category, although its soldiers were to be paid less than those of Nueva Vizcaya, because there was less need for expenditures in Nayarit than in Nueva Vizcaya. On the other hand, salaries were to be higher in Santa Fé, El Paso, Janos, Sonora, and Sinaloa than in Nueva Vizcaya, because the greater distances of these northern and western presidios from Mexico meant proportionately higher costs of goods. Distances also dictated the relative prices of goods in the presidios of Adaes, Béjar, and Bahía. At Monclova, Cerralvo, and Cadereyta the salaries were to be like those in Nueva Vizcaya, as were the prices of commodities. At Bautista on the Rio Grande, however, the price level would remain as high as in these other presidios, while the salaries would be less, because they always had been less and the soldiers there were accustomed to maintaining themselves more economically. Apparent inequalities in regional prices would be balanced by

corresponding differences in supply and demand, and in distances of transportation. These price-lists would save both the captains from a heavy responsibility and the soldiers from unjust encroachments upon their salaries.

Before ending this report with the usual expressions of modesty, loyalty, and respect, Brigadier Rivera offered to the Viceroy two suggestions concerning the form and final contents of the Reglamento. In the first place it was for the Viceroy to decide what the penalty should be, for each violation of the code, and Rivera had therefore marked with a cross each article that should carry a penalty so that the Viceroy could write the penalty in the adjacent margin. The fact that Rivera signed this advice a day later than the Viceroy accepted the Reglamento perhaps accounted for the inconsistent irregularity with which penalties were originally expressed in that decree. In the second place, it would obviate confusion if in the Reglamento sent to each presidio were only the salary-list, regulations, and price-list applicable to that presidio, so that each captain would see the more clearly the duties pertaining to his own presidio.[20]

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[20] Pedro de Rivera, Consulta, Mexico, April 21, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

On that same day, April 21, the Viceroy sent his Reglamento to Auditor-General Juan de Olivén Rebolledo to undergo his

official scrutiny and receive his opinion, "in the understanding that the penalties are not to be imposed according to the royal ordinances without being adapted and proportioned to the nature of the country and its municipal laws, and conformed as far as possible to Spanish practice."[21]

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[21]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, April 21, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

The learned judge completed his opinion on May 9, adding on the following day a brief postscript. Characteristically verbose, the document was nevertheless plain in outline and specific in points of advice, presenting six topics for the consideration of the Viceroy. First of all, the Viceroy's immediate approval of the Reglamento would be quite legal and wise, pending its formal establishment by the decrees and military ordinances of the King. This approval would put into prompt effect the presidial reforms which the royal cedulas of December 4, 1719, and May 12, 1722, contemplated,[22] and would enable the Viceroy to send to the King

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[22]See note 2, Chapter II.

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a certified copy of the Reglamento, together with the maps, for the royal consideration. To insure the accuracy of that copy, either Oliván himself or Rivera could examine it for errors,

comparing it with the original, with a copy of Rivera's Proyecto, and with a copy of the regulations already printed. Secondly, Oliván advised, the Reglamento should be enlarged to include complete provision for the future presidio of Sacramento, which the Viceroy earlier decided to establish when and where Rivera should deem suitable to public interest. This provision should specify for that presidio its allotted number of officers and soldiers, their salaries, a price-list of commodities, ample regulations, and the relations of the presidio with the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, placing it under the control of the Governor of Coahuila. In the third place, the Auditor-General believed that if noble birth entitled men to honors and rewards, certainly Brigadier Rivera also deserved full recompense for his onerous toil in the royal service, consisting of his expedition of inspection, his valuable reformation of the presidios, his advice upon provincial matters, and his concise exposition of all these things in his Proyecto and maps. The fourth suggestion offered by Oliván was that wherever the Reglamento mentioned the authority of the Viceroy as "Superior Government", a correction should displace this purely civil term by the proper military designation, "Captaincy General." The Laws of the Indies, which the judge duly cited, clearly distinguished between the civil and the military powers of viceroys, and all of the powers that the Viceroy of New Spain was to employ under the terms of the Reglamento would be in his capacity as Captain General.

The fifth portion of the opinion of the Auditor-General consisted of amendments proposed for fifty-two of the articles in the Reglamento. These amendments consisted of penalties to be attached to violations of the regulations, and of clarifications of wordings. The principal penalties to await violators of these regulations were the losses of salary, position, or even liberty, sometimes including the assignment to hard labor, and the payments of fines and damages, the penalties being graded according to the gravity of the offenses. Some of these penalties were already expressed in the Reglamento, and Olivén approved of them, while others he himself proposed. Eleven of his fifty-two amendments contained corrections in or additions to the wording of as many regulations, for the purpose of preventing any possible misunderstanding. He made it clear, for instance, that Durango was to outrank Parral as headquarters of the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya; that the end of each year was the proper time for presidial commanders to certify the time-record of vacancies in their personnel; that either the legal authorization or the objectives of each regulation should be plainly expressed; and that the extinction of seven hostile tribes in Nueva Vizcaya, as required by regulation number 187, should be accomplished by seizures and removals rather than by killings. To each of the fifty-two amendments Olivén attached the full citation of the source from which he derived it, in the Laws of the Indies.

His sixth and last proposal in this opinion, apparently

an after-thought which he wrote on May 10, was that the Viceroy would do well to advise the King on the question of providing for the care of old soldiers of New Spain in the manner prescribed by the Reglamento of Habana, which was already in effect in that Audiencia. In support of this proposal the Auditor-General cited two of the Laws of the Indies.[23]

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[23]The opinion summarized above is found in Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, May 9-10, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

The same day the Viceroy ordered that the opinion which Oliván Rebolledo had submitted be sent to Rivera for his guidance in perfecting the Reglamento.[24] He was to prepare it for printing

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[24]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, May 10, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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and to enter in it, at the designated points, the penalties advised by Oliván and the most of the other matters proposed in his opinion. On two of these matters, however, the Viceroy remained adamant. There must be no provision in the Reglamento "for the present" concerning the establishment of the presidio of Sacramento. Neither could any change be permitted in regulation number 49 concerning the place of residence of the Governor

of Nueva Vizcaya, for he must continue in Parral.

The production of the final draft of the Reglamento, with complete copies of it for various viceregal officials and copies of portions of it appropriate to the respective presidios and governors must have required considerable time, for not until October 6, 1729, did the Viceroy send the document to the King for supreme approval and promulgation.[25] In requesting

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[25]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, October 6, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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these the Viceroy briefly asserted that the Reglamento was the result of long and hard labors, that it would become effective in each presidio when published there, that each presidio would preserve its own copy thereof, and that the undoubted result would be a great improvement in the military service. A marginal notation on a copy of this letter of transmission recorded the fact that the Viceroy sent letters, that same day, to all of the nineteen remaining presidial commanders and the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya as well, notifying them that the Reglamento would go into effect at once in their respective locations.

Accompanying all of these official decrees, opinions, and letters was the production of certified copies of them for preservation in the royal archives. Additional copies were

sometimes made, months afterward, and certified still later by notaries. Thus it happened that on November 26, 1729, a secretary presumably made another copy of the Viceroy's decree of May 10 in which he ordered Rivera to make the final draft of the Reglamento.[26] The certification of this copy was signed by

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[26]Secretaría, Razón, Mexico, November 26, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

Secretary Antonio de Aviles on March 16, 1730, the validity of whose signature was duly attested, that same day, by three other notaries of the court, Juan Rodríguez de Posada, Juan Joseph de la Cruz Aguilar, and Juan Antonio Valderrama.[27] The letter of

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[27]Antonio de Aviles, Concuerda, Mexico, March 16, 1730; Juan Rodríguez de Posada, Juan Joseph de la Cruz Aguilar, and Juan Antonio Valderrama, Damos fee, Mexico, March 16, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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the Viceroy to the King, October 6, 1730, transmitting the Reglamento, underwent similar copying, and the copy, similar certification and attest, a procedure which was completed on that same March 16, 1730.[28]

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[28]Ibid.

Meanwhile the Viceroy followed his brief letter of October 6 with a full report to the King, March 2, 1730, enclosing therewith the complete copies of the instructions and other papers given in 1724 to Rivera, his Proyecto of 1728, and apparently another copy of the Reglamento of 1729.[29] The report

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[29]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 2, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

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contained a concise history of the whole project of presidial reform upon which the Viceroy had been intent since his arrival in 1722. He began the report by reviewing his letter of May 25, 1723, to the King concerning the lamentable condition of the presidios and the proposal of remedy, the King's agreement to this in the royal decree of February 19, 1724, and the instructions given to Rivera in September, 1724.[30] The Viceroy then proceeded

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[30]See notes 6, 7, and 10 in Chapter II.

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to recount once more the abuses which formerly prevailed in the presidios. Their total annual cost was 444,883 pesos, including 6,000 pesos paid to the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya for "expenses of peace and war." These costs were too high because the soldiers' salaries were too high, and they in turn were too high because

they were discounted about eighteen per cent in favor of dishonest payments of regular fees to commanders and collectors. That practice became brazenly customary, known to all ranks of officials, and condoned by preceding viceroys. Equally reprehensible was the sale of necessary goods at exorbitant prices to the soldiers, many of whom were in places where their needs were at the mercy of contractors in collusion with captains. There was no code of presidial regulations, and some commanders therefore behaved as independent lords, often using for their private gain the labor of their soldiers at the expense of the royal treasury. Some of the presidios ceased to be of real value to the Kingdom. So entrenched were these abuses that the hope of removing them, relieving the treasury, and improving the administration of the presidios depended not only upon the efficiency of the Viceroy and upon the allowance of ample time for the work, but also upon the unfailing support of His Majesty, the King.

The Viceroy devoted the third portion of this report to the actual procedure of himself and Rivera in the inspection and reformation of the presidios, omitting no essential point in the narrative thereof from 1724 to 1729, and citing, throughout, the corresponding sections and articles in the accompanying records. Rivera found ample proof of all allegations of presidial evils. He showed sterling character, great endurance on a "laborious journey in his advanced age," and such benefits to accrue from his work that he deserved the full favor of the King. On that

matter the Viceroy promised to write later at more length.[31]

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[31]Some fulfillment of this appeared in his letter of April 9 to the Secretary of the Council of the Indies. See note 33.

Rivera performed his work steadily, despite the incessant pretexts, intrigues, and threats that confronted him from commanders, contractors, collectors, and cattlemen, whose dishonest and unwise practices he was eliminating. These men sent to the Viceroy dire predictions of the damages that Rivera's reforms would cause. Some of the captains in Nueva Vizcaya made special efforts to persuade the Viceroy to halt these changes, one of the captains traveling to the City of Mexico for that purpose. The Viceroy, however, recognized the selfish interests behind these requests, refused to give the captain audience, and ordered him back to his post. Rivera, after his return to the capital city, busied himself in the preparation of his three-part Proyecto, and afterwards in that of the Reglamento. The Viceroy here stated the fact, already long implied, that Rivera was the author of the Reglamento. It represented an annual saving of 160,953 pesos to the royal treasury, and yet Rivera made the presidios much better than they were before. After briefly describing the Reglamento the Viceroy stated that he ordered it effective as of July 1, 1729, without waiting for the formal royal approval, for that much delay would

be harmful both to the treasury and to the presidios.

In the concluding part of his report the Viceroy requested the royal valuation of his work in general and of the Reglamento in particular, assuring His Majesty that the reform cost long and hard work but no extra money from the treasury, for the savings effected by the reform were greater than the expenses. For every item in the accompanying records Casafuerte would vouch personally. Although many items might seem queer and unnecessary, to a reader in Europe, yet they were correct. Space did not suffice to explain every one of them. For example, regulation number 65 specified one mule and six horses for every soldier, and observation had shown that this number was necessary for the proper performance of each soldier's duties. The Viceroy ended his report with humble assurances of his proper attitude toward his great and important work, with an apology for its defects, and with an avowal of confidence in the wisdom with which the King would give the whole affair his consideration.

On this same day the Viceroy also sent to the King seven maps drawn by Engineer Barreyro, together with a brief letter of explanation. With pardonable pride Casafuerte stated that he definitely instructed Inspector General Rivera to learn, relative to each presidio, its latitude, location, and province that it served, the boundaries, topography, and hostile neighbors of the province, and inter-presidial distances and facilities for communication and assistance in case of rebellion. This

information Rivera was to express in a map also, if possible. His engineer, Barreyro, performed this task, having encountered therein difficulties and obstacles such as did not exist for similar work in Europe. In five of the maps Barreyro showed regionally the provinces which he and Rivera visited, and in the sixth map showed them all together, in smaller scale. Never before, said the Viceroy, was that feat accomplished. The seventh map showed the Castle of Acapulco, which, though far from perfect, was nevertheless capable of defense, since attack there would come by sea, and no enemy would be likely to bring sufficient force from that direction.[32]

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[32] Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 8, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1735).

Five weeks later Casafuerte made his full report to the Council of the Indies, addressing to its Secretary, Don Gerónimo de Uztariz, a letter of explanation. In this the Viceroy gave a brief account of the origin and nature of the great presidial inspection and reform, and said that he was sending the records thereof to the Council because he received through the Council the orders of the King concerning that work. These records consisted of three volumes of documents and, in one small box, six maps. The instructions and other papers given in 1724 to Rivera,

his Proyecto of 1728, and the Viceroy's Reglamento of 1729 constituted the three volumes. The maps were the five regional maps and one entire small-scale map by Barreyro, the Acapulco map being omitted.[33] On the margin of the Viceroy's letter the recipient

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[33]Casafuerte to Uztariz, Mexico, April 9, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

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wrote that it arrived in Spain August 29, and that the Council of the Indies duly referred it, with the accompanying maps and records, to the royal Fiscal for his perusal and opinion.[34]

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[34]Consejo de Indias, Al Fiscal, Madrid, August 31, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

That dignitary responded with characteristic speed, for he signed his reply January 6, 1731. In it he merely acknowledged the receipt of the documents pertaining to the great presidial reformation, briefly described Casafuerte's accompanying letter, and expressed perfunctory approval in the words "no parece ay que hacer."[35]

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[35]Fiscal Real, Respuesta, Madrid, January 6, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

The Council of the Indies thereupon took action. The senior accountant of that body, Don Pedro de Herrera, detached from its copy of the Reglamento the map which Casafuerte had sent with that document, and put this map with the seven other maps that he sent, for convenient use by the Council.[36] In recording the

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[36]Pedro de Herrera, Razón, Madrid, January 10, 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1739); Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 60-5-8, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

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transfer of this map, Herrera noted briefly its geographical and statistical items of information. On that dame day the Council directed its secretary to write to Viceroy Casafuerte acknowledging the receipt of his report with maps and records, and the pleasant satisfaction with which the Council regarded his zeal and achievement.[37]

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[37]Consejo de Indias, Acuerdo, Madrid, January 10, 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

After further delay of about six months, the King signed, at Seville, July 30, 1731, the approval which Casafuerte requested more than a year earlier.[38] The royal decree summarized the

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[38]The King to Casafuerte, Seville, July 30, 1731, Archivo

General de México, Bandos, II. No. 23; Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, Vol. 154, No. 7, University of Texas transcripts.

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report which the Viceroy signed March 2, 1730,[39] identified the

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[39]See note 29, above.

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documents that accompanied it to Spain, approved the entire procedure and results of Rivera's work of inspection, and gave the force of law to the Reglamento as of July 1, 1729. In addition the King commanded the Viceroy to send certified copies of this decree to all governors and presidial commanders, and to report promptly to the Crown the receipt of this decree and his formal compliance.

Don Joseph Patiño, Minister to the King, also signed this decree, and dispatched a copy of it that same day to Casafuerte with a request that he acknowledge receipt of it.[40] Three

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[40]Joseph Patiño to Casafuerte, Seville, July 30, 1731, Archivo General de México, Bandos, II, No. 23; Archivo General de México, Internas Provincias, Vol. 154, No. 7, University of Texas transcripts.

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weeks later, however, Patiño sent a corrected copy to the Viceroy with the explanation that the first copy gave May 29, 1729, as the date of the signing of the Reglamento, instead of the correct

date, April 20, 1729. The correction of the error entailed the re-copying of the entire decree.[41]

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[41]Joseph Patiño to Casafuerte, Sevilla, August 20, 1731; The King to Casafuerte, Sevilla, July 30, 1731. Archivo General de México, Bandos, II, No. 23, University of Texas transcript.

The remaining stage in the legal validation of the Reglamento took place at the court of Viceroy Casafuerte. He signed a decree, January 15, 1732, which acknowledged the royal approval of the Reglamento, expressed compliance with the royal decree, and ordered the printing of fifty copies of it for proper distribution and attachment to all copies of the Reglamento.[42] His

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[42]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, January 15, 1732, Archivo General de México, Bandos, II, No. 23; Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, Vol. 154, No. 7. University of Texas transcripts.

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secretary, Don Antonio de Aviles, certified to the accuracy of the copies of the King's and the Viceroy's decrees, some of them on January 21 and some January 28, 1732, comparing these copies with those on file in the vice-regal secretariat.[43] All of this

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[43]Antonio de Aviles, Concuerda, Mexico, January 21, 1732; Antonio de Aviles, Concuerda, Mexico, January 28, 1732, Archivo General de México, Bandos, II, No. 23; Archivo General de México,

Internas Provincias, Vol. 154, No. 7, University of Texas transcripts.

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official recognition, however, ensued from the arrival of the first and incorrect copy of the royal decree. When the correct copy arrived, the entire process had to be repeated. The Viceroy signed his new decree of compliance, April 14, 1732, acknowledging the correction of the dating of the Reglamento in the royal decree and ordering the printing of the correct copy and of the letter of Patiño therewith, for official distribution and for attachment to all copies of the Reglamento.[44] As usual, he ordered that the copy which came from Spain be deposited in his secretariat.

Thus ended the long process of giving legal effect to the work that Inspector General Rivera performed during his long journey to the presidios. Eight years had gone by since he began his preparations for that journey, four since he finished it, three since he produced the Reglamento, and nearly two since the Viceroy promulgated it. The occasional production of new copies of some of these official papers, however, continued during the following decade. In Madrid, for example, Don Antonio de Salazar y Castillo, a secretary in the service of the King and of the Council of the Indies, certified, July 27, 1737, to the accuracy of a copy which another secretary, Don Simón Mozo de la Torre, made ten days earlier, of Camafuerte's report to the King concerning

the inspection of the presidios.[45] Royal officials continued,

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[45]Antonio de Salazar y Castillo, Conguerda, Madrid, July 27, 1737, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

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for some time thereafter, their interest in the maps, reports, and decrees which were among the results of Rivera's inspection.[46]

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[46]See Chapter VII.

CHAPTER VII

SOME RESULTS OF THE INSPECTION

The promulgation of the Reglamento by the Marquis of Casafuerte in 1729 marked officially and nominally the achievement of the presidial reforms which he had begun to visualize when he became Viceroy of New Spain in 1722. Not until a generation later, however, did the full measure of the merits and the defects of the reforms become apparent. Controversial opinions concerning these waxed and waned during that time and thereafter, but never ceased entirely. In the course of controversy and administrative adjustment enough evidence appeared, and enough record of such evidence survived, to make reasonably clear the principal results of the great inspection. Among these were not only the problems and changes that developed later in the presidios, the missions, and the provinces, but also the outcomes of projects which originated prior to the inspection and were pending throughout that period.

One of these projects was the establishment of a new presidio on the Rio Grande between Bautista and El Paso. The Viceroy, notwithstanding his desire for economy and his condemnation of presidial abuses, lent a willing ear to the suggestion of the Auditor-General, in 1724, that additional military protection

along the Rio Grande would result in additional settlement and development of that region. The instructions given by the Viceroy to Rivera, on the eve of the inspection of the presidios, included the order to investigate the necessity and the potential advantages of any changes in presidial locations, for the more efficient defense of territory and encouragement of expansion.[1] That this

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[1]Casafuerte, Instrucciones que se le dieron a Dn. Pedro de Rivera, Mexico, September 15, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). The contents of this document are described in Chapter II, above.

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statement alluded to further civil and military settlement along the Rio Grande was shown by the Auditor-General who, commenting approvingly upon the instructions, presented his store of information concerning the area thus to be settled and defended. He believed that it would, if protected, become a center of mining and agriculture.[2] He was uncertain whether that defense should

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[2]Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, October 2, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). This document is summarized in Chapter II, above.

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be provided by the establishment of a new presidio in that area or by the transfer thither of one or more of the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya.

Inspector-General Rivera kept this matter in mind when, late in 1725 and early in 1726, he visited the garrisons of Passage, Mapimí, Gallo, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, and Conchos. With the exception of moving the soldiers of San Bartolomé into barracks fourteen leagues away from that town, he made no changes in these presidial locations. In the town of San Phelipe de Chihuahua, in April, 1726, he heard from citizens the account of a recent uprising of the Indians near La Junta de los Ríos, at the junction of the Conchos River and the Rio Grande. Although the violence of these Indians seemed directed mostly against the missionaries of that locality, Rivera and the residents of San Phelipe realized the necessity of protection for the whole valley of the Rio Grande. He agreed with the citizenry that a presidio at or near La Junta de los Ríos would protect the missions there from further trouble and would facilitate direct traffic between Bautista and El Paso. Towards that end he wrote to the Viceroy, giving both news and advice.[3]

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[3]Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, San Phelipe, April 23-24, 1726. These letters were reproduced, in summary, by Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, June 3, 1726, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

The Inspector apparently did what he could towards the establishment of that presidio. It should bear, he said, the name of Sacramento. The new garrison need not add one peso to

the burdens of the treasury, for detachments from eight other presidios, transferred to Sacramento, would man that fort sufficiently without the enrollment of a single new soldier. He accordingly detached four men from Pasage, three from Gallo, three from Hepimí, and twelve from Conchos, ordering their transfer to San Phelipe to await there together their final transfer to Sacramento whenever the Viceroy might determine. Rivera intended also to detach five men from El Paso, five from Janos, and five from Sonora for the same purpose, but canceled that part of his plan when, a few months later, he perceived the exposure of those three presidios to the fierce Apaches of the Gila region. At Sinaloa, however, he detached thirteen soldiers from that garrison for transfer to Sacramento.

Meanwhile, his plan was modified, but confirmed by the Viceroy. When the letters of Rivera, advising the establishment of the new presidio and the detachment of fifty soldiers from eight other presidios for that purpose, came into the hands of the Auditor-General, he observed that Rivera contradicted his own earlier statement that some of those presidios needed all of their men for their varied duties. It would therefore be wiser, the Auditor believed, not to detach any soldiers from other presidios for Sacramento, but to employ fifty new soldiers for it. Their salaries could easily be paid out of the savings effected by reductions in presidial salaries. If Sacramento must have soldiers of long experience, let the detachments be made

from other presidios as specified for that purpose, but let the fifty new men replace the detachments, for these other presidios needed their entire quotas of strength.[4] In accord with that

[4] Ibid.

advice the Viceroy decreed, June 11, the establishment of the new presidio, to be located wherever Rivera might determine on the Rio Grande, and within the jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya.[5] The

[5] Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 11, 1726, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-3-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1736).

annual salary rate was to be three hundred fifty pesos, and the individual allowance of powder, six and one-half pounds.

Returning early in 1727 from Sinaloa to San Phelipe de Chihuahua, Rivera spent three months in that city, where he heard more and wrote further to the Viceroy concerning the future presidio. The Inspector found so much diversity of opinion on the subject that he advised delay until definite decisions were possible. The captain-designate, Captain Antonio Beserra Nieto, of Janos, was ill, and was requesting one hundred men instead of fifty for his new presidio. There seemed to be a possible need for as many as eighty on account of the labor of construction, Rivera admitted. The governor said that friendly Indians could

be used to supplement the new garrison, the cost to be borne by the special annual fund of 6,000 pesos allotted to Nueva Vizcaya "for peace and war", and that Juan de Urrutia would be suitable for the captaincy instead of Becerra, who could be returned to his post at Jenos. The missionaries were requesting the establishment of a civil settlement with the presidio, involving the construction of a church, a square, and several homes.[6] Altogether the subject was becoming more complicated and expensive than it seemed in 1728.

[6]Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, San Phelipe, April 22-25, 1727. These letters were summarized by Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parezer, Mexico, May 19, 1727, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Such news called for new decision in the City of Mexico. Reviewing Rivera's letters, the Auditor-General advised the Viceroy to authorize all of the changes suggested by Rivera, the governor, and the missionaries, and to order the immediate execution of the plan as amended. The eighty soldiers, moreover, should be paid one year in advance, and at the higher rate of four hundred pesos. Rivera and Engineer Barreyro should make a map of the site, showing the streets, buildings, and pastures.[7]

[7]Ibid.

The Viceroy, however, decided that Rivera's advice to delay the project was sounder than Oliván's opinion, and decreed at once that the establishment of the new presidio was suspended until the problems incident to it could be solved. The detached soldiers were to return to their respective presidios, and Captain Beserra was to return to his post at Janos. The treasury was not able to bear this additional presidial burden, and the soldiers selected for Sacramento were needed more in their own presidios.[8]

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[8]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, May 19, 1727, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Neither Inspector Rivera nor Auditor-General Oliván Rebolledo was willing to let the project remain permanently neglected. When Rivera returned to the capital, a year later, and began the writing of his Proyecto and other reports, Olivén sought to revive the plan of establishing the presidio of Sacramento. He urged the Viceroy, in August, 1728, to order immediate procedure to that end, and to colonize the vicinity of the presidio with families, as Rivera was proposing for San Antonio de Béjar. The Viceroy sent this advice of the Auditor to Rivera.[9]

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[9]Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Ynforme, Mexico, August 2, 1728; Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, August 3, 1728, Archivo General

de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1733).

The Inspector, however, delayed his comments until after his completion of his Proyecto in December. In that great work he included a brief account of his efforts, during his journey of inspection, for the establishment of the presidio, the suspension of that plan by the Viceroy because of lack of funds, and the desirability of a thorough exploration of the Rio Grande as far up as its junction with the Conchos River.[10]

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[10]Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto mandado . . . y reducido de la visita hecha por el Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, Mexico, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

With that much already said, Rivera turned his attention anew to the subject of Sacramento as it had been presented to him in August. On the last day of the year he gave some new advice. He declared that after his departure from San Phelipe in 1727 and his travels northeastward, he had decided that La Junta de los Ríos was not the proper location for the future presidio. He advanced four reasons for his change of opinion. La Junta de los Ríos was, according to report, a dry, barren region, lacking the pastures and fields that a presidial and civil settlement would need. The dryness was relieved usually only by floods, equally unfavorable to agriculture and livestock, and making communication

impossible. Even if the climate were better, the available space was insufficient and unsuitable for fields and pastures. The distance of that place from the provincial capitals, Parral and Monclova, was much too great for convenience. Ten leagues farther down the Rio Grande was an ideal site, free from all of the aforesaid disadvantages, and only seventy leagues from Monclova and one hundred thirty from Parral. The proposed site would be more easily defended than La Junta de los Ríos, and would require only fifty men for the presidio. There were better prospects, too, for mining activities. Thus located, the presidio should be under the jurisdiction of Coahuila rather than that of Nueva Vizcaya, and would form, with the presidios of El Paso and Bautista, a valuable barrier against all enemies. Property owners near by would aid in this defense, at no cost to the King. The annual salary rate of the new presidio should be four hundred pesos, with six pounds of powder.[11]

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[11]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme, Mexico, December 31, 1728, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

To the advice of the Inspector and the Auditor-General the viceregal ears continued deaf. When, in the course of official routine, the Proyecto of Rivera came to Olivan Rebolledo for his perusal and criticism, he took care to add to his general approval the particular confirmation of certain items, one of

which was the plan for establishing the presidio of Sacramento.[12]

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[12]Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parezer, Mexico, March 21, 1729, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Thereupon the Viceroy, sending both Rivera's Proyecto and Oliván's opinion to the Fiscal for his opinion also, mentioned firmly the fact that the proposed establishment was not at that time a matter for further discussion.[13]

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[13]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, March 23, 1729, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript.

Meanwhile Casafuerte, unwilling as yet to submit the suspended plan to renewed official discussion, was investigating the possibilities along the Rio Grande for the location of the new presidio. As early as October 29, 1728, he ordered Governor Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia of Nueva Vizcaya to send Captain Joseph Berroterán, of the presidio of Conchos, to explore the Rio Grande upstream from the presidio of Bautista to La Junta de los Ríos. The information gathered by the captain might determine whether the presidio, if established at all, should be placed at the junction of the two rivers or farther down the Rio Grande in Coahuila.[14]

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[14]Expedientes relativos a reconocimientos hechos en

Ríos del Norte, Conchos, etc., Archivo General de México, Historia, vol. 58. Cited by C. E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, II (The Winning of Texas, 1689-1731), 336. Also, Joseph Berroterán, Diario de la Campaña executada de orden del Exmo. Señor . . . para la reconocimiento de las Margenes del Río del Norte, Conchos, May 22, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-15, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

Captain Berroterán left his presidio, San Francisco de Conchos, January 13, 1729, and returned to it May 20. From Conchos he marched to Mapimí, thence east to Las Cruzes on the Nazas River, east and north to the presidio of Coahuila at Monclova, and north to the presidio of the Rio Grande at Bautista, arriving there March 15. Thirteen days later he began, with 134 men, his northwestward march of exploration. Having reached, by April 23, the region of the Sierra de las Ánimas, near the present town of Dryden, Texas, Berroterán held council soon thereafter with his officers, and decided to end the expedition then and there. He sent two detachments of his force back to Bautista and Monclova, whence they came, and with his own soldiers he traveled dismally to his own presidio. There he soon completed, for official reading, the diary of the luckless expedition. In the long circuit of his exploration he found nothing of value or importance, except a new and shorter route from Mapimí to Monclova. He pictured a miserably unfortunate journey, marred by lack of water and grass, loss of some horses and mules, lack of cooperation at Mapimí, dread of Indians, and dependence upon Indian spies for necessary information along the way. His report indicated the spirit of inefficiency

seeking justification.[15]

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[15]*Ibid.*

While Captain Berroterán and his soldiers were homeward bound from the Rio Grande and searching for grass and water as they went, the *Auditor-General* was reading in the City of Mexico the recently written *Reglamento* and preparing his comments upon it. In his formal report of approval he advised the Viceroy to enlarge the *Reglamento* by including in it the complete arrangements for the presidio of Sacramento, which should be established subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor of Coahuila.[16]

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[16]Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, *Parecer*, Mexico, May 9-10, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). For a summary of that report, see Chapter VI.

The Viceroy, however, would do nothing of the kind, and said as much when he sent the written opinion of the *Auditor* to Rivera[17]

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[17]Casafuerte, *Decreto*, Mexico, May 10, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729). See Chapter VI.

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for his use in preparing the *Reglamento* for promulgation.

On receiving from Governor Barrutia the diary of the

gloomy captain, the Viceroy transmitted it to Rivera, for his comments.[18] These were plentiful. From the diary itself Rivera

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[18]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, July 28, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara 104-6-15, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

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gathered easily the outstanding faults and failures of the expedition and the responsibility of Berroterán for these. The critic pointed out the apparent lack of enthusiasm in the captain, his introductory predictions of failure before the expedition was well started, his reluctance to go on from Mapimí to Coahuila when he failed to find as many soldiers ready at Mapimí as he expected, his consultations with officers and soldiers concerning problems which none of them could solve, and above all his failure to follow the Rio Grande up to its junction with the Conchos. The Inspector was sure that these facts, recorded by the Captain himself, proved his unwillingness to carry out the orders which he received. The irregularity of his marches made it difficult for his Indian scouts to return to him promptly, and they did the exploring which it was his duty personally to do. He had only to follow the Rio Grande, and when travel along one bank was too difficult the other side was accessible and usable. He showed no ability in conserving the strength and the resources of his command. Explorers were not supposed already to know the regions which they were exploring, but they usually accomplished

something none the less. They usually faced greater dangers and losses, too, than Captain Berroterán experienced.[19]

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[19]Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, September 9, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-15, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

With the captain's diary which the Viceroy sent to Rivera was a letter written by the Governor of Vizcaya to Captain Juan Bautista de Leyzaola, a member of Berroterán's expedition. The governor, disappointed in the outcome of the expedition, blamed Leyzaola for consenting to the breaking up of that expedition, but also blamed the author or authors of the orders which the Viceroy had sent to the governor for the direction of the expedition. The instructions contained errors, the governor said, and these errors could not be laid at the door of Berroterán and his men. The spirited answer of Rivera to that charge implied strongly that he was the real author of those instructions. In a lengthy defense of them he emphasized their vital orders that the captain should capture or exterminate hostile Indians on the north border of Nueva Vizcaya and should explore the Rio Grande and its neighboring sierras until he reached the mouth of the Conchos River. Acknowledging that the instructions to the captain contained trivial errors such as the statement of the distance between the San Antonio and San Rodrigo rivers, the Brigadier insisted that such an error was of no more consequence

than that of the captain of the presidio of Bautista, who knew nothing of the existence of "los Síbolos conchos" in Nueva Vizcaya. The important aim of the Viceroy was to extend the military power of Nueva Vizcaya throughout that region along the northeast, eliminating all possible challenge. This the expedition utterly failed to do. The French made long extensions of their power from Mobile through hitherto unknown territory as far northwest as the Missouri River, but Berroterán could not even follow plain directions long enough to find La Junta de los Ríos. The governor himself showed no signs of possessing much information about the geography of his province, resulting from his travels along its highway. Only hard work in exploration, continued Rivera, could give such knowledge, as he knew by his own experience.

The finding of a new route from Mapimí to Monclova by the Berroterán expedition, argued the Brigadier, was proof that the instructions for it were well drawn, and that it should have gone ahead and found also the route from Bautista to La Junta de los Ríos. It was still shameful that the officers of Nueva Vizcaya were as yet unacquainted with the haunts of their enemies along the Rio Grande, just as it was formerly shameful that these officers did not know how to march from their presidios in Nueva Vizcaya to those in Coahuila. Only laziness prevented the extension of His Majesty's dominion. Such extension was the purpose of the instructions to Berroterán. Officers who scorned them

as unworthy of consideration might encounter similar scorn from enemies who were few in number. Nevertheless, the discovery of the new route from Nueva Vizcaya to the presidio of Bautista was one good result of the criticized instructions, and there would be another when La Junta de los Ríos was visited and the Indians of that region were either dispersed or congregated in pueblos. On the whole, thought Rivera, the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya was little short of impudent, in his statement that the Viceroy's instructions were erroneous.[20]

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[20] Ibid.

When Rivera submitted his opinion the Viceroy sent it at once to Auditor-General Oliván Rebolledo for his.[21] He agreed

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[21] Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, September 9, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-15, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

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emphatically with Rivera in the criticism of Berroterán, comparing him unfavorably with early explorers on land and sea, who penetrated unknown regions against the odds of rigorous climate and vigorous enemies and added much to the dominion of Spain and the extent of the Church. According to the Auditor the purposes of the intended exploration of the Rio Grande between Bautista and La Junta de los

Ríos were the closer union of Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila by a new route of communication, the expulsion of hostile Indians from those provinces, the assurance of the successful establishment of the new presidio, and "many other and higher aims of the government which, meanwhile reserved, should not be published to those who have to obey without making them difficult."

In his usual analytical fashion Olivén Rebolledo set up the excuses offered for the failure of the expedition, only to knock them down again. First, he disposed of Governor Barrutia's excuse which that official expressed in his letter to Captain Leyzeola. The governor blamed the captain for his failure to go on with Berroterán, because it would enable the authors of the plan of the expedition to shift the responsibility for their own errors upon the officers of the expedition. To the Auditor that statement seemed plainly contradictory, in that its censure of an officer for abandoning the unfinished expedition was an acknowledgment that the Viceroy's instructions were correct in ordering the entire journey.

Berroterán's excuse was likewise feeble, in that it attributed the failure entirely to the lack of water, the season of the year, and the costly delays encountered during the expedition. The repetition of the march in another season, with more rainfall and less panic, would obviate all of these difficulties. The real difficulty was Berroterán himself, whose losses during the unsuccessful expedition were so small that he resembled a

soldier whose sword was never bloody and whose body was never wounded. His failure was due to his fear of failure and to his dependence upon his Indian scouts instead of upon the Rio Grande itself for knowledge of his route to La Junta de los Ríos. Such dependence could result in just such a disaster as befell the expedition which went from Santa Fé to seek the French among the Panana Indians but through carelessness met only destruction instead.[22] If Berroterán could not emulate the achievements of

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[22]The Auditor referred to the Villasur expedition of 1720. See Hackett, Pichardo's . . . Limits of Louisiana and Texas, I, 195-198.

Spanish explorers and conquerors who performed their tasks with persistent care, there were other men who could.

The expedition should be repeated before the end of the year, advised the Auditor. The same instructions should be repeated, and the lack of fear, as well as the abundance of grass and water, would insure success. Governor Elas de la Garza of Coahuila should be thanked for his contributions to that expedition and directed to repeat them and to keep account of his expenditures.[23]

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[23]Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, May 12, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-15, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

On the strength of these opinions of Rivera and the Auditor-General the Viceroy decreed, in June, 1730, that orders be sent at once to the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya for the retracing of the route which Berroterán's expedition opened up between Nueva Vizcaya and Coahuila, the renewal of the exploration of the Río Grande, the discovery of La Junta de los Ríos, and the selection of the best location for the future presidio of Sacramento.[24]

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[24]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 17, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-15, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738). Another account of the plans, statements, and events relative to the proposed presidio of Sacramento, 1724-1730, is in Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, II (The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731), 328-347.

That presidio, however, was not to come into existence until seven years later. Viceroy Casafuerte never reconciled the necessity for the presidio with the poverty of the treasury. After his death in 1734, his successor, Archbishop-Viceroy Vizarrón Eguiarreta, had apparently no intention of considering the project anew until fresh complaints from the northern provinces might make it advisable. Rivera was then in Guatemala,[25] but Auditor-

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[25]See Chapter VIII.

General Oliván Rebolledo was still in office. Keeping in mind

the long suspended plan, he awaited an opportunity to revive it.

The opportunity came in 1735, when continued ravages aroused new dread in northern Coahuila and Nuevo León and in San Antonio de Béjar. The governors of Coahuila and Nuevo León declared the need of another presidio, and the captain of Bautista urged the return of ten soldiers which he sent in 1734, by order of Viceroy Casafuerte, to the aid of the presidio of Béjar. Archbishop-Viceroy Vizarrón, impressed by the thoroughness with which Governor Blas de la Garza Falcón of Coahuila inspected and diagnosed the condition of northern Coahuila in 1734, decided to send the governor, with Captain Múzquiz of Bautista, to make at last the exploration of the Rio Grande which Captain Berroterán failed to make in 1729, and to select the best site for a new presidio. The Viceroy duly sent this proposal to the Auditor-General for his consideration.[26]

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[26]Blas de la Garza Falcón, Visita, Bautista, March 22, 1734; Blas de la Garza Falcón, Consulta, April 27, 1734; Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Parecer, August 29, 1735, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738). Consejo de Indias, Parecer, Madrid, July 27, 1740, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1741).

With very little loss of time the proposed expedition became a reality. Expressing his approval, Olivén Rebolledo reviewed with satisfaction his own and Rivera's unavailing efforts

in 1729 and 1730 to induce Viceroy Casafuerte to establish the presidio of Sacramento. That name should be given to the presidio which would result from the forthcoming expedition of the governor and the captain. With that encouragement from the Auditor, the new Viceroy ordered Governor Blas de la Garza to proceed at once to explore the Rio Grande, select the site for the presidio, command it temporarily as its captain, and recruit fifty men for it.[27]

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[27]Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, August 29, 1735; Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, September 26, 1735; Vizarrón, Despacho, Mexico, September 28, 1735; Razón de Secretaría, Mexico, September 28-October 10, 1735, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

The expedition was soon under way and was happily eventful. The Governor of Coahuila and his second in command, Captain Roay y Múzquiz of Bautista, kept careful account of their exploration, force, equipment, and selections. From December 12, 1735, to January 15, 1736, the expedition did its work, proceeding from Monclova to Bautista, remaining there a week, exploring the Rio Grande beyond its tributary, the San Diego River, following that stream southward up to its source, and returning to Bautista. The explorers covered more than forty leagues of hitherto unknown land in the vicinity of the Big Bend of the Rio Grande. Near the headwaters of the San Diego River the governor and captain found the ideal site for the new presidio, well supplied with water,

grass, and timber, and facing the entire "front" of the hated "Apaches".[28] This was the last service of Governor Blas de la

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[28]Blas de la Garza Falcón and Joseph Antonio de Scay y Múzquiz, Diario y derrotero de la expedición para la reconocimiento de las margenes del Río del Norte, de San Diego, etc., Bautista, January 17, 1736, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Garza Falcón, for within a few days after his return to Bautista and grateful acknowledgment there of his appointment as life term captain of the new presidio he fell ill and died. His son Miguel, however, who also was a member of the successful expedition, promptly sought and obtained the same appointment for himself.[29]

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[29]Blas de la Garza Falcón, Consulta, Bautista, January 18, 1736; Miguel de la Garza Falcón, Consulta, Bautista, January n.d., 1736; Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 13, 1736, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Slowly but surely the revived project went through the routine of renewed official attention, towards the goal of completion. Promptly enough the Viceroy sent the records of the expedition to the Auditor-General but he, for some reason, waited until July 21 to submit his opinion. It was, however, minutely complete. Beginning with the Indian uprising at La Junta de los Ríos in 1725, he reviewed, document by document, the entire story

of the proposed establishment, down to date. He even summarized, day by day, the whole diary of the recent expedition of exploration. Again he expressed his approval of the entire project, including the location on the San Diego River, the size of the garrison, and the salary-rates. After further delay the Viceroy, again reviewing the entire story, decreed, December 22, 1736, the immediate establishment of the presidio of Sacramento. It was to be near the head of the San Diego, and the center of voluntary civil settlement which was to be unofficial. The captain of the presidio was to receive an annual salary of six hundred pesos. His fifty soldiers were to be recruited from Saltillo and Nuevo León, and paid at the annual rate of four hundred thirty pesos for the lieutenant, four hundred twenty for the alferez, four hundred fifteen for the sarjento, and four hundred for each private soldier, together with an individual allowance of six and one-half pounds of powder. The total amount of the salaries would be 20,665 pesos. In addition, there was an allowance of 6,000 pesos for the war-expenses of the presidio.[30]

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[30]Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 9, 1736; Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Respuesta, Mexico, July 21, 1736; Vizarrón, Decretos, December 15 and 22, 1736, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Pending ultimate royal approval, the activities of establishment proceeded at increased speed. Captain-elect Miguel

de la Garza Falcón supervised the work, communicating the details to the Viceroy as they occurred. At last the advice of Rivera was prevailing. Among many of the captain's communications to Vizarrón was the statement of intention to use for the new presidio the same code of regulations and the same price-list of commodities that Rivera prescribed for the presidio of Béjar, because distances to the new presidio from sources of authority and supply were approximately the same as the distances to Béjar. The Auditor-General, however, on receiving from the Viceroy this bit of the Captain's reasoning, refuted it and advised that the presidio of Sacramento use the same code and price-list as the presidio of Bautista. The soldiers of Bautista received less pay than those of Sacramento were to receive, the Auditor admitted, but the soldiers of Sacramento, as well as the civilians settling there, would incur greater expense than was current at Bautista. The Viceroy agreeing with the Auditor-General, Captain Miguel de la Garza Falcón had to content himself with smaller opportunities for commercial enterprises in the new presidio.[31]

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[31] Miguel de la Garza Falcón to Vizarrón, Monclova, January n.d., 1737; Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 1, 1737; Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, Ynforme, Mexico, February 19, 1737; Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 25, 1737, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Evidently less interested than his predecessor in the

achievement of economy, Archbishop-Viceroy Vizarrón sent to Madrid a full account of his acts and won final approval for the long-planned presidio. Acknowledging that the treasury was as straitened as it was when Casafuerte suspended the project nine years earlier, the Viceroy defended his policy as necessary protection for property already acquired in the region of the new post, and less in cost than the loss of that property would be. The site on the San Diego River, seventy leagues from Monclova, and one hundred thirty leagues from Parral, was more fertile, less subject to floods, and more convenient for communication than La Junta de los Ríos, the originally intended site. The presidio of Sacramento was to be a station for traffic and communication between Bautista and El Paso, and between either of these and San Phelipe de Chihuahua.[32]

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[32]Consejo de Indias, Parecer, Madrid, July 27, 1740, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1741).

In advising the King to approve the acts of the Viceroy, the Council of the Indies pictured the new presidio as not only a defense against Indians and a way station of convenience, but also as the center of a future mining development, which was expected to surpass even that of Nueva Vizcaya. That would produce an increase of population in Coahuila, Nueva Vizcaya, and Texas. The annual cost of maintenance of the new presidio, 26,065 pesos,

was more than balanced, the Council agreed, by the reduction, amounting to 40,000 pesos, which Rivera made in the annual costs of the eight presidios from which he intended to detach the recruits for Sacramento.[33] Reaching these conclusions in July,

[33] Ibid.

1740, the Council acknowledged, March 23, 1741, the final royal approval of the whole matter.[34]

[34] Royal Cedula, Madrid, March 23, 1741; Consejo de Indias, Cumplase en todo, Madrid, March 23, 1741, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-38, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1715-1741).

In the meantime the presidio of Sacramento was erected, according to the official specifications and reasonings. A few years later it came to be known as Santa Rosa, probably from the neighboring village of that name. In 1772, however, the presidios of Sacramento, Cerro Gordo, and Monclova, together with the newer presidio of San Saba in Texas, were moved to the Rio Grande, as a result of the inspection of the military frontier by the Marquis of Rubí.[35] After forty-eight years, the idea of Auditor-General

[35] Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States and Texas, I, 606, 608.

Juan de Olivén Rebolledo, that the Río Grande should mark a line of forts and settlements, thus became a reality.

Another project pending during the entire period of Rivera's inspection, and older than the plan of establishing the presidio of Sacramento, was the civil colonization of the province of Texas.[36] Born of the alarm caused in 1716 by the prospect

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[36]The early history of this project, to July 28, 1724, is shown in Chapter I, above.

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of French settlement or at least commercial intrusion in Texas, and nurtured by the plans and influence of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo a few years later, the idea of moving families from Spain or from the Canary Islands to Texas was productive of no visible activities, beyond discussion and official correspondence, until nearly three years after the inspection of that province by Rivera. When he was in Saltillo in July, 1727, preparing to continue his journey to Texas, the royal Fiscal was advising the Council of the Indies, in Madrid, that the transportation of four hundred families from the Canary Islands to Texas would be feasible, if undertaken in reasonably small instellments and with the cooperation of the governors of Vera Cruz, Yucatán, and Habana.[37] When the Council of the Indies approved this

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[37]This official activity in Madrid was apperently the first concerning the colonization project since July 28, 1724. José

Patiño to the Duke of Arión, Madrid, July 3, 1727; Consejo de Indies, Orden, Madrid, July 5, 1727; Fiscal, Respuesta, Madrid, July 15, 1727, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-37, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1710-1738). For the whereabouts of Rivera at that time, see Chapter III, above, and the Itinerary of Rivera, in Appendix A, below.

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opinion of the Fiscal, Inspector Rivera was on his way from the Rio Grande to San Antonio de Béjar, encountering, not the problems of settlement, but his "intolerable plague of venomous mosquitoes".[38]

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[38]Consejo de Indies, Acuerda, Madrid, August 8, 1727, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-37, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738). See also the entry for August 8, 1727, in Pedro de Rivera, Diario y derrotero de lo caminado, visto, y obcervado en el discurso de la visita general de precidios situados en las provincias ynternas de Nueva España.

Before the slow government at Madrid did anything more towards the colonization of Texas, Rivera completed his inspection of the province and returned to the City of Mexico in 1728, advising the Viceroy to spend some of the money saved through presidial economy in the settlement of twenty-five families near the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar.[39] Presumably unaware of

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[39]Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto y visita de presidios hecha el año de 1728, Mexico, December 7, 1728, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript. See Chapter V, note 6.

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that advice, the King at last ordered, February 14, 1729, the

execution of the plan of transporting colonists from the Canary Islands to Texas. This royal order, addressed to Viceroy Casafuerte, summarized the valiant work finished in Texas seven years before by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, as the marquis himself represented it to the King. Following that summary was the advice of the marquis to the King, that two hundred families from Spain or the Canary Islands, and two hundred more from the province of Tlaxcala, should be moved at royal expense from their respective habitations to several places in Texas. This project, to be delayed no longer, was to be carried out as first decreed in 1723, with the following exceptions: four hundred families were to come from the Canary Islands; the emigrants were to travel in groups of ten or twelve families and at such intervals as were convenient to commercial ships; and the first stopping-place on the journey was to be Habana. The Viceroy should see that the needs of these colonists were supplied, at royal expense, until crops could be produced in the new homes.[40]

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[40]Royal cedula, Sevilla, February 14, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

This royal order reached Viceroy Casafuerte in the autumn of 1729, about the time that he was sending a copy of his presidial Reglamento to Madrid.[41] Duly acknowledging the order,

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[41]See Chapter VI, page 225.

he directed that a copy of it be sent to Rivera for his consideration. Rivera should express his opinion concerning the desirability of the civil settlers in Texas and the best method of transferring them to their homes there. The viceregal Fiscal should then express his opinion concerning not only the King's decree but also the advice of Rivera.[43]

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[43]Casafuerte, Obedezimiento, Mexico, November 27, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-30, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

The Brigadier, who completed in September his criticism of Captain Berroterán's expedition, was quite ready to study and criticize the statements and plans of the King himself, in so far as they were originally those of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo. The Viceroy was calling for comments only upon the problem of colonization resulting from the expedition of the marquis, but Rivera, before expressing any comments whatever upon the matter of colonization, unburdened himself of a long criticism of the marquis and the expedition. The opportunity to express this un-requested criticism arose from the fact that the King's letter to Casafuerte, on the basis of which the Viceroy was asking for Rivera's advice, contained in summary the representations of the marquis himself, concerning not only his plan of colonization but also his record of achievements. Rivera signed his report January 16, 1730, devoting nearly half of it to the

former activities of the marquis and the remainder to the needs, difficulties, and possibilities of the colonization of Texas.[44]

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[44]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme, Mexico, January 16, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1719-1738).

That the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo over-rated the importance of himself and his expedition into Texas was quite apparent to the critical and perhaps unfriendly Brigadier Rivera. Deliberately the critic pointed out proof after proof, as he saw it, that the self-complimentary statements of the marquis were, like his activities in Texas, somewhat extravagant. In the first place the marquis was by no means the protector of the frontiers in Coahuila from 1712 to 1720 that he said he was, but was merely interested in the protection of his own property in that province, as every other owner was. Nor did the marquis contribute to the "pacification" of the Indians of Coahuila, since those who were hostile when he came from Spain were still hostile. Furthermore, there was no pressing need in 1719 for the marquis to go to the rescue of Texas, for actual witnesses of the French "invasion" at that time told Rivera later that the flight of the Spanish from Los Adaes when seven French soldiers arrived was as disgraceful as it was unnecessary.

The news of that so-called invasion, continued Rivera, gave the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo his opportunity to secure

appointment as Governor of Coahuila and Texas, and commander of troops recruited for the ostensible purpose of aiding the presidios of Texas in their defense. His preparations caused some of the Indians of Coahuila to flee from their towns to their hills, supposing that he was intending to punish them for some of their pilferings. The marquis thereupon sent two companies in pursuit of the alarmed fugitives, and the result was the slaughter of non-hostile Indians. Meanwhile the marquis, hearing of the evacuation of the presidio of Los Texas, secured the permission of the Viceroy to increase to five hundred men the force which was to rescue Texas. While the marquis and his men, equipped at his expense, he said, but more probably by his investment, were on their way to Texas, the Indian survivors of that unwise attack in Coahuila gathered aid from other tribes and wreaked a bloody and costly vengeance upon the province, which the marquis left insufficiently protected. His expedition "for the sake of" Texas was long hurtful to Coahuila.

In Texas the marquis met no real opposition, either from the French or from the Indians. The Indians were friendly to him, as they were to other comers, and the French soldiers were sufficiently superior to those of the marquis to be able easily to conquer the whole province if St. Denis, the French commander on the Nachitoches, were so minded. Indeed, the five hundred soldiers of the marquis, drafted into his service and guarded like criminals, were untrained, unwilling, and unable to

defend the province.

Rivera was unwilling to credit the marquis with the establishment of worthwhile institutions in Texas. The alleged founding of the presidio of Los Texas was but a regarrisoning of a presidio already five years old. The undoubted founding of the new presidios of Los Adaes and La Bahía remained incomplete, for their fortifications remained largely on paper. Such fortifications as were erected were of timber, and by the labor of the soldiers and therefore at the expense of the King rather than of the marquis. The restoration of six missions in eastern Texas was but the rehousing of the missionaries, who, as before, maintained mere waiting-stations rather than missions. The new mission at La Bahía never had any neophytes either. The two missions established at San Antonio de Béjar by the marquis were nothing more than the division of the one mission which was there before the marquis came. Nevertheless, all this activity of the marquis, whose achievements were few and small, cost the royal treasury probably more than 600,000 pesos.[45]

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[45] An excellent summary of these criticisms in Rivera's Ynforme is found in C. W. Hackett, "Rivera's Criticisms of Aguayo's work in Texas", in The Hispanic American Historical Review, XVI, 162-172, May, 1936.

The claims of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo thus disposed of, Brigadier and Inspector-General Rivera now turned

to the subject assigned to him, the proposed plan for the early colonization of Texas. First he asserted in general that planning on paper and achieving on the ground were quite distinct and not always within the ability of the same persons, and in particular that the plan of the marquis took no account of the nature of the country to be settled. The province of Texas, extending from the Medina to the Cadadachos River, was about two hundred fifty leagues wide, and contained about twenty-seven streams. The land was fertile and the climate good, but the difficulties of transportation from the Canary Islands, by way of Vera Cruz, were great enough to be discouraging. Besides, the places selected by the marquis for the new communities were far from desirable. One of these places, San Joseph de Buena Vista, Rivera saw on his travels between the presidios of Béjar and Los Texas, and considered it unable to afford either the water or the defense that the settlers would need. Another place, La Anguila, was near the coast, but had too little water and too many rocks for an agricultural community. In neither place would the settlers have any market for their crops.

The usual method of the civil expansion of New Spain, Rivera reminded the Viceroy, was the gradual extension of settlements as hard work and the desire for land made possible. In none of the other provinces, however, was this process so difficult as in Texas, for the Indians of the other provinces were in pueblos, with some measure of political life, before the

Spaniards came. In 1603 Juan de Oñate entered New Mexico with one hundred men, and established control over sixty thousand Indians without firing a shot. The Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo entered Texas quite as peacefully, but with greater cost and far less success in establishing the royal authority over the natives, for they, unlike those of the other provinces, had neither the agricultural nor the political development conducive to their "reduction" in pueblos. The eight nations called Texas produced food crops, but had no fixed abodes, and the other nations of the province were non-productive rovers. They suspected all comers of designs of conquest, and Rivera himself was thus suspected when he visited Los Adaes, until St. Denis reassured the Indians on that point. Settlements in Texas would be possible only within the shadows of protective, but expensive, presidios.

Another obstacle to the planned settlements was the strength of French Louisiana. French arms, trade, and friendly relations were already to be seen among the Indians of Texas. The French were successful in expanding Louisiana and could expand it into Texas were they to expend much effort in the attempt. They made alliances with Indians. Spanish settlement of Texas, without the cooperation of the Indians, would result in costly failure. Wise dealing with these Indians would result not only in holding Texas for Spain but also in causing the withdrawal of the French from Natchitoches. Unless the Spanish could find the way to influence the Indians of Texas, the colonization of the

province would prove as useless as it would be costly.

Proceeding thus from criticism to suggestion and repeatedly referring to his own advice of June 23, 1729, Rivera presented his own plan for utilizing the coming immigrants for the development of Texas. The best place for them would be the valley of the Sabine River, for transportation thither from Habana would be relatively easy, the presidio of Los Adaes nearby would be protective, and the Texas Indians would be comparatively good neighbors. That much change in the official plan, however, would require too much time. Therefore the next best place for the settlement would be near the presidio of Béjar, where twenty-five families would be, as he advised the Viceroy in 1728,[46] the beginning of a civil population and a strengthening

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[46]See Chapter V, note 6.

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of the presidio itself. In the event of the failure of the presidio of Los Adaes to repel invasion, the combined civil and military force at Béjar could suffice as a barrier to the invaders. Other sites, equally desirable, were along the banks of the San Marcos River,[47] where colonization would not involve long and

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[47]Rivera meant the present Colorado River, "thirty leagues from the said presidio of San Antonio." See Chapter III, pages 74, 75.

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costly transportation and where colonists from Coahuila and Nuevo Léon would gladly go. The success of these would attract more immigrants, and the colonization would thus attain the desired ends without the risks which were apparent in the plan of the marquis.

Wherever the new settlements might be founded in Texas, concluded the Brigadier, they should have the advantages of good locations, American-born populations, and peaceful neighbors. Locations should be such that the communities could readily lend aid to one another, relieving the royal treasury of some of the burden of defense. The settlers should be natives rather than immigrants from across the sea, for the natives were more suitable for the work of pioneers. The families arriving in Habana from the Canary Islands should remain in Habana "for the present", but might be brought later directly from there to the Sabine River. Of great importance was the necessity of establishing such relations with the Indians near each community as would insure their conversion to Christianity, their peacefulness, and their civil settlement.[48]

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[48] An interesting summary of that portion of Rivera's Ynforme which dealt with the proposed colonization of Texas is found in Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, II (The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731), 275-278.

The foregoing lengthy report of Rivera was six months

old before it won official sanction and transmission to the King. The Viceroy sent the document promptly to the Fiscal, for his opinion, but that official replied only by requesting further information. That was to be found, he said, in the earlier decrees and opinions relative to the subject, dating back to the royal decree of May 10, 1723 and including the Brigadier's own advisory statement of June 23, 1729. Information concerning that should also go to the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo. The Viceroy sent the request of the Fiscal to Rivera, April 26, 1730, for his comment. The Brigadier, replying on June 19, professed not to have access to the documents in question, but asserted that his own representation, presumably of June 23, 1729, was partly for the purpose of advocating the naturalization of St. Denis and repatriation of his Spanish wife, and partly for the purpose of urging wiser dealings with the Indians. There was no need, said Rivera, to send his report to the marquis as if the matter were in litigation between parties. Instead, let the reports of the two men be considered, and decided between, on their merits and in the real interest of the country. The Viceroy therefore wasted no further time on the request of the Fiscal but sent Rivera's report of January 16 immediately to the Auditor-General.[49]

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[49]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, January 18, 1730; Prudenzio de Palazios, Respuesta Fiscal, Mexico, January 28, 1730;

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, April 26, 1730; Pedro de Rivera, Parecer, Mexico, June 19, 1730; Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 19, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1710-1738).

On the very day when the Viceroy and the Brigadier were thus tardily attempting to put a little speed into the project of colonization, the first ten families sent from the Canary Islands according to the royal decree of February 14, 1729, arrived in Vera Cruz. What to do with the newcomers was an immediate problem for the Viceroy, since La Bahía del Espíritu Santo, named in that decree as their first location, was not so desirable for that purpose as San Antonio de Béjar. Thereupon Rivera and Oliván Rebolledo advised, July 13 and July 16 respectively, and the Viceroy promptly so decreed, that the islanders be sent overland to Cuatitlán, on the edge of the City of Mexico, thence to San Antonio de Béjar as early as practicable.[50] The Viceroy hastened

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[50]Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, July 16, 1730 (This includes a summary of Rivera's report of July 13); Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, July 17, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1710-1738).

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to compile a fresh report to the King, August 1, mentioning the arrival of the islanders in Vera Cruz on June 19, reviewing the history of the plan of colonization, and expressing the reasons

given by Rivera and Oliván Rebolledo for advising that the original plan should not be completed.[51] Future colonists of

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[51]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, August 1, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 67-3-23, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

Texas should come, not from Spain or the Canary Islands, but from New Spain. The ten families who had already arrived, however, would soon be on their way to San Antonio de Béjar.

The journey of the Canary Islanders from Very Cruz to Cuatitlán occurred within the next four weeks after the Viceroy sent his news to the King. While the travelers were waiting at Cuatitlán the Viceroy was directing the preparations for their transfer to Texas, and Rivera supplied, as requested, further advice. He believed that his own suggestions, approved by the Auditor-General, concerning the equipment for and itinerary of that transfer could be compared by the Viceroy with the recent suggestions of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo concerning the same problems, without any advice to the Viceroy as to which suggestions were wiser. A small hill on the west side of the San Antonic River, continued Rivera, would be a much better site for the colonists that the site on the east side which the marquis proposed. The settlers, moreover, should not be allotted to the missions which were soon to be transferred from eastern Texas to Béjar, as Father Sevillano, the missionary, advised. Instead, the

entire number of families could well constitute a self-governing municipality.[52]

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[52]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme, Mexico, September 30, 1730, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

Leaving Cuatitlán November 15, 1730, the Canary Islanders and their escort traveled slowly northward, and after enduring many hardships, arrived in San Antonio March 9, 1731. There, in the following July and August, Captain Pérez Almazán, of the presidio of Béjar, directed the settlers in the organization of their municipality, San Fernando de Béjar.[53] All of their plans

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[53]The history of the journey of these immigrants, and of the founding of San Fernando de Béjar, is told in Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, II (The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731), 273-310. A secretarial summary of the official correspondence concerning the colonization of Texas, 1719-1731, is in Consejo, Extracto de lo occurrido, Madrid, n. d., 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-31, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1741).

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and activities, as well as the administration thereof during the preceding thirteen months were the outcomes of the advice of Pedro de Rivera. Even the details of their daily progress from Cuatitlán to San Antonio were of his planning. The Viceroy preferred the conservative, economical ideas of the Brigadier to the more venturesome plans of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, and said

as much, at great length, to the King in the letter of August 1, 1730.[54] The proposals of the marquis for the Spanish colonization

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[54] See note 51, above.

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of several places in Texas thus came down to the proposals of Rivera for the founding of one small municipality. That this municipality was at Béjar was due largely to Rivera's admiration for that place. It was to him the most delightful location, for a settlement, that he saw in his entire journey of inspection.[55]

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[55] See Chapter III, pages 74, 79, and Chapter V, page 148.

It was not the intention of Rivera, or of the Viceroy, or even of the King, that the settlement of these families at Béjar in 1731 should be the last, as it was the first, step in the real colonization of Texas. The King sent to his Council the letter of August 1, 1730 from the Viceroy, as well as a letter of July 14, 1731, from the Governor of Habana concerning additional Canary Islanders for whom, upon their arrival in Habana, he found homes in that island. The Council of the Indies finally decided, March 22, 1733, to approve the completed settlements of the Islanders in Texas and Cuba, and to advise the King to discontinue

the sending of colonists from the Canaries.[56] To that decision,

[56] Consejo de Indias, Acuerdo, Madrid, March 22, 1732, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 67-3-23, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

already practically effective, the King gave sovereign finality in his decree of January 16, 1734. He based the decision upon the unfavorable opinion of Viceroy Casafuerte concerning the sites for and the need of Canary families in Texas.[57] It was the

[57] Royal cedula, El Pardo, January 16, 1734, Archivo General de México, Historia, vol. 321, University of Texas transcript.

intention of all concerned that the colonization of Texas should continue, drawing settlers from the older provinces of Coahuila and Nuevo León. That process, however, was so slow and small that Rivera's influence in cutting off the stream of immigration from the Canary Islands really paralyzed the feeble civil development of Texas.

The principal results of Rivera's inspection and reforms were not so visible in the establishment of the presidio of Sacramento and in the colonization of Béjar as in the presidios, missions, and provinces which he visited. The reductions in presidial forces and consequently in presidial salaries were

gratifying, no doubt, to Viceroy Casafuerte and other officials who craved Spanish economy in America for the sake of Spanish enterprises in Europe. This gratification, however, did not extend to all of the outposts on the northern frontiers of New Spain. Disappointment and even resentment found occasional expression there, not so much from military officers, restrained by discipline to the silence of subordination, as from missionaries, who feared Indian hostilities more than official wrath. Particularly was this unrest apparent in Texas, where exposure to the French and to the Apaches created a nervousness which frequently sought relief in protests and petitions. These, addressed sooner or later to the Viceroy, usually went to Rivera for his comments and suggestions, as long as he remained in the City of Mexico.

The first evidence of this dismay in Texas appeared in the eastern part. Without waiting for the promulgation of his general Reglamento in the autumn of 1729, the Viceroy issued specific decrees earlier in that year covering as many presidial changes. Among these was the abolition, in April, of the presidio of Dolores de los Texas.[58] At that time the Querétaran Franciscans

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[58]Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, April 26, 1729, Archivo de San Francisco el Grande, III, 4, University of Texas transcript.

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were busily seeking the royal consent, and appropriations, for

twelve more missionaries from Spain for work in the missions of Texas. Father Mathías Sáenz de San Antonio presented this request to the Council of the Indies in Madrid, supported by statistical information from Father Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, Guardián of the College of Querétaro, two bishops in New Spain, Viceroy Casafuerte, and by the Chapter of the See of Mexico. The request met with the favor of the Council, the Fiscal, and the royal accountants, who estimated that the cost of transferring that many missionaries was not prohibitive.[59] In the midst of

[59] Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, Representaciones, Querétaro, August 25 (2) and August 28, 1728; Cabildo Sede Vacante de México, Representación, Mexico, August 27, 1727; Mathías Sáenz de San Antonio, Petición al Consejo, Madrid, May n.d., 1729; Consejo de Indias, al Fiscal, Madrid, May 28, 1729; Opinión del Fiscal, Madrid, June 13, 1729; Informe de la Contaduría, Madrid, June 17, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-2-29, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1723-1729).

this success the Franciscans learned that one presidio in Texas was abolished and the other three presidios were reduced in size.

The missionaries promptly strove to avert, or at least to modify, this disaster to their work, especially in eastern Texas. A few of them wrote, July 20, 1729, at one of their missions near the abolished presidio, a memorial to the Viceroy, urging him to see, as they saw, the damage done to Texas and to New Spain by the abolition of the presidio of Dolores and the reduction of the presidio of Los Adaes from one hundred men to sixty. The

assignment of two soldiers from Los Adaes to each one of the missions of Los Texas was, like the promise of aid to those missions from Béjar or from La Bahía, impracticable, because of the long distances involved, and the Viceroy should reconsider his decisions. The presidio of Los Adaes should be restored to its former strength, and the presidio of Dolores de los Texas should be, not abolished, but doubled in size. Eastern Texas was at the mercy of the French. If their request was denied, concluded these missionaries, they would ask either to move their missions to a safer location or else to return in sorrow to their College at Querétaro. This respectful but firm protest received at intervals during the remainder of that year the cordial endorsement of Governor Melchor de Mediaville y Azcona of Texas, Father Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, and Father Pedro Pérez de Mesquia.[60] Father Sevillano de Paredes deplored the weakening of

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[60] Representación de los Religiosos exponiendo razones contra la extincion del Presidio de los Tejas, Concepción, July 20, 1729, Archivo de San Francisco el Grande, III, 4-6, University of Texas transcript. Melchor Mediavilla y Azcona to Comisario Gonzales, Adaes, July 30, 1729; Miguel Sevillano de Paredes to Comisario Gonzales for the Viceroy, Querétaro, September 7, 1729; Pedro Pérez de Mesquia to Cosafuerte, Querétaro, November 12, 1729, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz, K leg. 2 no. 6, K leg. 6 no. 3, K leg. 3.no. 3, University of Texas transcripts (Bunn, 1716-1749).

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the support of missions by the Crown, and questioned the religion, or at least the piety, of Rivera himself as the author of this new

and misteken policy of economy.

The prospect of loss or at least removal of some of their missions from Eastern Texas reminded the missionaries that they had other grievances in Texas resulting from the reforms of Rivera. The missions left unguarded when the presidio of Los Texas disappeared might survive by removal to a safer place, but there were other problems which were not connected with that presidio, and which removals of missions would not solve. Neither the presidio of Béjar nor that of Bautista, in Coahuila, was permitted by the new regulations to detail soldiers, as formerly, to the service of the missions in that region. No longer could any of these missions keep two presidial soldiers as guards. No longer could any of these missionaries have military escort while pursuing, or even searching for, their roaming neophytes. One trouble after another, throughout the summer and autumn of 1729, befell the perplexed Franciscans of Texas. They found in the recommendations of Rivera the source of all of these woes. His advice to the Viceroy, written August 6 and October 8, contained no cheer whatever for the missionaries concerning military assistance either in restraining enemies or in recovering apostates.[61]

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[61]Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, Memorial, Querétaro, November 1[illegible], 1729, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, K leg. 3 no. 3, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1749).

Promptly and persistently the missionaries and their Querétaran Guardián attacked their problems. Letters to the Viceroy and to the Franciscan Comisario-General, and at least one memorial to the King, set forth in no uncertain terms the injurious effects of Rivera's reforms upon the missions and upon the province of Texas. Every letter asserted that the promotion of Christianity in Texas was definitely hampered and that previous achievements were subject to destruction. Governor Melchor de Mediavilla y Azcona, writing to the Comisario in July, 1729, in behalf of the Franciscans, complained that the journey of Rivera himself into Texas with twenty-five men was so easy and undisturbed that he did not realize the dangers that arose in disturbed times nor the dependence of the missionaries upon the protection of the soldiers.[62]

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[62] A copy of this letter was included by Miguel Sevillano De Paredes in his own letter to the Comisario, Querétaro, September 7, 1729, Documentos para la historia eclesiastica y civil de la provincia de Texas, XXVIII, pieza 2, University of Texas transcript.

Chief among the advocates of the Franciscan cause in Texas in 1729 was the Guardián at Querétaro, Father Miguel Sevillano de Paredes. After some four months of efforts directed to the officials in the City of Mexico, he addressed a memorial to the King, November 12, in which succinct requests followed lengthy

reasoning. The missions near the presidio of Béjar and the presidio of Bautista on the Rio Grande, declared the Guardián, owed their existence many times over to the prompt work of resident guards, and these missions, deprived of their guards, could not expect long to survive. Two guards in a mission could always frighten and restrain the attacking Indians until the near-by presidio could send sufficient aid, but no presidio could send aid quickly enough to a mission which had no guards. They were necessary not only for immediate defense but also for the supervision of the temporal training of the neophytes. The Indians of Texas, incapable of managing their own work at and near the missions, needed overseers to direct the numerous activities of farming, stock-raising, and construction. Missionaries could not train and direct the Indians in such work and at the same time perform the constant spiritual labors of the missions. It was impossible to employ Spanish civilians as overseers, for neither the Indians nor the missionaries had anything with which to pay for supervision. The budget of the missions, meager enough, was filled with the bare necessities of life and labor.[63]

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[63]Miguel Sevillano de Paredes, Memorial, Querétaro, November 13, 1729, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, K leg. 3 no. 3, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1716-1719).

The missions needed military aid also, continued the

Guardián, for the peaceful recovery of wandering neophytes. The Indians of Texas, as restless as children, had often to be sought and returned to their work at the missions. Without this work there would be no missions in Texas, for the neophytes would leave, and their souls, as well as the money invested in the missions by the royal treasury, would be lost. Indian guides, which Brigadier Rivera considered good substitutes for soldiers on these searching expeditions, would be no protection at all, in the regions of the Apaches and other enemies. Neither did the Brigadier realize that the missionaries themselves, deprived of guards and overseers in the missions, would be too busy working, guarding, and ministering in the missions to be able to go in search of the lost converts. Texas differed from other provinces of New Spain in that the missions could not maintain regular pueblos and the Indians needed supervision like children.[64]

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[64] Ibid.

For these reasons the Guardián besought the King to order the return of two soldiers to each of the missions near Béjar and Bautista, not to be removed again unless for urgent cause, and the renewal of military escort from the presidios of Béjar, Bautista, and Bahía for missionaries seeking to recover their strayed neophytes. All that the Viceroy did about these matters, from July 16 to October 19, was merely to follow the advice of Brigadier

Rivera. Consequently the Guardián's letter of July 12, the Governor's letter of July 30, and the missionaries' petition of July 20 were all transmitted by the Viceroy to Rivera, whose answers, such as those of August 6 and October 8, were unsatisfactory. Surely the King would be freer than the Viceroy from the influence of the Brigadier.[65]

[65] Ibid.

The protests of the Franciscans were by no means fruitless. Advised by Rivera, the Viceroy agreed to permit the removal of the three unprotected missions from the region of Los Texas to the "San Marcos [present Colorado] River", a "place more suitable and the Indians more apt for conversion". To protect these missions in their new location the presidio of La Bahía was also to be removed from the Guadalupe River to the Colorado.[66]

[66] Ibid.

Governor Melchor Mediavilla y Azcona should assist the missionaries, said Rivera, in selecting the new sites for the missions and in removing thither all of their equipment.[67] The missionaries,

[67] Isidro Felix Espinosa, Chrónica Apostólica y Seráphica

de Todos los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de Esta Nueva-España, I, 457-459. Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, May 28, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

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availing themselves of these concessions, moved to their new location in 1730, but the presidio of La Bahía remained where it was, on the Guadalupe River. Father Sevilleno asked permission for further removal of the missions, this time to the San Antonio River. Again advised by Rivera in September, 1730, the Viceroy granted this request, and in 1731 the three missions were finally re-established, in the vicinity of San Antonio de Béjar. The cost of both removals bore heavily upon the Franciscans, for the viceregal consent implied no promise, in either case, of financial aid.[68]

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[68] Ibid; Pedro Pérez de Mezquia to Casafuerte, Querétaro, May 4 and August 8, 1731, Archivo General de México, vol. 236, University of Texas transcripts, (Bolton, 1726-1743).

While the first of these removals was under way, early in 1730, Guardián Sevillano de Paredes was achieving some results also in his efforts to secure the restoration of military guards to the missions near the presidios of Béjar and Bautista. He addressed to the Viceroy, February 5, another plea for that restoration to the mission of San Antonio de Valero near the presidio of Béjar, to the missions of San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo near

the presidio of Bautista, and to the mission of La Punta de Lampazos in Nuevo León, forty leagues from Bautista. Three days later the Viceroy sent the request to Rivera. The Brigadier, replying February 21, pointed out that the missionaries seemed to claim a proprietorship over the soldiers of Bautista ever since the establishment of that garrison in 1701; that the continuous residence of presidial soldiers in missions was injurious both to the presidios and to the missions; and that such practice existed nowhere in the Interior Provinces except in Texas and at Bautista on the Rio Grande. Most of the missions of the Interior Provinces, he declared, ante-dated the presidios, which were created mainly for the protection of Spanish towns and Indian pueblos. Squads of soldiers from the presidios were always available for the missions, as well as the towns and pueblos, when emergencies arose. These missionaries really wanted soldiers as overseers, at royal expense, of the economic interests of the missions. For no such purpose as that did the King maintain his presidios.

To illustrate that point, Rivera named each of the other Interior Provinces in turn and described the protective relationships of its soldiers to its missions, which neither had nor claimed resident guards. In those missions the training of neophytes in farm-work was done by skilled Indians from different pueblos, and not by soldiers from the presidios. Many of the missions were much farther from the nearest presidios than were the four missions for which Father Sevillano was requesting guards,

since three of these four were very near presidios, and the fourth, La Punta de Lampazos, was only a three hours' ride from other missions which never had the services of soldiers except in emergencies. Father Sevillano was evidently bent more upon conserving a privilege than upon securing the best results, for soldiers in a mission were usually far from a blessing to the neophytes. All of the presidios were obeying the order to protect the missions, and there was no cause for complaint.

Rivera finally conceded, however, that since the new Reglamento required official presidial visiting of the missions to insure the busy obedience of the Indians, the captain of the presidio of Béjar might send daily one soldier to the mission of San Antonio, and the captain of Bautista one soldier daily to each of the two neighboring missions, as Father Sevillano requested. These soldiers, serving by day as overseers at the missions, should spend their nights in their presidios. The mission of La Punta de Lampazos should likewise receive one soldier for such work, who would have to reside in the mission until relieved by another soldier, for that mission was distant forty leagues from the presidio.

The Viceroy decreed, February 23, that this advice should be put into practice immediately. Father Sevillano, serving his last year as Guardián of the College of Querétaro, could feel considerable satisfaction in this partial restoration of military attendance upon four missions and in the prospect of re-establishing

soon, at Béjar, the three missions which were already as far as the Colorado River on their way from eastern Texas.[69] Later, the

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[69]Casafuerte, Decreto (Ynforme de Rivera inserto), Mexico, February 23, 1730, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, K leg. 3 no. 4, University of Texas transcript (Lunn, 1716-1749).

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missionaries could hope to recover also the privilege of military escort for the journeys in quest of missing converts. By the end of 1730 Guardián Sevillano and Inspector Rivera could believe that the problems which his reform created for the missions in and near Texas were soon to be gone.

In 1731, however, another complaint arose from the missionaries. Busily engaged in twice removing three missions, regaining a military guard for each of four missions, and asking for military companions in pastoral reclamations, the Franciscans of Texas made more journeys than usual across the Rio Grande. For these journeys the quarterly escorts which the new Reglamento prescribed were not sufficient. Wishing more frequent protection, the missionaries sought and received special escorts, five soldiers at a time, for the journeys between Béjar and Bautista. With increasing boldness the Apaches attacked travelers and supplies, until in the spring of 1731 the harassed clerics, believing that the presidio of Béjar could not or would not deal adequately with the Apaches, appealed to the Viceroy. Father Mezquia,

the new Guardián of the Querétarans, wrote more than once to Casafuerte concerning the recent troubles of the Franciscans. The removal of their three missions from the Colorado to the San Antonio River was accompanied by financial as well as Apache inroads. Twelve new missionaries, arriving in Querétaro from Spain in November, 1730, as requested by the Franciscans in 1729, would be hampered in their new work by this financial stringency. Military escorts were neither large enough nor frequent enough to cope with the dreadful Apaches. A special escort should consist of no less than eight soldiers and a corporal. Requesting such escorts for future necessary journeys, Father Mezquia expressed his fearful belief that influences hostile to the missions were brought to bear upon the Viceroy.[70]

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[70]Pedro Pérez de Mezquia to Casafuerte, Querétaro, May 4 and August 8, 1731, Archivo General de México. Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcripts (Bolton, 1736-1743).

Promptly the Viceroy transmitted the new complaint and request to Rivera. He replied at some length, May 26, 1731, and minimized the alarming narratives of the worthy Guardián concerning the depredations of the Apaches and the failure of the presidio of Béjar to punish them. The financial troubles of the Franciscans evoked no greater sympathy than their encounters with the Apaches. The new Reglamento required the captain of the presidio

to obtain viceregal consent before beginning a campaign against the Apaches. This consent the captain was, and should be, securing. The missionaries should receive, Rivera admitted, the escort of eight soldiers and a corporal for every journey between Béjar and Bautista. In August the Viceroy gave sanction to these two suggestions of the Inspector.[71]

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[71] Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, May 26, 1731; Casafuerte, Decretos, Mexico, July 30 and August 8, 1731, Audiencia General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcripts (Bolton, 1746-1723).

Less and less thereafter could the still harassed Franciscans attribute their experiences in Texas to the poor judgment or the ill-will of Rivera. Encounters with Apaches and other enemies continued, new missions arose and disappeared, presidios fulfilled and fell short of clerical expectations, and neophytes remained fickle. The memory of Rivera's work long remained, however, as a land mark in the history of the missions. As late as 1752, when the missions were already exhibiting diminishing returns, Father Santa Aña, President of the Querétarans at San Antonio de Béjar, stated that Rivera considered the coastal tribes of Texas incapable of adaptation to pueblos or missions.[72]

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[72] Francisco Benito Fernández de Santa Aña to Reville Gigedo, Béjar, May 22, 1752, Archivo General de México, Historia,

XXVIII, University of Texas transcript. A vivid account of the effects of Rivera's reforms upon the missions of Texas, told from the viewpoint of the missionaries, is in Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, II (The Winning of Texas, 1685-1731), 237-252.

The presidios in Texas, no less than the missions, reflected the uneasiness which the reforms of Rivera inspired in a province subject to the danger of French as well as Indian attack. No other province in New Spain faced so much as Texas the double liability of native resistance and foreign aggression. Under such circumstances the abolition of one presidio and the dismissal of one hundred soldiers from the remaining three garrisons were an economy which seemed questionable. The routine of presidial activities continued as before, modified in many details by the new regulations. As doubts and questions arose the governor and the captains sent them to the Viceroy who in turn transmitted them to his counselor, Rivera. In his responses the Inspector upheld his reforms and sought to re-assure the uneasy defenders of Texas that they were as safe as before.

Late in 1730 Juan Antonio Bustillo y Cevallos was promoted by the Viceroy, upon the suggestion of Rivera, from the captaincy at La Bahía to the governorship, which included the captaincy, at Los Adaes. Since the resignation, two years earlier, of Governor Fernando Pérez de Almazán, his own appointee held the office, subject of course to the approval of the Viceroy. During the two years this temporary governor, Melchor Mediavilla y Azcona,

befriended the Querétaran missionaries in their complaints and removals of their missions, personally assisting in the exploration and selection of new sites and writing his sympathetic letters in behalf of the brothers. His appointment by his predecessor received no confirmation. Instead, Captain Bustillo y Cevallos received the governorship as a deserved promotion.[73]

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[73]Castañeda, Morfi's History of Texas. Título de Capitán del Presidio del Espíritu Santo en la Provincia de los Tejas, Madrid, September 16, 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-8, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

Arriving at Los Adaes in April, 1731, he duly reviewed his new force of sixty men and made the required inventory of the property of the presidio. He found a shortage in the ammunition and other equipment which the Reglamento required, as well as a lack of sufficient watering-places in the neighborhood. Compiling personal facts concerning his soldiers, he found them to be not all Spaniards, for fourteen mestizos and one Indian were among them. The facts compiled included such items as ages, records in arms, and characters.[74] The new governor and captain found his

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[74]Juan Antonio Bustillo y Cevallos, Lista y relación jurada, Los Adaes, April 30 and May 4, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

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post larger but less comfortable than that which he previously held at La Bahía.

Some three weeks later he wrote further to the Viceroy concerning the recent journey of transfer from La Bahía to Los Adaes, the large quantity of supplies thus brought to Los Adaes, and the relations there among the Spanish, French, and Indians. These relations meant problems for the governor, and he wished to express them to his superior and receive advice about them. The French producers of food at Natchitoches were bringing their products to Los Adaes to trade for sugar, soap, and chocolate. This was nothing alarming and was guarded against violation of the law, but the French were interested also in carrying this trade to the Indians, and that might mean trouble. Already the Indians, as far as sixty leagues in the interior, were exhibiting property which showed that they were trading frequently with the French. Already the Indians formerly served by the presidio and missions of Los Texas were showing signs of displeasure at their loss, and the governor was working at the cost of some effort and many gifts to prevent any lessening of friendship for the Spanish. He was awaiting the required inventories of the presidios of Béjar and La Bahía, and would send these to the Viceroy as soon as possible. Meanwhile there was much work to be done at Los Adaes, and apparently much depended upon it.[75]

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[75]Juan Antonio Bustillo y Cevallos to Casafuerte, Los

Adaes, May 24, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

Rivera's response to the Viceroy, July 21, 1731, concerning the news from the Governor of Texas, was thorough, as usual, but conservative. The prudence of the governor, already demonstrated at La Bahía, must continue at Los Adaes, to keep the Indians friendly. The shortage in powder and in the equipment of the soldiers was the fault of the previous commander, and should be remedied at once. The allowance of powder for the presidio should be sent immediately, and the governor should see that the soldiers acquired their equipment. The soldiers, though not all Spaniards, were good enough for the frontier and as good as their salaries could secure for that location. The governor should not try to stop the French trade either with the presidio or with the Indians, for the attempts would cause more trouble than success, and peace was more important than the complete elimination of the illegal trade. He should, however, keep the trade between the French and the presidio strictly within the law, limiting it to buying or bartering for the food actually produced by the French at Natchitoches. The work of the governor was satisfactory and the changes which he found it necessary to make should receive approval.[76] Quite apparent in this reply of Rivera was his disapproval

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[76] Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, July 21, 1731, Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

of the former governor and approval of the new.

At La Bahía also there was worry, awaiting reassurance. Successor to the promoted Bustillo y Cevallos was Captain Gabriel Costales, whose appointment by the Viceroy was of course subject to royal approval. The new captain already had a record of more than twenty years of faithful service, most of it military, and was no stranger to Texas, for he first came in 1721 with the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo. Royal confirmation of the appointment, September 16, 1731, paid due and conventional attention to the merits as well as to the new rights and duties of Captain Costales.[77] His main responsibility was to be the maintenance of

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[77] Título de Capitán del Presidio del Espíritu Santo en la Provincia de los Tejas, Madrid, September 16, 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-8, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

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good relations with the Indians and the missionaries of that region.

During the first seven months of his new captaincy Costales encountered enough difficulties to cause him to write to the Viceroy at least twice, in quest of instructions. One of these difficulties, the captain wrote in January, 1731, was the task of maintaining adequate defense with a force of only forty men divided into six details. Ten men were to serve as escorts for supplies coming from Coahuila; nine men as guards for the three

Querétaran missions which were in process of establishment in their new locations on the San Antonio River; two men as guards for the local mission of Espíritu Santo; seven men as guards for the presidio and seven for its horses; and five men, including the subalterns, as an emergency reserve. The guards for the missions, especially the nine men serving in the missions at Béjar, fifty leagues from La Bahía, would become valueless as soldiers, because of the irregularities and vices of their life with the neophytes. The Indians near La Bahía presented another difficulty to the captain, for, although three tribes made a treaty of friendship and were obviously observing it, two other and larger tribes would make no treaty, and their very friendliness was suspicious. It might mean concealed intentions of hostility.[78]

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[78]Gabriel Costales to Casafuerte, La Bahía, January 7, 1731. Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

The reply of Rivera, through the Viceroy, was more soothingly reassuring in its tone than in its substance. Captain Costales, declared the Inspector, had small cause for worry. The guarding of the missions must continue, but four of the nine guards on the San Antonio River could return to their duties at La Bahía, for the recently arrived Canary Islanders at Béjar could

assist in the defense of that region. The Indians near La Bahía were not dangerous, unless provoked to wrath as they were in 1723 when Captain Ramón was killed. Captain Costales need expect no harm from them. The ten soldiers detailed for escort-service to and from the Río Grande were on that duty only twice a year and would be available for regular service at all other times. To be sure of safety, however, Captain Costales must be unceasingly vigilant.[79]

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[79]Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, April 16, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

Unaware of that advice because of the slowness of communication, the captain wrote again to the Viceroy, June 1, that these two tribes of Indians were still discouragingly unwilling, or at least unready, to make a treaty. There were no signs of hostilities, and the captain was careful to permit no provocation. He would also guard against illegal foreign trade. He asked for permission to use some of the soldiers on a salt-gathering expedition, utilizing the salines which Captain Bustillo y Cevallos reported in 1728, fifty leagues from the presidio. The enterprise, though requiring military caution, would be profitable to the presidio.[80]

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[80]Gabriel Costales to Casafuerte, La Bahía, June 1,

1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

Rivera promptly vetoed this project, as he vetoed it before when Captain Bustillo y Cevallos first proposed it. The expressed reasons for this attitude revealed a greater distrust of the coastal Indians than the Inspector hitherto had put into words. The presidio, which should get its salt where it got its other supplies, had not enough men to spare for the salt-gathering expedition. The whole garrison would be required to go along, to afford protection, and that much protection would probably incite the distrust and unfriendliness of the Indians.[81]

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[81]Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, July 19, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

To San Antonio de Béjar the Viceroy, advised by Rivera, likewise sent words of reassurance and direction. In 1730 Juan Antonio Pérez de Almazán, an experienced Indian-fighter in Texas, received temporary appointment as captain, succeeding the deceased Captain Flores. This appointment the King confirmed in 1731.[82]

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[82]Patente de Capn. Comandante del Presidio y Compa. de Sn. Antto. de Véjar, Madrid, June 6, 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-8, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

The new captain early encountered complaints in all directions, because of the abolition of the presidio of Los Texas, the reduction of the other presidial forces, the insufficient escorts for the traveling missionaries, and above all, the threatening Apaches. Rivera, eventually learning of these complaints through the Viceroy, declined to give full credence to the missionaries' narratives of fights with the Apaches, but did advise the increase of size of the escort. The Inspector furthermore said, in his reply of May 26, 1731, that the soldiers of Béjar should go on a special Apache-hunt and thus afford relief from the menace of those enemies.[83] A small number of soldiers, well commanded, was,

[83]Pedro de Rivera to Casafuerte, Mexico, May 26, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

in Rivera's opinion, sufficient for defense against any Indians in Texas, even the Apaches. The Viceroy accordingly so ordered in August, while the captain at Béjar was busy with the establishment of the new municipality there, San Fernando.[84]

[84]Casafuerte, Decretos, Mexico, July 30 and August 8, 1731, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 236, University of Texas transcript (Bolton, 1726-1743).

Apache raids continued in 1731 increasingly to disturb

the soldiers of Béjar and the new civilians, who "were not a courageous lot". Captain Pérez de Almazán could hardly keep the raiders away from the presidio and in September his attempt almost cost his life. Reporting these troubles in a letter to the Viceroy, December 1, the captain asked for more soldiers with which to make the expedition against the Apaches. The Viceroy, upon the advice of Rivera, refused, but did give permission for civilians, who would join the expedition, to capture Apaches for enslavement. In the following year the Viceroy, enlarging the plan through necessity, ordered Governor Bustillo y Cevallos to go from Adaes to Béjar and there begin a heavy drive against the Indians. This he did, late in 1732, with considerable success. Béjar had no real peace with the Apaches, however, until they, in 1749, were ready for it because of the long pressure upon them by the Comanches. It was unfortunate for Béjar, if not for Texas, that Rivera's visit occurred during the comparatively peaceful lull in Spanish-Apache relations. The true situation there required, not a reduction, but an enlargement of the forces of Béjar.[85]

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[85] This summary of Spanish-Apache relations, 1731-1749, is derived from W. E. Dunn, "Apache Relations in Texas", in The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association, XIV, 198-269.

The storm of criticism in Texas possibly caused Rivera to suggest, in his reports to the Viceroy, a few concessions. In one of these reports, December 29, 1731, the Inspector, commenting

upon the recent report of Captain Pérez de Almazán of Béjar, conceded not only the possibility of enslaving the captives, a procedure forbidden by the new Reglamento, but also the prospect of moving the presidio of Béjar from the San Antonio to the Medina River.[86] Insisting, soon afterwards, that the governor must main-

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[86] Ibid.

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tain at Los Adaes a strict barrier to French trade even if this policy meant the end of the traffic in vegetables, Rivera advanced the idea that the presidio might be moved to a place near by, where the soldiers could raise their own food.[87] He made no

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[87] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 39.

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further attempts to reduce the responsibilities of the presidios for the constant guarding of the missions. Many years passed, however, before the reforms of Rivera ceased to bear the blame, in Texas, for all of the ills that beset that province.

A half-century after his visit, Father Juan Agustín Morfi, missionary-historian in Texas, specified at some length the errors which, in his opinion, Rivera committed in thinking that the great reductions in the military forces in Texas would not throttle the colonization of the province. The stagnation

and decline in its development Morfi attributed largely to the unfortunate urge towards economy which seemed to possess the Inspector and the Viceroy. Neither the Indians in eastern Texas nor the French adjoining it, declared the historian, were to be depended upon for friendship. If the garrisons at Los Adaes and Los Texas were faulty, improvement was the rightful remedy, rather than reduction and abolition. Both presidios were necessary for efficient dealing with invaders. To depend, instead, upon reinforcements for Los Adaes from Béjar and La Bahía was to disregard the difficulties of distance, time, floods, and weariness. The presidio of Los Texas was a discouragement to illicit traffic between the French and the Indians, and an encouragement to future civil settlement in eastern Texas.

The reduction of La Bahía from ninety to forty soldiers, continued the belatedly indignant historian, was also a proof of Rivera's poor judgment. Rivera was wrong in considering the Indians of that region peaceful and harmless, wrong in describing the land near the original site first as marshy and then as firm, wrong in supposing that a shallow bay would deter invaders who came by ship, and wrong in professing ignorance of the reason for the earlier increase of the garrison from forty men to ninety. The Indians were dangerous, as the experience of more than forty Frenchmen on that coast in 1687 proved. Nomadic life was no proof of Indian cowardice. Reduction of coastal defense in that region would prove as inviting to buccaneers as elsewhere in the

New World. Invaders knew how to use small boats for transfer through shallow water from large ships. The increase in the garrison by the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo was in obedience to royal orders, plainly stated in the diary of his expedition and visible to Rivera when he read that diary. Nevertheless, Rivera expected the forty soldiers remaining in the garrison to defend the whole region, make the Guadalupe River navigable, construct an irrigation system six leagues above the presidio, cultivate the soil to demonstrate its fertility, escort supplies from the Rio Grande, carry the mail, and have twenty men ready to go to the aid of Los Adaes.

Equally unwise, in Morfi's opinion, was the dismissal of ten men from the garrison of Béjar. Rivera clearly underestimated the fierceness of the Apaches. The attractiveness of San Antonio de Béjar and the possibility of its growth into a large city called for the enlargement rather than the reduction of its military force. As a result of Rivera's reforms in Texas, "we do not exercise dominion over a foot of land beyond San Antonio."[88]

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[88]Castañeda, Morfi's History of Texas, 260-273.

Rivera did not even escape criticism, incidental though it was, for what he neglected to do for the Spanish in Texas.

Governor Prudenzio de Orobio y Bazterra of Texas wrote in 1740 to Father Santa Aña, president of the missions at San Antonio, that the Spaniards were woefully ignorant of the valleys of the Colorado, Brazos, Trinity and Sabine rivers. This ignorance was due to the fact that neither Rivera nor any other official traveler in Texas ever explored any of those valleys. The governor, however, did not attribute the omission to any fault of Rivera.[89]

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[89]Prudenzio de Orobio y Bazterra to Santa Aña, Los Adaes, July 8, 1740, Archivo del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, K leg. 19 no. 38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1716-1749).

The presidio of San Juan de Bautista on the Rio Grande shared with the presidio of San Antonio de Béjar the duties of giving guards to the neighboring missions and repelling the attacks of the Apaches. To promote safety for the reduced garrisons and their vicinities, the Viceroy sent an order, July 30, 1733, to the presidios of Bautista, Béjar, La Bahía, and Los Adaes that each of these presidios, whenever so notified, send a detachment to the aid of any of the other three against the attacks of Indians.[90] The Reglamento of 1729 required the presidios of

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[90]Casafuerte, Despacho, Mexico, July 30, 1733, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas

transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Bautista and Béjar, and Béjar and Los Adaes, to furnish mutual escort-service with ten men from each presidio. The order of 1733 added La Bahía to this small list of presidios, and Indian warfare to escort-duty as an obligation of aid. Consequently when the new Governor of Texas, Juan Manuel Sandoval, went to San Antonio de Béjar early in 1734 to undertake another campaign against the Apaches, he promptly requested and received the aid of ten men for the presidio of Béjar from that of Bautista.[91]

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[91] Juan Manuel Sandoval to Ecay y Múzquiz, San Antonio de Béjar, March 10, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

The province of Coahuila was at first as unhappy as the province of Texas over the reforms of Rivera. The missionaries, however, were mollified by the partial restoration of their mission-guards in 1731, and the citizens, as well as the presidios, hailed with hope the return of Blas de la Garza Falcón. He first came to Coahuila from Nuevo León in 1721 to fight Indians for the governor, the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo, then absent in Texas. Apparently satisfactory in this work, the newcomer remained in Coahuila seven years, succeeding the marquis as governor. The new governor kept the province relatively safe from

marauders, and won recognition for this fact in 1728 from Inspector Rivera. The Inspector criticized him, however, for poor administration of presidial finances, and in that year Juan Manuel Sandoval became Governor of Coahuila. Blas de la Garza Falcón thereupon returned to Nuevo León, but won appointment again as Governor of Coahuila early in 1734, when the Viceroy transferred Governor Sandoval to Texas. The returned governor, over sixty years old, did not wish to lose office again and some of the residents of Monclova regarded him as far superior to the less experienced Sandoval. In April, 1734, about seventy-five men of Monclova sent a petition to the King requesting that Governor Blas de la Garza Falcón, because of his efficiency, retain the office of governor for life and that upon his death one of three specified sons of his succeed him as governor. The request met with favor in Madrid.[92]

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[92] Representación de la Justicia, Regimiento, y vecinos de la Villa de S^ntiago de la Monclova, Monclova, April 15, 1734; Fiscal, Parecer, Madrid, June 16, 1735, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-36, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1715-1741).

Governor Garza Falcón, intent upon freeing the province again from hostile Indians, took charge of his presidio of Monclova when he arrived, and in March he inspected that of Bautista. There he found Captain Joseph Antonio de Echay y Músquiz efficient,

the soldiers all Spaniards and completely equipped, provisions ample and the price-list effective, discipline perfect, and twice as many horses as the Reglamento required. There was nothing at the presidio to censure. The governor also noted carefully the lists of inhabitants of the missions and the pueblos near the presidio, the lists showing the number of men fit for military duty, and the number of persons in each family.[93]

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[93]Blas de la Garza Falcón, Visita, San Juan de Bautista, March 22, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

On his return to Monclova, the governor, unaware of the recent death of Viceroy Casafuerte, addressed to him some intendedly wholesome advice concerning the needs of the province in general and the presidio of Bautista in particular. Captain Ecay y Múzquiz sent ten men to aid Governor Sandoval at Béjar, as commanded recently by the Viceroy, but needed them at Bautista. The presidio did not have enough soldiers for its numerous duties. Of the thirty-two men of the garrison, ten were in Béjar, thirteen were caring for the horses, four were serving the missions, and only four or five were guarding the presidio. Forty white settlers and the Indians of the missions were also available, but there was a definite need of a municipal organization in their vicinity. Equally necessary was the greater production of food-

stuffs in that region, as well as a better water supply. On one of the roads between Bautista and Monclova there was a crossroads place which ought to be made a town. It was not far from San Pedro de Boca de Leones, in Nuevo León, and the seven soldiers and their corporal, stationed at San Pedro, should be moved to the new town to guard the roads. If necessary, five additional men, detached from the presidio of Monclova, could assist in that service. The friendly Indians of Coahuila, as well as the missions, were engaged in their usual affairs, but the Tobosos Indians were very troublesome. Against the hostile Indians Coahuila should have more help from Nueva Vizcaya.[94]

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[94]Blas de la Garza Falcón, Consulta, Monclova, April 27, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

Governor Garza Falcón apparently approved only partly of the reforms of Rivera, and believed that Coahuila needed more soldiers, including the eight who were at San Pedro de Boca de Leones, in Nuevo León. Archbishop-Viceroy Vizarrón sent the letter to Auditor-General Oliván Rebolledo, who approved everything in it.[95] The results were an order to Governor Sandoval of Texas

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[95]Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, May 27, 1734; Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Ynforme, Mexico, June 7, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas

transcripts (Coahuila, 1733-1738).

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to restore the ten men whom he borrowed from the presidio of Bautista, and the decision of the Viceroy in 1735 to let Governor Garza Falcón and Captain Ecay y Múzquiz secure another presidio for Coahuila by finding within the province a desirable site for the future presidio of Sacramento.[96]

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[96] Razón de la Secretaría, Mexico, September 25, 1735, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-18, University of Texas transcript (Coahuila, 1733-1738). See also note 26, above.

In the province of Nuevo León, as in Texas and Coahuila, was the feeling of disappointment because of the reforms of Rivera. He reduced the number of soldiers of the Crown in that province from twenty-two to twenty-one, despite the dangers from Indians along the Río Grande, and the feeling of unrelieved exposure continued. Townsmen and rancheros evidently were hoping to secure, after Rivera's inspection, enough presidial protection to reduce the necessity for protection at private expense. Letters and reports expressive of anxiety acquainted the Viceroy with general conditions in the province. The transfer of the small garrison of Cadereyta to San Pedro de Boca de Leones seemed to add nothing to the small feeling of security.

Finally Governor Joseph Antonio Fernández de Jáuregui

Urrutia compiled, in April, 1736, copies of some of his reports of the previous year to the Viceroy, and sent them in September with a letter to the King. The governor emphasized the hostile Indians and the troubles which they caused in the province. It was insufficiently guarded against them, having only thirteen soldiers at Cerralvo and eight at San Pedro de Boca de Leones. There was small help in them for Nuevo León. Each soldier had all of the equipment and received all of the salary which the Reglamento of 1729 required. The captain of one garrison and the corporal of the other received the supplies which came from the City of Mexico, the soldiers paying for these out of their salaries. The governor was determined to refrain from handling either the supplies or the money paid for them. He would merely make sure that the supplies arrived and that the money was properly sent, as the Reglamento required.

Several places in Nuevo León, continued the governor, deserved royal consideration of their problems. A new town was necessary either at Santa Ynes or at Santa Engracia, with a garrison in it sufficient for regional defense. The governor tried early in 1735 to convince the Viceroy of that need. Another request, also already made to the Viceroy, was that he would refuse to permit Governor Garza Falcón of Coahuila to move the garrison of San Pedro de Boca de Leones into his province. Nuevo León needed, very much, every soldier in that small group. Governor Jaúregui Urrutia himself ventured once to send six of the soldiers

of Cerralvo to Linares, to defend from Indian attack the greatly exposed sheep ranches of that frontier. The Alcalde Mayor of Linares used these six soldiers and some citizen-soldiers against the Indians. Nuevo León needed more soldiers and was suffering great losses because of this deficiency.[97]

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[97]Joseph Antonio Fernández de Jaúregui Urrutia to the King, Monterey, September 16, 1736, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

Nuevo León was less successful than Coahuila in securing additional military protection. The garrison of San Pedro de Boca de Leones remained there, but grew no larger. Defense continued largely the responsibility of civilians. As the years went by, Indians along the Rio Grande inflicted fewer damages upon the provinces.

Opposition in Nueva Vizcaya to the reforms of Rivera became active during his inspection of that province and continued several years thereafter. Governor Ignacio Francisco de Barrutia, like some of the captains and supply-contractors, was considerably perturbed over the changes about to be wrought by Rivera, and made prompt efforts to avert them. Rivera as promptly noticed these efforts and advised the Viceroy accordingly.[98] When the expedition

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[98]See Chapter V.

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led by Captain Berroterán in 1729 failed to make the required exploration of the Rio Grande, Governor Barrutia was quick to ascribe a good deal of the blame to Rivera.[99] To prevent, or at

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[99] See pages 251-253 above.

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least to mitigate, the reforms which Rivera was preparing, the governor sent to the King for his approval a Reglamento for Nueva Vizcaya, which would be more acceptable to the officials of that province than anything which Rivera would formulate.

With comparative promptness the King sent without his approval a copy of the proposed Reglamento to Casafuerte for his consideration. The Viceroy sent the document, with the King's letter, to Rivera, who replied, August 9, 1730, with a thorough criticism of the governor's proposals. These the Inspector answered, in his usual methodical style, in eighteen distinct points. In the first place, he declared, the King and the Viceroy used expert advice in preparing their Reglamento in 1729, but the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya, uninformed and inexperienced in such matters and without any inquiry except in his own notions, sent a complete draft to the King, expecting him to sign it. The King would probably ignore it. The governor knew his procedure was irregular and could not expect any royal recognition of regulations unknown to the Viceroy. In the second place, the governor

acknowledged the need of discipline in the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, but prescribed little or no remedy. The Viceroy's Reglamento provided amply for all matters of discipline.

The governor showed poor judgment, said Rivera, in proposing the number, the sizes, and the salaries of the presidios in the province. The governor suggested the possible extinction or removal of the presidio of Pasage if Indian enemies decreased or if civil settlement on the Nasas River increased. He did not know the situation at all. He never saw a map of Sonora and Sinaloa. He did not know how many presidios were necessary on the frontiers. He proposed a salary of four hundred pesos for each soldier and a thousand for each captain, as in Spain, with no distinctive pay for subalterns. Governors of Nueva Vizcaya were always interested in commercial relations with the soldiers and therefore wanted the salaries as high as possible. The Viceroy's Reglamento, by abolishing abuses, made the salaries of six hundred pesos for captains and three hundred fifty for soldiers, with distinctive additions for subalterns, much more satisfactory than ever before. The governor wished the province to have three hundred sixty-four soldiers, at the annual cost of 154,420 pesos, the nine presidios, including Sonora and Sinaloa, ranging in sizes from thirty-six to forty-six men. The garrisons would thus be too nearly alike in size, and the governor showed ignorance of the locations and functions of the presidios. The Viceroy's Reglamento assigned to these nine presidios three hundred twenty-

seven soldiers, at the annual cost of 125,970 pesos, and varied the garrisons in sizes from twenty-four to fifty-one men.

The governor showed no better ideas concerning the administration of salaries. He proposed the extra allowance of fifteen pesos annually to each soldier for a new horse, because of the customary abuse of horses. He advised payment of soldiers for all of their time, deducting nothing for absence due to illness. He proposed parallel inspections of salaries and contracts, to prevent frauds. He wished the treasury-officials to verify their payments of presidial money which was ear-marked for the soldiers' debts or other obligations. The Viceroy's Reglamento forbade the abuse of horses and made allowance for remounts unnecessary; made no fixed rule concerning the illness of soldiers, for neither invalidism nor pretended illness should be encouraged; provided fully against all frauds in the handling of money; and forbade all reductions or discounts in the payments of salaries.

The governor's ideas about equipment and provisions, continued Rivera, were likewise faulty. The proposed Reglamento omitted the lance from the list of necessary weapons, but Rivera's Reglamento, issued at each presidio during the inspection, as well as the Viceroy's Reglamento, specified the lance among the weapons required. The governor advised uniformity of equipment, and great care in the use of leather shields for protection against arrows, but the official Reglamento contained five articles fully

covering such matters. The governor advised the handling of commodities and sales by the captains, and the annual fixing of prices by himself and the shop-keepers in Parral. These prices would apply uniformly, according to the governor's plan, to the six presidios near Parral, but the captains of Janos, Sonora, and Sinaloa should add to the Parral prices the cost of transportation. The Viceroy's Reglamento contained complete, carefully-prepared price-lists for all presidios.

Concerning the required activities of the soldiers, Rivera admitted that the governor proposed thorough drills in the use of arms, especially of the lance, which he did not name as a required weapon. He claimed for himself the power of assigning, as he saw fit, both regular and special duties to soldiers. The Viceroy's Reglamento gave particular directions concerning drills for all occasions. It also specified the monthly escort-service by ten soldiers of Pasage, the traveling-duties of all soldiers, and their various tasks at the presidios, assigning to each of several tasks a minimum number of soldiers.

Rivera next attacked the miscellaneous single proposals of the governor. He wished to remain in office until the King named his successor, and advised that the Viceroy lose the power of nominating the governor. On the death of the governor, the oldest captain in the province should succeed him. Such a plan would lessen the opportunities of meritorious men. Historical precedent, long established, supported the giving of governorships

as rewards for long and good service. Governor Berrutia thought that in cases of vacancies the captains should nominate to him their lieutenants, sergeants, and corporals, and that he should nominate captains, to the King. If in these matters the governor's idea should prevail, the viceregal office would lose much of its prestige, and Nueva Vizcaya would be like a separate republic. The Viceroy's Reglamento set forth much wiser provisions for the promotions and appointments of officers.

The governor suggested rules by which officers and soldiers were to receive special permissions and leaves. These rules were too much like those in Europe. Two articles in the Viceroy's Reglamento on this subject were much more appropriate to conditions in Nueva Vizcaya. The governor also suggested rules governing the military service of civilians, seemingly subject to him. They should remain subject to the Viceroy, as his Reglamento provided, under officers of his choosing.

Rivera devoted the remainder of his long report to the subject of the special fund of six thousand pesos allotted annually to the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya for special expenses "of peace and war". The governor proposed the annual auditing of this appropriation and its disbursement. Reviewing the history of that fund since its beginning in 1654, Rivera argued that the province should not receive that fund again. Other provinces, which neither claimed nor received such aid, contained Indians much more formidable than those of Nueva Vizcaya. If any such appropriation

were needed, it should be allotted to all of the provinces. In this matter, as in all others, the Viceroy's Reglamento was preferable to anything proposed by Governor Barrutia.[100]

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[100]Pedro de Rivera, Ynforme, Mexico, August 9, 1730, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, vol. 154, University of Texas transcript.

This firm reply of the Inspector, accepted by the Viceroy, apparently silenced the governor and other opponents of the reforms in Nueva Vizcaya. Minor repercussions occurred, however, for several years. As late as 1746 the memory of the governor's unsuccessfully proposed Reglamento appeared in the military annals of the province. In that year Captain Joseph Berroterán of the presidio of Conchos asserted that as senior captain in the province he had the right to govern it, in the absence or illness of the governor. This was the same Captain whom, in 1729, Governor Barrutia tried to defend from criticism as an explorer and to place in the line of succession to the governorship. It was the duty of the captain, according to the Reglamento, to visit annually twenty-two designated pueblos and report his visit and their condition to the governor. Acting in the absence of Governor Torre Campo, Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Velarde Cosío ordered Captain Berroterán, April 19, 1746, to make this report, and implied that he failed to make the required visits. Both men being then in San Phelipe, the captain made his reply on the following day. He

asserted that he did begin his regular tour of inspection, but that, partly because he was ill and partly because he found some alarming situations which needed viceregal attention, he returned to San Phelipe to prepare a report to the Viceroy. This was the proper procedure, Berroterán declared, for he was the head of Nueva Vizcaya during the absence or disability of the governor. The visit to the pueblos would be resumed in the following October.[101]

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[101]Joseph Velarde Cosío, Decreto, San Phelipe, April 19, 1746; Antonio Casuso, Notificación de la respuesta de Berroterán, San Phelipe, April 20, 1746, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcripts (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

Two days later Lieutenant-Governor Cosío sent to the Vicaroy a long account of the alleged disobedience of the captain. According to this account, the captain ignored the authority of the governor by reporting instead to the Viceroy, and was guilty of other offenses, such as using the labor of soldiers on the captain's private estates, and refusing to use those soldiers, as ordered by the governor, against the Apaches. As a result, the five missions at La Junta de los Ríos suffered disaster. The worst offense was the vain assumption of Berroterán that he, being the oldest captain in the province, was without a superior whenever the governor was absent. There was nothing in the Reglamento to support this claim. Furthermore the captain moved Indians

from the pueblos to his estates, where these Indians worked for him, without any religious instruction. He usually took twenty soldiers, from his garrison of thirty-six, for his escort, instead of fifteen as the Reglamento specified. Neglecting for eleven consecutive years his duty of visiting the pueblos, he was now vain enough to ignore the governor of the province. Cosío added dismally that the captains of all of the presidios in the province, except Janos, were guilty of using soldiers as laborers for private profit, to the neglect of defense against invading Indians.[102]

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[102]Joseph Velarde Cosío, Consulta, San Phelipe, April 21, 1746, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

Captain Berroterán sent his announced report to the Viceroy, April 26, giving dreadful news. The annual visit to the pueblos, begun February 14, was nearly cut short because the captain discovered alarming evidences that the invading Apaches, in secret collusion with the treacherous Tarahumares, were inflicting great damage in the north and west. To prevent another such disaster as that which recently befell the Yaqui Valley in Sonora, the captain and his ten soldiers returned to their presidio in order that he might notify the Viceroy and receive further powers with which to meet the new dangers. The captain mentioned his thirty-two years of experience in the royal service as evidence

of his loyalty and ability.[103]

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[103]Joseph de Berroterán, Consulta, San Francisco de Conchos, April 26, 1746, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

Such official discord in Nueva Vizcaya naturally produced long and particular efforts, by the disputants and their respective supporters as well as by superior officials, to bring the affair to a triumphant close. The Viceroy sent the records which he received from the lieutenant-governor and the captain to the Auditor-General, the Marquis of Altamira, for his opinion; and with it, to the Fiscal, for his. These officials advised thorough investigation of all charges and counter-charges and all circumstances productive of such charges. One inquiry, for instance, should reveal why the lieutenant-governor said that Berroterán used twenty soldiers as his escort and Berroterán himself said that he used ten, whereas the Reglamento specified fifteen. Another inquiry might disclose some reasons for the failure of the eight presidios, stretched across northern Nueva Vizcaya, to defend the province against invading Apaches and Sumas and treacherous Tarahumares. The province seemed to need a complete official overhauling.[104]

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[104]Fuenclara, Decretos, Mexico, June 16 and 23, 1746;

the Marquis of Altamira, Dictamen, Mexico, June 21, 1746; Licenciado Vedoya, Respuesta fiscal, Mexico, July 6, 1746, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcripts (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

This measure was carried out, with seemingly interminable attention to details. The records of the case suffered enough from the ravages of time to fail to show the exact outcome of the proceedings, but they revealed, along with numerous facts concerning the careers, correspondences, and supporting witnesses of the plaintiff and defendant, two hitherto unnoticed facts concerning the contents of the Reglamento. The Auditor-General, commenting upon the governor's approval of the lieutenant-governor's right to act, said that the Reglamento mentioned lieutenant-governors as assistants to rather than substitutes for governors. No ordinance in that document stated whether the lieutenant-governor or the senior captain was to command the presidial captains in the absence or disability of the governor. The opinion of the Auditor-General was that the lieutenant-governor should have that power, except when the captains were cooperating in military campaigns. Then, of course, the senior captain should have it. The Viceroy accordingly so decreed.[105]

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[105]The Marquis of Torre Campo, Memorial, Perral, no date; Revilla Gigedo . . . Decreto, Mexico, August 8 and 11, 1746; the Marquis of Altamira, Dictamen, Mexico, August 9, 1746, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcripts (Cunningham, 1701-1730). The records of

this "Berroterán Case" consist of letters, official opinions, decrees, autos, sworn testimonies, and attests,--fifty-three documents in all.

It was quite apparent, two decades after Rivera visited the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, that they were again negligent and frequently ineffective. The other provinces of the frontier were no doubt equally in need of fresh reforms. A traveler in that region in 1761 wrote to Viceroy Cruillas[106] a cheerless account

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[106]Joaquin Monserrat, Marquis of Cruillas, was Viceroy of New Spain, 1760-1766.--Priestley, The Mexican Nation, 186.

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of presidial defects. Equipment was both scanty and inferior. The Indians were as fierce and as insolent as ever. The governor and the captains were all lazy. The soldiers spent most of their time caring for their horses. The "presidio de las Juntas de los Ríos Norte y Conchos" was in bad condition, and "clamors for prompt remedy."[107]

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[107]Pedro Tamarón to Cruillas, Durango, September 7, 1761, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-6-13, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1757-1766).

On the western coast the inspection of Rivera caused the formation of another major province. He advised Viceroy Casafuerte that the provinces of Sonora, Ostimuri, and Sinaloa, subject

to the government of Nueva Vizcaya, and the provinces of Culiacán and Rosario, subject to that of Guadalajara, should form one provincial government, independent of their respective superiors but subject in judicial matters to the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, already political governor of Sinaloa and life-term captain of its presidio, should become the governor of the enlarged province, in which he would therefore control the alcaldes mayores of the other four provinces, as well as the captain of the presidio of Sonora. The union would mean a saving to the royal treasury, a convenience to the inhabitants of the coastal provinces, who hitherto had little or no recourse for their legal problems, and a greater protection to the whole region against "apostate Indians" and against European pirates. Sinaloa was the logical head and center of the five provinces. The governorship of the enlarged province should be a life-term office, as was that of Sinaloa proper since 1686. The alcalde mayor of each sub-province, however, should hold office for only five years. A merchant and a military engineer, both acquainted with that part of the country, endorsed the advice of Rivera. Going through the usual official channels, the proposal of unification received, March 14, 1732, the approval of the King.[108]

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[108]Consejo de Indias, Acuerdos, Madrid, November 26, 1731, and January 16, 1732, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-37, University of Texas transcripts (Dunn, 1715-1741); Extracto para el Consejo, 1737, Archivo General de

Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1734-1773).

The union of these provinces, both before and after its realization, was apparently pleasing to the inhabitants, but far from reconciling them to the reduction which Rivera had made in the garrison of Sinaloa. As early as 1727 the Fiscal advised the Viceroy to restore to the presidio of Sinaloa twenty soldiers, seven having been dismissed by Casafuerte's predecessor, the Marquis of Valero, and thirteen by Rivera. Unheeded then, the advice was repeated in 1730, when the Indians were unusually troublesome.[109] Governor Huidobro urged the Viceroy, April 15, to do

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[109] Informe fiscal, Madrid, February 14, 1737, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1734-1773).

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something to relieve the predicament of Sinaloa, where the Indians were deserting their pueblos and gathering, in unfriendly mood, in their mountains. In July the Viceroy turned the problem over to Rivera, who proposed, August 31, a solution which ought to be satisfactory to the governor and undisturbing to the recent reforms. The responsibility of dealing with the Zaris and Tepocas Indians, which the Reglamento laid jointly upon the presidios of Sonora and Sinaloa, and the responsibility of dealing with the Pimas Bajos, which the Reglamento assigned to the presidio of Sinaloa alone,

were henceforth to belong exclusively to the presidio of Sonora. The presidio of Sinaloa was to retain the duty of dealing with the Yaquis and the pueblos of Thecoripas, Navogame, Baurigame, and Chinipas, as specified in the Reglamento. These responsibilities included annual visits and prevention of disturbances, as well as suppressing uprisings if necessary. This transfer of some of the duties of the Sinaloa presidio to that of Sonora was made because Sonora was much nearer those Indians and had a larger garrison than Sinaloa. Thus did Rivera admit and correct an error, but he stood firm in declining to restore the thirteen soldiers which he dismissed from Sinaloa. They would not be necessary, he argued, when these duties were shifted from Sinaloa to Sonora. It was not the size, but the watchfulness, of a garrison that impressed the Indians. The Viceroy promptly accepted Rivera's proposal.[110]

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[110]Pedro de Rivera, Yuforme, Mexico, August 31, 1730; Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, September 4, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcripts (Cunningham, 1701-1730).

That this solution was not altogether satisfactory became apparent when Governor Huidobro replied that he could see scant relief for his presidio in the change proposed by Rivera, for the presidio had to send soldiers northward to assist the presidio of Sonora in suppressing Indian uprisings. If the soldiers

had to be absent from their own presidio, they might as well be handling the Indians originally assigned as to be fighting battles for Sonora.[111]

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[111] *Informe fiscal*, Madrid, February 14, 1737, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1734-1773).

Unsuccessful in securing any of the twenty desired additions to the garrison of Sinaloa, the governor and other officials of the enlarged province nevertheless continued their request and added another. This was for nothing less than a new presidio, to be established at Terrenate Pass, thirty leagues west of the presidio of Sonora, and to contain fifty soldiers. To that end Gabriel de Prudhom, Baron de Heyder, who was *Alcalde Mayor* of Sonora, addressed to Joseph Patiño, principal minister of the Crown, a letter in 1734, setting forth the need of the province for a new presidio. Missions, mines, and merchants were desolately in need of more protection from Apaches and Pimas Altos than the two presidios of Sonora and Sinaloa, aided by poor but loyal civilians, could give. Incidentally the *alcalde mayor*, having completed his term of five years, was longing for the arrival of a successor, for the burdens of defense against the Indians were physically and financially exhausting.[112] To this plea

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[112] Gabriel de Prudhom, Baron de Heyder to Patiño, San

Juan de Sonora, March 24, 1734, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-2-11, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1741).

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certain citizens of Sonora added theirs, picturing magnificent results if it were granted. Prosperity would return, Christianity would spread, the royal treasury would realize great sums from the mines, and the "Province of Moqui", lost to New Mexico since 1680, would be regained. These citizens stressed also the necessity of adding twenty soldiers to the presidio of Sinaloa.[113]

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[113] Informe fiscal, Madrid, February 14, 1737, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-3-29, University of Texas transcript (Cunningham, 1734-1773).

After the usual delays and repetitions, the western province secured, in 1741, the long desired additional protection. This was divided into two presidios, one of which was established at Terrenate and called San Bernardo Grecia Real, and the other at Pitic and called San Pedro de la Conquista. The presidio at Pitic was ordered to watch the Yaquis, Seris, Pimas Bajos, and Tepocas, while that at Terrenate was told to protect the missions and pueblos of Pimería Alta from the Apaches.[114] Apparently the

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[114] Bancroft, The North Mexican States and Texas, I, 528, 530.

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savings effected by Rivera were not to last very long in the enlarged province of Sinaloa.

The province of New Mexico, less exposed than its neighbors to the French on the one side and pirates on the other, remained comparatively content for some years after the inspection of Rivera. There was objection, seemingly more official than popular, to the dismissal of twenty men from the presidio of Santa Fé, but very little commotion occurred on that account. In 1731 the Bishop of Durango visited the settlements of New Mexico and presented, in a report to Madrid, a fairly cheerful description of conditions. He found some of the Indians, he said, peaceful and eager to receive the gospel, and others hostile and as eager to attack the Spanish. Among the missionaries and pastors he found patience and endurance in some, laziness and jealousy in others. Soldiers of both presidios were fulfilling their duties, including escort-service, with "valor and intelligence". Not a word had he to say about the "unfortunate economy" of Rivera.[115]

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[115]Benito, Bishop of Durango, to Patiño, Durango, August 5, 1731, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 104-2-11, University of Texas transcript (Bunn, 1715-1741).

In 1744 Auditor-General the Marquis of Altamira had occasion to advise Viceroy Fuenclara[116] about presidial matters.

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[116]Pedro Cebrián y Agustín, Count of Fuenclara, was

Viceroy of New Spain from November 3, 1742 to July 9, 1746.--Bancroft, History of Mexico, III, 355.

The marquis found much to deplore in these. There were twenty-three presidios: three in Texas, three in Coahuila, two in Nuevo León, two in New Mexico, one in Nayarit, six in Nueva Vizcaya, four in "Sonora", and two in the Peninsula of California. He included Janos among the presidios of "Sonora", or Sinaloa. These presidios were full of evils, the soldiers lacking equipment, the officers and dealers preying upon salaries, and inferior, vicious breeds of men, instead of Spaniards, filling many places on the rolls. The Apaches were as cruel and untamed as ever. Among the settlements afflicted with dire poverty was San Antonio de Béjar, where the general complaint was that there were "not enough lands". The Reglamento of 1729 made reductions and savings, but they were no longer availing. The marquis did not mention Rivera.[117]

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[117]The Marquis of Altamira, Parecer, Mexico, July 4, 1744, Documentos para la historia eclesiastica y civil de la provincia de Texas, XXVIII, University of Texas transcript.

The omission was an unwitting kindness to the memory of the Inspector. He performed painstakingly a long and tedious task. Within two decades his work was noticeably less effective, and the presidios of the frontier were again lacking in efficiency. The Reglamento remained nominally in effect, except for modifications,

until displaced by another in 1772.[118] Rivera, however, did not

[118]Castañeda, Morfi's History of Texas, 415, 441.

remain in the viceregal court long enough after his great inspection to see its ultimate results. His own life was yet to concern itself, briefly, with other matters.

CHAPTER VIII

LATER YEARS OF RIVERA AND CONCLUSIONS REGARDING HIS WORK

The work of preparing, performing, presenting, and protecting his inspection and reform of the frontier presidios of New Spain occupied almost a decade in the life of Rivera. During that time he planned, traveled, investigated, decided, and wrote for "the glory of God, the service of the King, and the improvement of the presidios". His reward for all of that work was more work, albeit with sustained dignity and increased honor. Known records of his later years are very meagre, but they covered at least another decade.

The first reward for his labors of reform grew up, apparently informally, before those labors ended. That reward consisted of his position and influence as advisor to the Viceroy. Many plans, questions, opinions, and complaints received by the Viceroy during the five years following the inspection were transmitted directly to Rivera for his opinion, no less than to the Auditor-General and the Fiscal, who were admittedly the official advisors of the Viceroy.[1] Rivera remained in or near the City of

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[1] Numerous documents cited in Chapter V, pages 188-191.

in Chapter VI, pages 218-220, and in Chapter VII, pages 318-321, illustrate to the point of proof the close advisory relationship of the Inspector to the Viceroy.

Mexico during this period of service as counselor, and in touch with many of the affairs of civil and military administration.

In the course of that experience he reaped another reward, acquiring popularly, if not officially, the military rank and title of field-marshal. Viceroy Casafuerte was eager to win royal favor, in the form of this promotion, for his trusted friend and official, and assured the King that the Inspector was wholly worthy of any distinction that the King could bestow on him.[2]

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[2]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 2, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1736).

There was precedent for the request, since the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo also became a field-marshal after his establishment of missions and presidios in Texas.[3] That he, a nobleman,

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[3]The Marquis asked for the rank of lieutenant-general, but, on the recommendation of the Council of the Indies, received the lower rank of field-marshal. Consejo de Indias, Consulta, Madrid, July 26, 1724, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-37, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738).

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received a reward in rank for his services was a very good reason

why Viceroy Casafuerte would strive to win exactly that reward for his less aristocratic but more economical officer. The effort was apparently successful, for officials and writers thereafter customarily prefixed the title of field-marshal to Rivera's name. Casafuerte continued to call him Brigadier and Inspector, but Casafuerte's successor, Archbishop-Viceroy Vizarrón Eguiarreta, employed the higher title whenever he mentioned Rivera. Probably Casafuerte was dead before the King formally bestowed the promotion upon the Inspector.[4]

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[4]Consejo de Indias, Acuerdo, Madrid, July 27, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-1-36, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1715-1741).

Among later writers who mentioned Rivera as a field-marshal were the following: Juan Agustín Morfi, Historia de Texas translated by Carlos E. Castañeda, 244, 273; Francisco de Paula García Peláez, Memorias para la Historia del Antiguo Reyno de Guatemala, II, 216; Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, Historia de Guatemala, II, 183; José Mariano Beristaín de Souza, Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional, III, 33.

Morfi's estimate of Rivera's right to promotion was strongly implied in the words with which Morfi concluded his criticism of Rivera's work:

"In the twenty-seven years that I have been in America, I have known many who have been most zealous of the royal treasury, but I have known few who, after having proved their zeal by reducing expenses, have not ended by soliciting royal aid, or promotion in rank, or an advance in salary. In the meanwhile, America grows worse."--Castañeda, Morfi's History of Texas, 273.

Less than a year before the death of Casafuerte a third reward came to Rivera. Whether it preceded or accompanied his promotion to the rank of field-marshal, this third reward was the bestowal of additional work and responsibility upon the erstwhile

Brigadier. The Viceroy possibly suggested to the King at the same time the promotion and the appointment. On July 11, 1733, Rivera became the thirtieth governor and captain-general of the "Kingdom" and president of the Audiencia of Guatemala.[5] He remained in that office nine years. It was not his first experience in provincial administration, for he was Governor of Tlaxcala and commander of Fort San Juan de Ulloa in Vera Cruz before he began in 1724 his work of presidial inspection.[6] His administration was tranquil, for the most part. He ended the practice of dragging condemned criminals to the place of execution. He directed the building of a public granary, which was completed in 1739. It was in Guatemala that he published, in 1736, his diary of his journey of presidial inspection.

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[5]Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, Historia de Guatemala, II, 183. As early as July 16, 1730, Rivera was mentioned by Oliván Rebolledo as "of the Council of His Majesty and his President-elect of the Royal Audiencia of Guatemala". Juan de Oliván Rebolledo, Parecer, Mexico, July 16, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 67-4-38, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1710-1738). The Guatemalan historians referred to Rivera as Rivera Villalón.

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[6]Pedro de Rivera, Diario y derrotero de lo caminado, visto, y observado en el discurso de la visita general de presidios situados en las Provincias yntemas de Nueva España. Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, May 25, 1723, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

That the tranquility of his official life in Guatemala was not undisturbed was illustrated by at least three incidents. One of these was a dispute in 1741 between Rivera and some treasury officials because of his decree that no money was to be paid by the treasury there except by his order. The disgruntled officials obtained a rescript which canceled his decree, but the ayuntamiento agreed that under Rivera's guardianship the treasury there was in much better condition then before. Another instance was the abolition of the College of Buena Ventura in the City of Guatemala by an ecclesiastical inspector named Abasolo, who was apparently seeking economy in the brotherhoods as Rivera formerly sought it in the northern presidios. Not interested in this form of economy, and willing to aid the excited objectors to this policy, Rivera worked successfully both in the ayuntamiento and in the audiencia for the re-establishment of the college. That work consisted mainly of bringing mediatory pressure to bear upon the Commissary General of New Spain, the ecclesiastical superior of the college.

In the meanwhile the longest disturbance of Governor Rivera's peace of mind began when in 1735 one Tomás Rivera Santa Cruz, a jurist in the City of Mexico, announced that he was designated to succeed Governor Rivera as president of the Audiencia of Guatemala. During the ensuing seven years correspondence of increasing sharpness took place between the ayuntamiento of Guatemala and Governor Rivera, on the one hand, and the Audiencia of Mexico

and the impatient Santa Cruz, on the other. Deadlocks in this correspondence awaited in turn the long-drawn-out procedure of reference to the King, followed by his decisions. At length the new official announced his coming, late in the summer of 1742. Pedro de Rivera "took his leave of the ayuntamiento", October 9, and a week later his successor took office.[7]

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[7]The fore-going account of Rivera's governorship in Guatemala is drawn from Francisco de Paula García Peláez, Memorias para la Historia del Antiguo Reyno de Guatemala, II, 216-219. Brief mention is found also in José Mariano Beristaín de Souza, Biblioteca-hispano-americana septentrional, III, 33, and in Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, Historia de Guatemala, Adiciones y Aclaraciones appended by Justo Zaragoza, III, 183.

The ex-governor left Guatemala, April 16, 1743, and returned to the City of Mexico.[8] It was then almost nineteen years

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[8]Ibid.

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since he had left his post in Tlexcala to go to the capital to prepare for the inspection of the presidios of New Spain. Already somewhat advanced in age when he had made that inspection,[9] he was

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[9]Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 8, 1730, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 61-2-12, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1730-1735).

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facing the end of his career when he left Guatemala. Apparently he was one public official in whom old age created no desire for retirement. Retire he must, however, for he was old, Casafuerte was dead, and Viceroy Fuenclara[10] was more concerned with the

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[10]Pedro Cebrián y Agustín, Count of Fuenclara, was Viceroy of New Spain, 1742-1746.--Priestley, The Mexican Nation, 185.

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menace of the British navy than with the military troubles of his inland frontiers. It was not long before Rivera left this world of inspections for another.

On the whole, the inspection of Rivera and its consequent reforms produced more temporary benefits to New Spain than permanent, and perhaps more permanent harm than temporary. Naturally these reforms were enforced better during their first five or ten years than later, for even where enforcement was not desired it was at least regarded with some respect among presidial and provincial officials. They had to exercise some degree of care in their attitudes towards the Reglamento while it was new. As years went by, and viceroys came and went who "knew not Joseph", the strength of the Reglamento waned accordingly. Casafuerte and Rivera distinguished, in so far as they were able to distinguish, between useless and still useful presidial institutions by abolishing the one kind and tightening up the other. Such reforms could not live long without further cultivation.

Because the key-note of Rivera's reforms was retrenchment and because the Spanish hold on North America declined afterwards, many observers were and are inclined to believe post hoc ergo propter hoc and to attribute such loss primarily to Rivera and Cassafuerte and their zeal for economy. Especially in the history of Texas this theory found great support. Missionaries in particular were wont to ascribe to Rivera the dwindling of their returns, despite the fact that in no large area has Christianity ever spread thoroughly by the efforts of foreigners alone. Civilians likewise attributed their losses of property, damaged or taken by Indian raiders, to the stingy policy of Rivera in reducing the presidial protection of the frontier, rather than to the inability of a small immigration to conquer or absorb a widely spread native population. Soldiers themselves could think of Rivera as the callous cause of their additional labors and the increasing difficulty of expanding the limits of New Spain.

No one could acquit Rivera entirely of these charges, but neither could any one prove that he was chiefly to blame for the decline and end of Spanish colonization in western North America. There is no evidence to show that he desired the end of expansion. On the contrary, he repeatedly expressed a sympathetic interest in prospects and projects of expansion. To him, however, expansion of colonial territory was in its first stages the duty of Crown and Church, but in later stages the defense of this expansion was at least partly the responsibility of the people who profited from

the mines and farms, the flocks and herds, and the markets and labor-supply which expansion afforded. He therefore looked forward to the civil settlement of every region already reached by the missions and presidios. He favored the importation of civilians into Texas until he was convinced that the cost would be too great and too long a burden upon the Crown. He approved of and respected the mission as thoroughly as the presidio, and both of them as thoroughly as the colonial municipality. He also believed that the Crown should give cordial support to these as long as they made comparable returns. He did not believe, however, that the Crown should risk exhaustion in Europe for the sake of any institution in America which was not producing, in value, as much as it was consuming. In later times the Crown might become able again to pay for more than it was receiving, but he felt that it was not able to do so in his time. He was therefore firm against the argument of the soldier or the rancher or the missionary who considered his own kind of institution imperiled by the Reglamento. Rivera seemed to think that not even God should lean too long and too heavily upon the arm of a wearied Caesar.

Whether the decline in the expansion of New Spain set in immediately after the expedition of the Marquis of San Miguel de Aguayo into Texas or immediately after the inspection of Brigadier Rivera is scarcely an important question. The two events were less than a decade apart, and within a generation

afterwards the decline was a certainty. It was neither caused nor deterred by Rivera. The cause was in Spain, which after long over-reaching was growing feeble in Europe and America. When the Bourbons of Spain and France encountered such mighty adversaries as Walpole and Pitt, the collapse of Spanish colonialism became gradually inevitable. There was a slight revival of Spanish strength under Charles III (1759-1788), which was reflected in America by further expansion. Such was the origin of Spanish colonization in Upper California. These revivals of strength, however, were but temporary and postponed only briefly the approaching end of the empire of Spain in America. Rivera, one of several inspectors and reformers of the presidial system in northern New Spain, could not prevent the decline. He could and did clean house, conserve shrinking resources, and demonstrate that the Crown expected to receive equivalent service from the institutions which it fostered. His memory deserves to live not only in New Spain but also in all America.

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Consejo de Indias, Extracto de lo ocurrido sobre las poblaciones de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo y otros parages, y la conducción de 400 familias de Canarias, 1720-1731, Madrid, n.d., 1731.

67-3-38

Representacion de la Justicia, Regimiento, y vecinos de la Villa de S^n^tiago de la Monclova, Monclova, April 15, 1734.

Fiscal, Parecer, Madrid, June 18, 1735.

67-4-38

Royal cedula, Sevilla, February 14, 1729.

Casafuerte, Obedecimiento, Mexico, November 27, 1729.

Rivera, Pedro de, Ynforme, Mexico, January 16, 1730.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, January 18, 1730.

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Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, April 26, 1730.

Rivera, Pedro de, Parecer, Mexico, June 19, 1730.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 19, 1730.

Olivén Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, July 16, 1730.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, July 17, 1730.

104-2-11

Benito, Bishop of Durango to Patiño, Durango, August 6, 1731.

Prudhom, Gabriel de, Baron de Heyder, to Patiño, San Juan de Sonora, March 24, 1734.

104-6-8

Patente de Capn. Comandante del Presidio y Compa. de Sn. Antto. de Véjar, Madrid, June 6, 1731.

Título de Capitán del Presidio del Espíritu Santo en la Provincia de los Tejas, Madrid, September 16, 1731.

104-6-13

Tamarón, Pedro, to Cruillas, Durango, September 7, 1761.

104-6-15

Berroterán, Joseph, Diario de la Campaña executada de orden del Exmo. Señor . . . para la reconocimiento de las Margenes del Río del Norte, Conchos, May 22, 1729.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, July 28, 1729.

Rivera, Pedro de, to Casafuerte, Mexico, September 9, 1729.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, September 9, 1729.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, May 12, 1730.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 17, 1730.

136-7-7

(Unsigned), Descripción de la provincia de Texas, January 2, 1728.

Audiencia de México

60-5-6

Herrera, Pedro de, Razón, Madrid, January 10, 1731.

61-2-2

San Miguel de Aguayo to Valero, Los Adaes, November 7, 1721.

61-2-12

Barreyro, Francisco Albarez, Descripción de las Provincias Internas de esta Nueva España, Mexico, February 10, 1730.

Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, March 2, 1730.

Casafuerte to Ustariz, Mexico, April 9, 1730.

Consejo de Indias, Al Fiscal, Madrid, August 31, 1730.

Fiscal Real, Respuesta, Madrid, January 6, 1731.

Consejo de Indias, Acuerdo, Madrid, January 10, 1731.

61-2-18

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, June 3, 1726.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 11, 1726.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, May 19, 1727.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, May 19, 1727.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Ynforme, Mexico, August 2, 1728.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, August 3, 1728.

Rivera, Pedro de, Ynforme, Mexico, December 31, 1728.

Casafuerte, Despacho, Mexico, July 30, 1733.

Sandoval, Juan Manuel, to Ecay y Músquiz, Béjar, March 10, 1734.

Garza Falcón, Blas de la, Vicita, San Juan de Bautista, March 22, 1734.

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Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, May 27, 1734.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Ynforme, Mexico, June 7, 1734.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, August 29, 1735.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, September 26, 1735.

Vizarrón, Despacho, Mexico, September 28, 1735.

Razón de Secretaría, Mexico, September 28-October 10, 1735.

Garza Falcón, Blas de la, and Joseph Antonio de Roxy y Músquiz, Diario y derrotero de la expedición para la reconocimiento de las margenes del Río del Norte, de San Diego, etc., Bautista, January 16, 1736.

Garza Falcón, Blas de la, Consulta, Bautista, January 18, 1736.

Garza Falcón, Miguel de la, Consulta, Bautista, January n.d., 1736.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 9, 1736.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 13, 1736.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Respuesta, Mexico, July 21, 1736.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, December 15, 1736.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, December 22, 1736.

Garza Falcón, Miguel de la, to Vizarrón, Monclova, January n.d., 1737.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 1, 1737.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Ynforme, Mexico, February 19, 1737.

Vizarrón, Decreto, Mexico, February 25, 1737.

62-1-41

Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, May 25, 1723.

The King to Casafuerte, Madrid, February 19, 1724.

Casafuerte, Obedezimiento, Mexico, July 26, 1724.

Mendoza, Sebastián Gonzales de, Razón, Mexico, August 13, 1724.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, September 13, 1724.

Casafuerte, Instrucciones que se le dieron a Dn. Pedro de Rivera, Mexico, September 18, 1724.

Palazios, Prudenzio de, Respuesta Fiscal, Mexico, September 22, 1724.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, October 2, 1724.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, October 3, 1724.

Junta de Hazienda, Opinión, Mexico, October 6, 1724.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, October 10, 1724.

Mendoza, Sebastián Gonzales de, Razón, Mexico, October 14-16, 1724.

Miranda, Ygnacio José de, and Alejo Lopez de Cotilla, Consulta de ofiziones reales, Mexico, October 18, 1724.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, October 18, 1724.

Mendoza, Sebastián Gonzales de, Razón, Mexico, October 19, 1724.

Rivera, Pedro de, Razón, Mexico, October 30, 1724.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, April 19, 1725.

Mendoza, Sebastián Gonzales de, Juan Baptista de Ulibarri, and Thomás de Siguenza, Damos fee, Mexico, April 19, 1725.

Casafuerte, Reforma y ordenanzas de Presidios segn el Pro Proiecto del Visitador, Mexico, April 20, 1729.

Rivera, Pedro de, Consulta, Mexico, April 21, 1729.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, April 21, 1729.

Olivén Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, May 9-10, 1729.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, May 10, 1729.

Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, October 6, 1729.

Razón de Secretaría, Mexico, November 26, 1729.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, March 16, 1730.

Posada, Juan Rodriguez, Juan Joseph de la Cruz Aguilar, and Juan Antonio Valderrama, Damos fee, Mexico, March 16, 1730.

Herrera, Pedro de, Razón, Madrid, January 10, 1731.

Jaúregui Urrutia, Joseph Antonio Fernandez de, to the King, Monterey, September 16, 1736.

Salazar y Castillo, Antonio de, Concuerda, Madrid, July 27, 1737.

62-2-29

San Antonio, Mathías Sáenz de, Petición al Consejo, Madrid, May n.d., 1729.

Paredes, Miguel Sevillano de, Representación (1), Querétaro, August 25, 1728.

Paredes, Miguel Sevillano de, Representación (2), Querétaro, August 25, 1728.

Cabildo Sede Vacante de Mexico, Representación, Mexico, August 27, 1728.

Paredes, Miguel Sevillano de, Representación, Querétaro, August 28, 1728.

Consejo de Indias, al Fiscal, Madrid, May 28, 1729.

Fiscal Real, Opinión, Madrid, June 15, 1729.

Ynforme de la Contaduría, Madrid, June 17, 1729.

67-3-23

Casafuerte to the King, Mexico, August 1, 1730.

Consejo de Indias, Acuerdo, Madrid, March 22, 1732.

90-2-17

Molinillo, Francisco Fernandez, to Patiño, Mexico, March 30, 1734.

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Royal cedula, Sevilla, July 30, 1731.

Patiño, Joseph, to Casafuerte, Sevilla, July 30, 1731.

Patiño, Joseph, to Casafuerte, Sevilla, August 20, 1731.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, January 15, 1732.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, January 21, 1732.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, January 25, 1732.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, April 14, 1732.

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Volume 28

Santa Aña, Francisco Benito Fernandez de, to Revilla Gigedo, Béjar, May 22, 1752.

Volume 52

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Royal cedula, El Pardo, January 15, 1734.

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The King to Casafuerte, Aranjuez, May 13, 1722.

Casafuerte, Obedezimiento, Mexico, November 9, 1722.

Zerda e Morán, Joseph de la, Testimonio, Mexico, April 12, 1726.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, June 5, 1726.

Zerda e Morán, Joseph de la, Testimonio, Mexico, June 6, 1726.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, August 2, 1728.

Rivera, Pedro de, Proyecto mandado hacer por el Ex^{mo} S^{or} Marqués de Casafuerte . . . reducido de la

visita hecha por el Brigadier Dn. Pedro de Rivera, Mexico, December 7, 1728.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, December 13, 1728.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, to Casafuerte, Mexico, December 17, 1728.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, December 18, 1728.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, March 21, 1729.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, March 24, 1729.

Palazios, Prudenzio de, Respuesta, Mexico, March 29, 1729.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, March 30, 1729.

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Padre Gonzalez to Casafuerte, Béjar, June 5, 1724.

Pérez, Matéo, to Casafuerte, Bautista, June 6, 1724.

San Miguel de Aguayo to Casafuerte, Coahuila, February 26, 1725.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, May 26, 1725.

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Rivera, Pedro de, Ynforme, Mexico, August 9, 1730.

Patiño, Joseph, to Casafuerte, Sevilla, July 30, 1731.

Royal cedula, Sevilla, July 30, 1731.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, January 21, 1732.

Aviles, Antonio de, Concuerda, Mexico, January 28, 1732.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, January 15, 1732.

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Flores, Nicolás, to Casafuerte, Béjar, November 2, 1723.

San Miguel de Aguayo to Casafuerte, Coahuila, November 23, 1723.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, January 27, 1724.

Pérez de Almazán, Fernando, to Casafuerte, Béjar, May 1, 1724.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, September 4, 1724.

Volume 236

Bustillos y Ceballos, Juan Antonio de, to Casafuerte, La Bahía, June 18, 1726.

Pérez de Almazán, Fernando, to Casafuerte, Los Adaes, July 4, 1726.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, August 19, 1726.

Oliván Rebolledo, Juan de, Parecer, Mexico, August 26, 1726.

Rivera, Pedro de, Ynforme, Mexico, September 30, 1730.

Costales, Gabriel, to Casafuerte, La Bahía, January 7, 1731.

Rivera, Pedro de, to Casafuerte, Mexico, April 16, 1731.

Bustilly y Cevallos, Juan Antonio, Lista y relación jurada, Los Adaes, April 30-May 14, 1731.

Pérez de Mesquía, Pedro, to Casafuerte, Querétaro, May 4, 1731.

Bustillo y Cevallos, Juan Antonio, to Casafuerte, Los Adaes, May 24, 1731.

Rivera, Pedro de, to Casafuerte, Mexico, May 26, 1731.

Costales, Gabriel, to Casafuerte, La Bahía, June 1, 1731.

Rivera, Pedro de, to Casafuerte, Mexico, July 19, 1731.

Rivera, Pedro de, to Casafuerte, Mexico, July 21, 1731.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, July 30, 1731.

Casafuerte, Decreto, Mexico, August 8, 1731.

Pérez de Mesquía, Pedro, to Casafuerte, Querétaro, August 8, 1731.

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Volume 10

Padre Gonzales to Casafuerte, Béjar, January 10, 1724.

Padre Hidalgo to Casafuerte, Querétaro, January 14, 1724.

Pérez de Almazán, Fernando, to Casafuerte, Béjar, March 24, 1724.

Pérez de Almazán, Fernando, to Casafuerte, Béjar, October 24, 1724.

Pérez de Almazán, Fernando, to Casafuerte, Béjar, October 25, 1724.

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K. Legajo 2 number 6

San Miguel de Aguayo to Margil, Coahuila, July 4, 1724.

K. Legajo 2 number 6

Mediavilla y Azcona, Melchor, to Gonzales, Los Adaes, July 30, 1729.

K. Legajo 6 number 3

Paredes, Miguel Sevillano de, to Gonzales, Querétaro, September 7, 1729.

K. Legajo 3 number 3

Paredes, Miguel Sevillano de, Memorial al Rey, Querétaro, November 12, 1729.

K. Legajo 3 number 3

Pérez de Mesquía, Pedro, to Casafuerte, Querétaro, November 12, 1729.

K. Legajo 3 number 4

Casafuerte, Decreto (Informe de Rivera inserto), Mexico, February 23, 1730.

K. Legajo 19 number 38

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Mediavilla y Azcona, Melchor, to Gonzales, Los Adaes, July 30, 1729.

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APPENDIX A

THE ITINERARY OF RIVERA, 1724-1728[1]

Date	Direction	Leagues	To
Nov. 21, 1724	N	1	Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe
22	NNW	5	Guavtitlán
23	NW-1/4-W	10	Tula
24	W	9	Arroyo Zarco
25	W-1/4-SW	8	San Juan del Río
26	WNW	11	Amascala
27	W	12	San Miguel
28		0	
29	WNW	8	Hacienda de la R.
30	NW	8	Quemada
Dec. 1	N-1/4 NW	4	San Phelipe
2		0	
3	NW-1/4-W	8	Gachupines
4	W-1/4-NW	10	Vocas de Gallardo
5	NW-1/4-W	7	Zienega de Larrañaga
6	NW	12	Tlacotes

[1]This itinerary is derived from Pedro de Rivera, Diario y derrotero de lo Caminado visto y obcervado en el discurso de la visita general de Presidios situados en las Provincias yntornas de Nueva España.

Dec. 7	NW-1/4-N	7	Zacatecas
Dec. 7, 1724-Jan. 21, 1725		0	
Jan. 22, 1725	NW-1/4-N	13	Fresnillo
23		0	
24	WSW	7	Zienega
25	WSW	10	La Yerba Buena
26	WSW	9	Valle de Valparayso
27	W	10	San Antonio Colotlan
28	WNW	2	San Diego de Huaugilla
Jan. 28-Feb. 2		0	
Feb. 3	WSW	6	Arroyo de Zapote
4	W	5	"A mountain spring"
5	W	4	Another "mountain spring"
6	W	9	Angel Spring
7	WNW	9	San Juan Peyotan
8	SSW	5	Jesus Maria
9	W	5	Presidio, S. F. Xavier de Valero, Nayarit
Feb. 9-Apr. 3		0	
Apr. 4-13	E	94	Zacatecas (same route)
Apr. 13-May 20		0	
May 21	NW-1/4-N	13	Fresnillo (again)
21-23		0	
24	NNE	5	Hacienda del Rio de Medina

May 25	WNW	8	Hacienda de Soyn
26	WNW	10	Llerena Real
27		0	
28	NW-1/4-W	8	Mulëros
29	NW-1/4-W	11	San Quintín
30	NW	12	Durango (Esquadra)
May 30-Oct. 7		0	
Oct. 8	NNE	14	Laguna de Patres (some retracing)
9	NE	7	Chorro
10	NE	8	Ojos Azules
11	NE-1/4-N	7	El Álamo
12	NW	8	Presidio, La Concepción del Pasage
12-31		0	
Nov. 1	WNW	7	La Tinaja
2	NW	6	San Antonio
3	NW	8	Las Manos
4	WNW	5	Presidio, San Pedro del Gallo
4-23		0	
24	NE	10	Sierra de la Cadena
25	E-1/4-NE	7	Presidio, Santiago de Mapimí
Nov. 25-Dec. 5		0	
Dec. 6	SW	17	Presidio, San Pedro del Gallo
6-8		0	
9	W-1/4-NW	6	Los Peñoles

Dec.	10	WNW	8	La Zarca
	11	W-1/4-NW	10	Presidio, San Miguel de Cerro Gordo
	11-27		0	
	28	NW-1/4-N	13	Río Florido
	29	NW-1/4-N	9	Valle de San Bartolomé (Compañía)
Dec.	29, 1725-			
Jan.	10, 1726		0	
Jan.	11, 1726	W	7	San Joseph del Parral
Jan.	11-March 8		0	
Mch.	9	NW	9	Hacienda de San Pedro
	10	NNE	10	Presidio, San Francisco de Conchos
Mch.	10-Apr. 3	NNE	0	
Apr.	4	NNE	12	Chancaple
	5	NNE	8	Río de San Pedro
	6	NNE	12	La Carreta
	7	NW	8	San Phelipe de Chihuahua
	7-29		0	
	30	WNW	12	San Joseph del Potrero
May	1	NE	7	El Sauz
	2	NW	8	San Juan de los Manzinillas
	3	NNE	8	Laguna de San Martín
	4	NNE	7	Gallego
	5	NNE	12	Las Boquillas

May 6	NW	7	Ojo Caliente
7	NNE	8	Los Patos
8	N-1/4-NE	8	Laguna de Candelaria
9	NE	6	El Ojito
10	N	10	La Cañada
11	NW-1/4-N	2	Presidio, N. S. del Pilar y S. Joseph del Paso
11-19		0	
20	NW	5	Salinera
21	NW-1/4-N	8	La Punta del Estero Largo
22	NW-1/4-N	8	Rancheria, junto al Rio
23	NW	7	Robledillo
24	NW-1/4-N	6	San Diego
25	NNE	11	Las Peñuelas
26	NNE	6	Laguna del Muerto
27	NNW	11	Frey Christobal
28	NNE	8	San Pasqual
29	N-1/4-NE	12	(near) Alamillo
30	N-1/4-NE	8	Las Nutrias
31	N-1/4-NE	8	Valencia
June 1	NNE	10	La Rosa de Castilla
2	NE-1/4-N	11	Santo Domingo
3	ENE	9	El Pino
4	E	4	Presidio, Exaltación de la Cruz, Santa Fé

June 4-Aug. 23		0	
Aug. 24-Sept. 7	S	132	Presidio N. S. del Pilar y S. Joseph del Paso
Sept. 7-Oct. 6		0	
Oct. 7	SSW	12	El Ojito (again)
8	SW	9	Los Sartenejales
9	W-1/4-SW	6	Las Salinas
10	W	12	Río de Santa Buena Ventura
11	W-1/4-NW	9	Los Nogales
12	W	8	San Antonio
13	NW	5	Presidio, San Phelipe y Santiago de Janos
13-23		0	
24	W	10	Chupaderos
25	NW-1/4-W	10	Sierras de las Ánimas y las Mapuelas
26	W	9	Un Arroyo
27	W-1/4-NW	10	Alamillo
28	W	11	Caguyllona
29 (1)	SSW	7	Presidio, Santa Rosa de Coro de Guachi
29 (2)	SSW	2	Cuquiarachi
Oct. 29-Dec. 1		0	
Dec. 2	SSW	13	Baquachi
3	S	13	Arispe

Dec. 4	SSW	9	Motepore
5		0	
6	S	9	Atcochi
7	SSW	5	Baviacori
8	SSW	12	Los Ojitos
9	SSW	11	Matape
10	SSW	4	Las Veredadas
11	SSW	10	Tecoripa
12	S	9	Destierro
13	E	9	Onabas
14	S-1/4-SW	5	Río Chico
15	SSW	7	Moyas
16	SW-1/4-S	7	Ensinillas
17	SW-1/4-S	8	Arroyo de los Cedros
18	SW	10	Paredones de Batecosa
19	SW	11	Agua Caliente
20	SW	8	Los Álamos (Frayles)
20-22		0	
23	SW	12	Carrizal
24	SW	10	El Fuerte de Montes Claros
25		0	
26	SW-1/4-S	9	La Puerta
27	SW	9	Ocoroni
28	SW	7	Presidio, San Phelipe y Santiago de Sinaloa

Dec. 28, 1726-			
Jan. 12, 1727		0	
13-25	NE	105	Onabas (see Dec. 13, 1726)
25 (2)	N	6	Tonichi
26	N	8	San Joseph de Soyopa
27	N	12	Los Bancos
28	N	8	Batuco
29	NE	8	La Ranchería
30	NE	10	Tepache
31	NE	10	Tinaja
Feb. 1	NNE	9	Guazavas
2	E	8	Baca de guachi
3		0	
4	N	8	Guepari
5	NE-1/4-N	12	San Juan de Guachinela
6	N	5	Santa Maria de Basaraca
7	NE	6	La Cueata de Carretas
8	NE	8	Carretas
9	NE	8	Los Ojitos Fríos
10	NE	8	Presidio, S. Phelipe y Santiago de Janos
10-16		0	
17	SE	5	San Antonio (see Oct. 12, 1726.)
18	SE-1/4-S	11	(near) San Antonio de Casas Grandes

Feb. 19	SE	10	Torreón
20	SE	8	Puerto de las Partidas
21	E	4	Ojo muy caliente
22	E	8	Piedra Blanca
23		0	
24	SE	8	Los Álamos de San Juan
25	SE	10	Laguna de San Martín (see May 3, 1726)
Feb. 26-			
Mch. 1	SE	27	San Phelipe de Chihuahua (see Apr. 7, 1726)
Mch. 1-June 3		0	
June 4-25	SE	146	Presidio, La Concepción de Pasage (see Nov. 12, 1725)
26	E	4	(near) San Antonio de Cuencame
27	E-1/4-NE	4	Los Charcos
28	E	9	Río de Medina
29	E-1/4-NE	9	Los Coyotillos
30	NE	8	Álamo
July 1	NE	14	Las Cruzes de Parras
2	SSE	7	Santa María de las Parras
2-6		0	
7	E	11	Castanuela
8	E-1/4-SE	8	San Francisco de los Patos
9	SE	7	San Juan de la Baquería

July 10	N-1/4-NE	6	Santiago del Saltillo
10-17		0	
18	N	5	San Diego
19	NW-1/4-N	9	Mesillas
20	N	6	Anelo
21	NNE	7	Derrumbaderos
22	N-1/4-NE	7	La Hoya
23	NNE	10	Charco Redondo
24	N	8	Presidio de Coahuila, Santiago de Monclova
24-26		0	
27	NE	10	El Estero de las Ajuntes
28	NE-1/4-E	9	Álamo Viejo
29	E-1/4-NE	7	(near) Río de Sabinas
30	NE-1/4-E	6	Ojo de Agua de San Antonio
31	NE	8	Ojo de Agua de San Diego
Aug. 1	NE'	10	Presidio, San Juan Baptista del Río Grande
1-6		0	
7	S and NE	7	Los Rolas de San Juan
8	NE	10	Caramanchelito
9	NE-1/4-E	6	Charcos de la Tortuga
10	NE-1/4-E	8	(near) Río Frío
11	NE	5	(near) Arroyo hondo
12		0	

Aug. 13	NE	6	Charco de la Pita
14	E-1/4-NE	12	Río Medina, west bank
15	E	0	Río Medina, east bank
16	E-1/4-NE	8	Presidio, San Antonio de Béjar
17		0	
18	NE	8	Cíbolo River
19	NE	7	Guadalupe River
20	NE	6	Los Pinitos
21	NE	6	Río Blanco
22	ENE	9	Arroyo de Carrapatas (Onion Creek)
23	NE	8	Arroyo del Encadenado
24	NE	8	Las Ánimas de Arriba
25		0	
26	E-1/4-NE	8	Las Ánimas de Abajo
27	ESE	8	San Agustín
28	ENE	9	Buena Vista
29	E-1/4-SE	6	Arroyo del Nuncio
30	E	8	Los Angeles
31	NE-1/4-E	8	Arroyo de Corpus Christi
Sept.1	NE	6	Laguna de Santa Ana
2	NE	11	San Luís
3	E-1/4-NE	8	Arroyo de San Juan

Sept. 4	E-1/4-NE	7	Castano
5	E-1/4-NE	7	San Pedro
6	E-1/4-NE	6	San Francisco de Nechas
7	SE	10	Presidio, N.S. de los Dolores de los Texas
8		0	
9	E	9	Nacodoches
10	SE	8	Tinajita
11	E	11	Los Aes
12	NE	7	Arroyo del Patrón
13	NE-1/4-E	7	Río de San Francisco de las Sabinas
14	E-1/4-NE	8	(near) Arroyo San Miguel
15	E-1/4-SE	11	Presidio, N. S. del Pilar de los Adaes
15-25		0	
Sept. 26-Oct. 5	W	61	Presidio, N. S. de los Dolores de los Tejas
Oct. 5-10		0	
11-31	SW	154	Presidio, San Antonio de Béjar
Oct. 31-Nov. 2		0	
Nov. 3	SE	9	Aguila
4	E-1/4-SE	9	Arroyo del Sífulo
5	E	6	Arroyo de Cleto

Nov.	6	SE-1/4-E	10	Arroyo del Mezquite
	7	SE-1/4-E	11	Arroyo del Robalo, and Guadalupe
	8	SE	9	Presidio, N. S. de Loreto y Bahía del Espíritu Santo
	8-26		0	
Nov.	27-Dec. 2	NW	54	Presidio, San Antonio de Béjar
Dec.	2-11		0	
	12-18	SW	62	Presidio, San Juan Baptista del Río Grande
Dec.	18, 1727-			
Jan.	1, 1728		0	
Jan.	2-6	SW	50	Presidio de Coahuila, Santiago de Monclova
Jan.	6-26		0	
Jan.	27	E-1/4-NE	4	Cerro de San Joseph
	28	SE	13	Sauzillo
	29	E-1/4-SE	7	San Bernadino de la Candela
	30	SE	5	El Carrizal
	31	SE	10	San Pedro de Roca de Leones
Jan.	31-Feb. 3		0	
Feb.	4	SE	7	San Pedro de las Sabinas
	5	E	7	Carboneras
	6	E-1/4-SE	7	Arroyo del Álamo

Feb. 7	E-1/4-SE	9	San Nicolás de Gualeguas
8	S-1/4-SW	9	San Gregorio (Esquadra de Cerralvo)
9		0	
10	WSW	10	Papagoyo
11	SW-1/4-S	8	Pesquería
12	SW-1/4-S	6	Presidio, San Juan Baptiste, Cadereyta
13	WNW	9	Monterey
Feb. 13-Mch. 1		0	
Mch. 2	W	3	Santa Catharina
3	WSW	13	Hacienda Santa María
4	S-1/4-SW	5	Santiago de Saltillo (see July 10, 1727)
Mch. 4-Apr. 7		0	
Apr. 8	S	6	Agua Nueva
9	SSW	10	Encarnación
10	SSE	11	Cerro Grande del Pedregoso
11	SSW	12	San Lorenzo de Papagayo
12		0	
13	S-1/4-SE	9	San Juan de Banegas
14	SSW	6	San Christoval
15	S-1/4-SW	12	Laguna Seca
16	WSW	4	N. S. del Rosario de Charcas

Apr. 17	SSW	5	San Sebastián del Benado
17-19		0	
20	S-1/4-SW	5	Medionda
21	SSW	7	Las Bocas
22	S-1/4-SW	9	San Luís Potosí
22-25		0	
26	NNE	3	El Pozo
27	NE	11	Peyotillos
28	E	7	San Lazaro
29	SE	12	La Angostura
30	SE	8	La Boca del Bagre
May 1	SE	10	N.S. de la Concepción del Valle de los Maíses
1-18		0	(Esquadra de la Villa de los Valles)
19-25	W	51	San Luís Potosí
May 25-June 4		0	
June 5	S	5	Ojo del Gato
6	SW	10	El Xaral
7	SW-1/4-W	8	El Cubo
8	SW	5	La Quemada (See Nov. 30, 1724)
9-21	SE	72	City of Mexico
43 months		3,082 leagues	

APPENDIX B

PRESIDIAL SALARIES AND ENROLLMENTS[1]

I. As found by Rivera, upon inspection.

II. As arranged by Rivera, after inspection.

III. As arranged by Rivera, for the Reglamento.

(Annual rates expressed in pesos)

Presidio	Capt.	Lieut.	Alf.	Sarx.	Soldiers	Total
Nayerit						
I					400 (100)	40,000
II	(600	400			300 (25)	17,000
	(600	400			300 (25)	
III	(600	345		330	315 (19)	14,520
	(600	345		330	315 (19)	
Durango						
I					450 (15)	6,750
II					350 (15)	5,250
III						0,000

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[1] These tables are derived from Pedro de Rivera, Proyecto y visita de presidios hecha el año de 1728 pr. el brigadier d. Pedro Rivera, Archivo General de México, Provincias Internas, XXIX, University of Texas transcript. See also Casafuerte, Reforma y ordenenzas de Presidios segn. el Proyecto del Visitador, Mexico, April 20, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

Pasaje					
I	600			450 (40)	18,600
II	600			350 (40)	14,600
III	600	395	380	365 (33)	13,420
Gallo					
I	600			450 (39)	18,150
II	600			350 (39)	14,250
III	600	395	380	365 (33)	13,420
Mapimí					
I	500			350 (24) 337 (9)	14,333
II	600			350 (33)	12,150
III	600	395	380	365 (21)	9,040
Cerro Gordo					
I	600			450 (30)	14,100
II	600			350 (30)	11,100
III	600	395	380	365 (28)	11,595
San Bartolomé					
I				450 (30)	13,500
II	600			350 (29)	10,750
III	600	395	380	365 (27)	11,230
Conchos					
I	600			450 (45)	20,850
II	600			350 (45)	16,350
III	600	395	380	365 (33)	13,420

Santa Fé						
I	(Gov.)				450 (100)	45,000
II	(Gov.)				400 (80)	32,000
III	(Gov.)	430	420	415	400 (77)	32,065
El Paso						
I	600				450 (49)	22,650
II	600				400 (49)	20,200
III	600	430	420	415	400 (46)	20,265
Janos						
I	600				450 (50)	23,100
II	600				400 (50)	20,600
III	600	430	420	415	400 (47)	20,665
Sonora						
I	600				450 (50)	23,100
II	600				400 (50)	20,600
III	600	430	420	415	400 (47)	20,665
Sinaloa						
I	(Gov.)	800	(Cabo Caudillo)		450 (43)	20,150
II	(Gov.)	500			400 (30)	12,500
III	(Gov.)	500		415	400 (29)	12,515
Adaes						
I	(Gov.)				450 (100)	45,000
II	(Gov.)				420 (100)	42,000
III	(Gov.)	450	440	435	420 (57)	25,265

Texas (Dolores)						
I	500				400 (24)	10,100
II	500				400 (24)	10,100
III						0,000
Bahía						
I	600				400 (90)	36,600
II	600				380 (90)	32,800
III	600	410		395	380 (38)	15,845
Béjar						
I					400 (54)	21,600
II	600				380 (53)	20,740
III	600	410	400	395	380 (40)	17,005
Bautista						
I	500				300 (32)	10,100
II	600				300 (32)	10,200
III	600	330		315	300 (30)	10,245
Coahuila (Monclova)						
I	(Gov.)				450 (35)	15,750
II	(Gov.)				350 (35)	12,250
III	(Gov.)	395		380	365 (33)	12,820
Cerralvo						
I	725				450 (12)	6,125
II	600				350 (12)	4,800
III	600	380			365 (11)	4,995

Cadereyta				
I	725		450 (8)	4,325
II	600		350 (8)	3,400
III		380	365 (7)	2,935
Saltillo				
I			450 (12)	5,400
II			350 (12)	4,200
III				0,000
Valles				
I			450 (8)	3,600
II			350 (8)	2,800
III				0,000

TOTALS

(a) Salaries

I.	23 garrisons	436,883 pesos
II.	23 garrisons	350,640 pesos
III.	19 garrisons	281,930 pesos

(b) Personnel

	(Gar.)	Gov.	Capt.	Lieut.	Alf.	Sarx.	Cabo.	Sold.	Total
I.	(23)	4	13				1	999	1,017
II.	(23)	4	17	3				914	938
III.	(19)	4	15	20	6	18		675	738

Four provincial governors served also as captains.

Included among the 999 and 914 soldiers, shown respectively in I and II, were some captains and subalterns whose positions and salaries were not distinctive.

APPENDIX C

(1) PRICE-LISTS IN THE REGLAMENTO, 1729[1]

I. For the Presidios of Nayarit, Pasage, Gallo, Mapimí, Cerro Gordo, San Bartolomé, and Conchos

1. Corn, a bushel, 3 pesos and 4 reales
2. Flour, a hundred-weight, 4 pesos
3. Cattle, a head, 6 pesos.
4. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 8 reales.
5. Mexican cloth (1/16), all colors, a vara, 22 reales.
6. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.
7. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 14 reales.
8. Cholula moss-cloth (1/18), a vara, 3 pesos.
9. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 9 reales.
10. Wide Puebla blanket, a vara, 5 reales.
11. Same, medium width, a vara, 4 reales.
12. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 4 reales.
13. Same, medium width, a vara, 4 reales.
14. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 32 reales.
15. Same, ordinary, a pair, 20 reales.

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[1]Casafuerte, Reforma y ordenanzas de Presidios segn el Proyecto del Visitador, Mexico, April 20, 1729, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México, 62-1-41, University of Texas transcript (Dunn, 1723-1729).

16. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 18 reales.

17. Same, regular, 3 varas, 2 pesos.

18. Good Puebla powder puffs, each, 4 reales.

19. Puebla cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 2 pesos.

20. Same, ordinary, 3 reales.

21. Good mountain shawls, cotton and silk, each, 14 pesos.

22. Same, medium quality or thin, each, 10 pesos.

23. Toluca stockings and socks, a pair, 4 reales.

24. Blankets, of Patlas, each, 3 pesos.

25. Campeche blankets, each, 9 pesos.

26. Villalta blankets, each, 22 reales.

27. Quahutitlan and Texcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 4 reales.

28. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 12 reales.

29. Black work-hats, each, 20 reales.

30. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 10 reales.

31. Good tobacco, clear of grass, a bundle, 8 reales.

32. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 6 reales.

33. Cordovan shoes, men's and women's, all sizes, a pair, 8 reales.

34. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 6 reales.

35. Chocolate cups, and half-cups, each, 1 real.

36. Horses, for travel, each, 8 pesos.

37. Saddle-trappings: cow-hide of greater weight, of Penjamo-stamp, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 22 pesos.

38. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with fittings, each, 9 pesos.

39. Little pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 3 pesos.

40. Complete saddle-trappings, of Mexican stamp, a set, 15 pesos.

41. Irons for saddles, a set, 3 pesos.

42. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 35 pesos.

43. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each 4-1/2 pesos.

44. Guns, each, 25 pesos.

45. Gun-cases, of leather-strap, agave, and silk, each, 6 pesos.

46. Same, ordinary, each, 3 pesos.

47. Light gun-stocks, each 3 pesos.

48. Swords, broad and short, each, 12 pesos.

49. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each 6 reales.

50. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 20 reales.

51. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 8 pesos.

52. Good, large spurs, spiral or Magallanes, a pair, 4 pesos and 4 reales.

53. Strong, fine bridles, each, 20 reales.

54. Same, regular, each, 12 reales.

55. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

56. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 2 pesos.

57. Elefante, a vara, 7 reales.

58. Chinese mitan, a vara, 8 reales.

59. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 7 reales.

60. Chinese silk, a vara, 2 pesos.

61. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 2 reales.

62. Soft, untwisted Mixteca silk, all colors, an ounce, 8 reales.

63. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 8 reales.

64. Light Bengal gambaya, a piece, 5 pesos.

65. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 4-1/2 pesos.

66. Terlingas, each, 5-1/2 pesos.

67. Men's Canton stockings, imitations of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 5 pesos.

68. Same, for women, a pair, 22 reales.

69. Fine white Rouen linen, a vara, 8 reales.

70. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 9 reales.

71. Same, narrow, a vara, 8 reales.

72. Silesian linen, a vara, 6 reales.

73. Cotanza linen, a vara, 8 reales.

74. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 7 reales.

75. Fine, white bramant linen, a vara, 8 reales.

76. English serge, a vara, 2 pesos.

77. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 18 reales.

78. Calamanco woollen, a vara, 9 reales.

79. Shag, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.

80. Granada taffeta, a vara, 12 reales.

81. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 4 pesos.

82. Seville desk-covers, each 14 pesos.

83. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 18 pesos.

84. Milan net stockings, a pair, 5 pesos.

85. Women's stockings, of Italian-loom silk, a pair, 4 pesos.

86. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 4 pesos.

87. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 3 pesos.

88. Men's large, fine, woollen stockings, a pair, 12 reales.

89. Same, for women, a pair, 8 reales.

90. Brussels stockings, a pair, 8 reales.

91. Seville socks, a pair, 8 reales.

92. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 8 reales.

93. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 6 reales.

94. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 3 reales.

95. Same, of Cleme, an ounce, 3 reales.

96. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 2 reales.

97. Fine, white paper, 5 sheets, 2 reales.

98. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 4 pesos.

99. Shepherd-blankets, each, 14 reales.

100. Pueblo soap, a dozen cakes, 1 peso.

II. For the Presidio of New Mexico, Santa Fé.

1. Corn, a bushel, 3-1/2 pesos.
2. Flour, a hundred-weight, or wheat, a bushel, 4 pesos.
3. Cattle, a head, 12 pesos.
4. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 12 reales.
5. Mexican cloth, 1/16, all colors, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
6. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
7. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 17 reales.
8. Cholula moss-cloth, 1/18, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
9. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 11 reales.
10. Wide Puebla blanket, a vara, 6 reales.
11. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
12. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 6 reales.
13. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
14. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 3 pesos.
15. Same, ordinary, a pair, 22 reales.
16. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 22 reales.
17. Same, regular, 3 varas, 18 reales.
18. Cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 20 reales.
19. Good Puebla powder puffs, each, 4 reales.
20. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
21. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 17 pesos.
22. Same, medium quality or thin, each, 12 pesos.
23. Toluca stockings and socks, a pair, 5 reales.

24. Blankets, of Patles, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

25. Campeche blankets, each, 11 pesos.

26. Villalta blankets, each, 28 reales.

27. Quahutitlan and Tezcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 5 reales.

28. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 14 reales.

29. Black work-hats, each, 4 pesos.

30. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 2 pesos.

31. Good tobacco, clear of grass, a bundle, 11 reales.

32. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 9 reales.

33. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

34. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 12 reales.

35. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 8 reales.

36. Chocolate cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

37. Horses, for travel, each, 12 pesos.

38. Saddle trappings: cow-hide, of greater weight, of Penjamo stamp, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 28 pesos.

39. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with fittings, each, 15 pesos.

40. Little pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 4 pesos.

41. Complete saddle-trappings, Mexican stamp, a set, 25 pesos.

42. Irons for saddles, a set, 4-1/2 pesos.

43. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 40 pesos.

44. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 5 pesos.

45. Guns, each, 30 pesos.

46. Gun-cases, of leather-strap, agave, and silk, each, 10 pesos.

47. Same, ordinary, each, 6 pesos.

48. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

49. Broad and short swords, each, 15 pesos.

50. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

51. Field-knives, with scabbards, each 3-1/2 pesos.

52. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 11 pesos.

53. Good, large spurs, spiral or magallanes, a pair, 8 pesos.

54. Strong, fine bridles, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

55. Same, regular, each, 3 pesos.

56. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 10 reales.

57. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 18 reales.

58. Elefante, a vara, 8 reales.

59. Chinese mitan, a vara, 10 reales.

60. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 8 reales.

61. Chinese silk, a vara, 3 pesos.

62. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 3 reales.

63. Soft, untwisted misteca silk, all colors, an ounce, 12 reales.

64. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 12 reales.

65. Light Bengal cambaya, a piece, 6-1/2 pesos.

66. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 5 pesos and 6 reales.

67. Terlingas, each, 6-1/2 pesos.

68. Men's Canton stockings, imitations of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 5 pesos.

69. Same, for women, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.

70. Fine, white, Rouen linen, a vara, 12 reales.

71. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 12 reales.

72. Same, narrow, a vara, 11 reales.

73. Silesian linen, a vara, 9 reales.

74. Cotanza linen, a vara, 10 reales.

75. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 11 reales.

76. Fine, white bremant linen, a vara, 10 reales.

77. English serge, a vara, 3 pesos.

78. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.

79. Calamanco woollens, a vara, 12 reales.

80. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos and 2 reales.

81. Granada taffeta, a vara, 14 reales.

82. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 5 pesos.

83. Seville desk-covers, each, 15 pesos.

84. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each 20 pesos.

85. Milan net stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

86. Women's stockings, of Italian-loom silk, a pair, 5 pesos.

87. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 5 pesos.

88. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 4 pesos.

89. Men's large, fine, woollen stockings, a pair, 14 reales.

90. Same, for women, a pair, 10 reales.

91. Brussels stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

92. Seville socks, a pair, 10 reales.

93. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 10 reales.

94. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 8 reales.

95. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 5 reales.

96. Same, of Cleme, an ounce, 5 reales.

97. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 4 reales.

98. Fine, white paper, 5 sheets, 2-1/2 reales.

99. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 5 pesos and 2 reales.

100. Shepherd-blankets, each, 2 pesos and 6 reales.

III. For the Presidio of El Paso del Río del Norte

1. Corn, a bushel. 2 pesos.
2. Flour, a hundred-weight, or wheat, a bushel, 3 pesos.
3. Cattle, a head, 10 pesos.
4. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 10 reales.
5. Mexican cloth, 1/16, all colors, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
6. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
7. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 2 pesos.
8. Cholula moss-cloth, 1/18, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
9. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 10 reales.
10. Wide Puebla blanket, a vara, 6 reales.
11. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
12. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 6 reales.
13. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
14. Fine Pueblo petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 3 pesos.
15. Same, ordinary, a pair, 22 reales.
16. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 22 reales.
17. Same, regular, 3 varas, 18 reales.
18. Cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 20 reales.
19. Good Puebla powder-puffs, each, 4 reales.
20. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
21. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 16 pesos.
22. Same, medium quality or thin, each, 12 pesos.
23. Toluca stockings and socks, a pair, 5 reales.

24. Blankets of Patiee, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

25. Campeche blankets, each, 11 pesos.

26. Quahutitlan and Tezcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 5 reales.

27. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 14 reales.

28. Black work-hats, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

29. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 2 pesos.

30. Good tobacco, clean, a bundle, 10 reales.

31. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 8 reales.

32. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

33. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 11 reales.

34. Shoes, cow-hide, a pair, 8 reales.

35. Chocolate-cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

36. Horses, for travel, each, 11 pesos.

37. Saddle trappings: cow-hide of greater weight, of Penjamo stamp, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 22 pesos.

38. Light cuirasses, of same stamp, with fittings, each, 14 pesos.

39. Complete saddle-trappings, of Mexican stamp, a set, 28 pesos.

40. Irons, for saddles, a set, 4-1/2 pesos.

41. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 40 pesos.

42. Large, Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 5 pesos.

43. Guns, each, 30 pesos.

44. Gun-cases, of leather strap, agave, and silk, each, 10 pesos.

45. Same, ordinary, each, 6 pesos.

46. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

47. Broad and short swords, each, 14-1/2 pesos.

48. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

49. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 3 pesos.

50. Good, large spurs, spiral or magallanes, a pair, 6 pesos.

51. Strong, fine bridles, each, 4 pesos.

52. Same, regular, each, 3 pesos.

53. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

54. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 16 reales.

55. Elefante, a vara, 8 reales.

56. Chinese mitan, a vara, 10 reales.

57. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 8 reales.

58. Chinese silk, a vara, 3 pesos.

59. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 2 reales.

60. Soft, untwisted, misteca silk, all colors, an ounce, 12 reales.

61. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 12 reales.

62. Light Bengal cambaya, a piece, 6 pesos.

63. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 5-1/2 pesos.

64. Terlingan, each, 6-1/2 pesos.

65. Men's Canton stockings, imitations of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 6 pesos.

66. Same, for women, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.

67. Fine, white, Rouen linen, a vara, 11 reales.

68. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 11 reales.

69. Same, narrow, a vara, 10 reales.

70. Silesian linen, a vara, 8 reales.

71. Cotanza linen, a vara, 8 reales.

72. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 9 reales.

73. Fine, wide bramant linen, a vara, 10 reales.

74. English serge, a vara, 20 reales.

75. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.

76. Calamanco woollens, a vara, 12 reales.

77. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos.

78. Granada taffeta, a vara, 14 reales.

79. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 5 pesos.

80. Seville desk-covers, each, 16 pesos.

81. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 20 pesos.

82. Milan net stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

83. Women's stockings, of Italian-loom silk, a pair, 5 pesos.

84. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 5 pesos.

85. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 4 pesos.

86. Men's large, fine woollen stockings, a pair, 14 reales.

87. Same, for women, a pair, 10 reales.

88. Brussels stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

89. Seville socks, a pair, 10 reales.

90. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 10 reales.

91. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 8 reales.

92. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 5 reales.

93. Same, of Clemo, an ounce, 5 reales.

94. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 4 reales.

95. Fine, white paper, 5 sheets, 2-1/2 reales.

96. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 5 pesos.

97. Shepherd-blankets, each, 20 reales.

IV. For the Presidio of Janos

1. Corn, a bushel, 4 pesos.
2. Flour, a hundred-weight, 4 pesos.
3. Cattle, a head, 5 pesos.
4. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 10 reales.
5. Mexican cloth, 1/16, all colors, a vára, 3-1/2 pesos.
6. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
7. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 2 pesos.
8. Cholula moss-cloth, 1/18, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
9. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 10 reales.
10. Wide Pueblo blanket, a vara, 6 reales.
11. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
12. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 6 reales.
13. Fine Pueblo petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 3 pesos.
14. Same, ordinary, a pair, 22 reales.
15. Fine Pueblo mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 22 reales.
16. Same, regular, 3 varas, 18 reales.
17. Cloths like those of Xultepeque, 3 varas, 20 reales.
18. Good Pueblo powder puffs, each, 4 reales.
19. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
20. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 16 pesos.
21. Same, medium quality or thin, each, 12 pesos.
22. Toluca stockings or socks, a pair, 5 reales.

23. Blankets, of Patlan, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

24. Campeche blankets, each, 11 pesos.

25. Villalta blankets, each, 26 reales.

26. Quahutitlan and Tezcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 5 reales.

27. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 14 reales.

28. Black work-hats, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

29. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 2 pesos.

30. Good, grass-clean tobacco, a bundle, 10 reales.

31. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 8 reales.

32. Soap, 12 cakes, 1 peso.

33. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 11 reales.

34. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 6 reales.

35. Chocolate-cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

36. Horses for travel, each, 10 pesos.

37. Saddle-trappings: cow-hide of superior weight, of Penjamo stamp, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 28 pesos.

38. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with fittings, each, 14 pesos.

39. Small pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 4 pesos.

40. Complete saddle-trappings, Mexican stamp, a set, 25 pesos.

41. Irons, for saddles, a set, 4 pesos.

42. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 40 pesos.

43. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 5 pesos.

44. Guns, each, 30 pesos.

45. Gun-cases, of leather-strap, agave, and silk, each, 10 pesos.

46. Same, ordinary, each, 6 pesos.

47. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

48. Broad and short swords, each, 14 pesos.

49. Light sword-scabbards, with chapas and hooks, each, 6 reales.

50. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 3 pesos.

51. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 10 pesos.

52. Good, large spurs, spiral or Magallanes, a pair, 6 pesos.

53. Strong, fine bridles, each, 4 pesos.

54. Same, ordinary, 3 pesos.

55. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

56. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 18 reales.

57. Elefante, a vara, 8 reales.

58. Chinese mitan, a vara, 10 reales.

59. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 8 reales.

60. Chinese silk, a vara, 3 pesos.

61. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 2-1/2 reales.

62. Soft, untwisted, mistecа silk, all colors, an ounce, 12 reales.

63. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 12 reales.

64. Light Bengal Cambaya, a piece, 6 pesos.

65. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 5-1/2 pesos.

66. Terlingas, each, 6-1/2 pesos.

67. Men's Canton stockings, imitations of Laguna, all colors, a

pair, 6 pesos.

68. Same, for women, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.

69. Fine, white Rouen linen, a vara, 11 reales.

70. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 11 reales.

71. Same, narrow, a vara, 10 reales.

72. Silesian linen, a vara, 8 reales.

73. Cotanza linen, a vara, 8 reales.

74. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 9 reales.

75. Fine, white bramant linen, a vara, 10 reales.

76. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.

77. English serge, a vara, 20 reales.

78. Calamanco, a vara, 12 reales.

79. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos.

80. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 5 pesos.

81. Granada taffeta, a vara, 14 reales.

82. Seville desk-covers, each, 16 pesos.

83. Five-and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 20 pesos.

84. Milan net stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

85. Women's stockings, Italian-loom silk, a pair, 5 pesos.

86. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 5 pesos.

87. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 4 pesos.

88. Men's large, fine, woollen stockings, a pair, 14 reales.

89. Same, for women, a pair, 10 reales.

90 Brussels stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

91. Seville socks, a pair, 10 reales.

92. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 10 reales.

93. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 8 reales.

94. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 5 reales.

95. Same, of Cleme, an ounce, 5 reales.

96. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 4 reales.

97. Fine white paper, 5 sheets, 2-1/2 reales.

98. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 5 pesos.

99. Shepherd-blankets, each 20 reales.

V. For the Presidios of Sonora and Sinaloa

1. Corn, a bushel, 4 pesos.
2. Cattle, a head, 8 pesos.
3. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 12 reales.
4. Mexican cloth (1/16), all colors, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
5. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
6. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 2 pesos.
7. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 10 reales.
8. Cholula moss-cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
9. Wide Puebla blankets, a vara, 6 reales.
10. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
11. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 6 reales.
12. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
13. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 3 pesos.
14. Same, ordinary, a pair, 22 reales.
15. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Agullas, 3 varas, 22 reales.
16. Same, regular, 3 varas, 18 reales.
17. Cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 20 reales.
18. Good Puebla powder-puffs, each, 4 reales.
19. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
20. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 18 pesos.
21. Same, medium or thin, each, 12 pesos.
22. Toluca stockings or socks, a pair, 5 reales.

23. Blankets of Paties, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

24. Campeche blankets, each, 11 pesos.

25. Villalta blankets, each, 26 reales.

26. Quahutitlan and Tezcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 5 reales.

27. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 14 reales.

28. Black work-hats, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

29. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 2 pesos.

30. Good, clean tobacco, a bundle, 10 reales.

31. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 8 reales.

32. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

33. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 11 reales.

34. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 8 reales.

35. Chocolate-cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

36. Horses for travel, each, 10 pesos.

37. Saddle trappings: cow-hide of superior weight, of stamp of Penjamo, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 28 pesos.

38. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with straps, each, 14 pesos.

39. Small pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 4 pesos.

40. Complete Mexican saddle-trappings, a set, 25 pesos.

41. Irons, for saddles, a set, 4 pesos.

42. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 50 pesos.

43. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 5 pesos.

44. Guns, each, 30 pesos.

45. Gun-cases, of leather-strap, agave, and silk, each, 10 pesos.

46. Same, ordinary, each, 6 pesos.

47. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

48. Broad and short swords, each, 14 pesos.

49. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

50. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 3 pesos.

51. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 10 pesos.

52. Good, large spurs, spiral or Magallanes, a pair, 6 pesos.

53. Strong, fine bridles, each, 4 pesos.

54. Same, regular, each, 3 pesos.

55. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

56. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 18 reales.

57. Elefante, a vara, 8 reales.

58. Chinese mitan, a vara, 10 reales.

59. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 8 reales.

60. Chinese silk, a vara, 3 pesos.

61. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 2-1/2 reales.

62. Soft, untwisted, misteca silk, all colors, an ounce, 12 reales.

63. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 12 reales.

64. Light Bengal Cambaya, a piece, 6 pesos.

65. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 3-1/2 pesos.

66. Terlingas, each, 6-1/2 pesos.

67. Men's Canton stockings, imitations of Laguna, all colors, a

pair, 6 pesos.

68. Same, for women, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.

69. Fine, white Rouen linen, a vara, 12 reales.

70. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 12 reales.

71. Same, narrow, a vara, 10 reales.

72. Silesian linen, a vara, 8 reales.

73. Cotanza linen, a vara, 9 reales.

74. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 9 reales.

75. Fine, white bramant linen, a vara, 10 reales.

76. English serge, a vara, 20 reales.

77. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.

78. Calamanco, a vara, 12 reales.

79. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos.

80. Granada taffeta, a vara, 14 reales.

81. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 5 pesos.

82. Seville desk-covers, each, 16 pesos.

83. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 20 pesos.

84. Milan net stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

85. Women's stockings, Italian-loom silk, a pair, 5 pesos.

86. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 5 pesos.

87. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 4 pesos.

88. Men's large, fine woollen stockings, a pair, 14 reales.

89. Same, for women, a pair, 10 reales.

90. Brussels stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

91. Seville socks, a pair, 10 reales.

92. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 10 reales.

93. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 8 reales.

94. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 5 reales.

95. Same, of Cleme, an ounce, 5 reales.

96. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 4 reales.

97. Fine white paper, 5 sheets, 2-1/2 reales.

98. Bed blankets (1/2), each, 5 pesos.

99. Shepherd blankets, each, 20 reales.

VI. For the Presidio of Los Adaes

1. Corn, a bushel, 5 pesos.
2. Flour, a hundred-weight, 25 pesos [5?]
3. Cattle, a head, 16 pesos.
4. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 12 reales.
5. Mexican cloth (1/16), all colors, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
6. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
7. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 17 reales.
8. Cholula moss-cloth (1/16), a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
9. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 11 reales.
10. Wide Puebla blankets, a vara, 6 reales.
11. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
12. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 6 reales.
13. Same, medium width, 5 reales.
14. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 3 pesos.
15. Same, ordinary, a pair, 22 reales.
16. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 22 reales.
17. Same, regular, 3 varas, 16 reales.
18. Cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 20 reales.
19. Good Puebla powder-puffs, each 4 reales.
20. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
21. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 17 pesos.
22. Same, medium or thin, each, 12 pesos.

23. Toluca stockings and socks, a pair, 5 reales.

24. Blankets, of Patles, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

25. Campeche blankets, each 12 pesos.

26. Villalta blankets, each, 26 reales.

27. Quahutitlan and Tezcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 5 reales.

28. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 14 reales.

29. Black work-hats, each, 4 pesos.

30. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 2 pesos.

31. Good, clean tobacco, a bundle, 11 reales.

32. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 9 reales.

33. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

34. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 12 reales.

35. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 8 reales.

36. Chocolate cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

37. Horses for travel, each, 16 pesos.

38. Saddle-trappings: cow-hides of superior weight, of the stamp of Penjamo, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 28 pesos.

39. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with straps, each, 15 pesos.

40. Small pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 4 pesos.

41. Complete Mexican saddle-trappings, a set, 25 pesos.

42. Irons for saddles, a set, 4-1/2 pesos.

43. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 30 pesos.

44. Guns, each, 30 pesos.

45. Gun-cases of leather straps, agave, and silk, each, 10 pesos.

46. Same, ordinary, each, 6 pesos.

47. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

oad and short swords, each, 15 pesos.

ght sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

eld-knives, with scabbards, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

dged stirrups, a pair, 11 pesos.

od, large spurs, spiral or Magallanes, a pair, 6 pesos.

rons, fine bridles, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

me, ordinary, each, 3 pesos.

pper pots and pans, a pound, 10 reales.

pper kettles and jugs, each, 18 reales.

inese mitan, a vara, 10 reales.

uble petticoats, all colors, a vara, 8 reales.

inese silk, a vara, 3 pesos.

inese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 3 reales.

ft, untwisted mistecq silk, all colors, an ounce, 12 reales.

me, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 12 reales.

ght Bengal Cambaya, a piece, 6-1/2 pesos.

nquin tapestry, a piece, 5 pesos and 6 reales.

rlinges, each, 6-1/2 pesos.

n's Canton stockings, imitation of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 6 pesos.

67. Same, for women, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.

68. Fine, white Rouen linen, a vara, 12 reales.

69. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 12 reales.

70. Same, narrow, a vara, 11 reales.

71. Silesian linen, a vara, 9 reales.

72. Cotanza linen, a vara, 10 reales.

73. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 11 reales.

74. Fine, white bramant linen, a vara, 10 reales.

75. English serge, a vara, 3 pesos.

76. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.

77. Calamanco, a vara, 12 reales.

78. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos and 2 reales.

79. Granada taffeta, a vara, 14 reales.

80. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 5 pesos.

81. Seville desk-covers, each, 16 pesos.

82. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 20 pesos.

83. Milan net stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

84. Women's stockings of Italian-loom silk, a pair, 5 pesos.

85. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 5 pesos.

86. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 4 pesos.

87. Men's large, fine, woolen stockings, a pair, 14 reales.

88. Same, for women, a pair, 10 reales.

89. Brussels stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

90. Seville socks, a pair, 10 reales.

91. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 10 reales.

92. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 8 reales.

93. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 5 reales.

94. Same, of Clemo, an ounce, 5 reales.

95. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 4 reales.

96. Fine white paper, 5 sheets, 2-1/2 reales.

97. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 5 pesos and 2 reales.

98. Shepherd-blankets, each, 22 reales.

VII. For the Presidios of Béjar and Bahía.

1. Corn, harvested, a bushel, 3 pesos.
2. Corn, brought in, a bushel, 7 pesos.
3. Flour, a hundred-weight, 3 pesos.
4. Cattle, a head, 12 pesos.
5. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 10 reales.
6. Mexican cloth (1/16), all colors, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
7. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 4 pesos.
8. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 8 pesos.
9. Cholula moss-cloth (1/18), a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
10. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 10 reales.
11. Wide Puebla blankets, a vara, 6 reales.
12. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
13. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 6 reales.
14. Same, medium width, a vara, 5 reales.
15. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 3 pesos.
16. Same, ordinary, a pair, 22 reales.
17. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Agullas, 3 varas, 22 reales.
18. Same, regular, 3 varas, 18 reales.
19. Cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 20 reales.
20. Good Puebla powder-puffs, each, 4 reales.
21. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
22. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 16 pesos.

23. Same, medium or thin, each, 12 pesos.

24. Toluca stockings or socks, a pair, 5 reales.

25. Blankets of Patlas, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

26. Campeche blankets, each, 11 pesos.

27. Villalta blankets, each, 26 reales.

28. Quahutitlan and Texcoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 5 reales.

29. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 14 reales.

30. Black work-hats, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

31. Sara, ordinary, half-lined, 2 pesos.

32. Good, clean tobacco, a bundle, 10 reales.

33. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 8 reales.

34. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

35. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 11 reales.

36. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 8 reales.

37. Chocolate cups and half cups, each, 1 real.

38. Horses for travel, each, 12 pesos.

39. Saddle trappings: cowhide of superior weight, stamp of Penjamo, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 28 pesos.

40. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with straps, each, 14 pesos.

41. Small pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 4 pesos.

42. Complete saddle-trappings, of Mexican stamp, a set, 25 pesos.

43. Irons for saddles, a set, 4 pesos.

44. Leather jackets with necessary trimmings, each, 30 pesos.

45. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 5 pesos.

46. Guns, each, 30 pesos.

47. Gun-cases, of leather strap, agave, and silk, each, 10 pesos.

48. Same, ordinary, each, 6 pesos.

49. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

50. Broad and short swords, each, 14 pesos.

51. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

52. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 3 pesos.

53. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 10 pesos.

54. Good, large spurs, spiral or Magallanes, a pair, 6 pesos.

55. Strong, fine bridles, each, 4 pesos.

56. Same, regular, each, 3 pesos.

57. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

58. Copper kettles and jars, each, 18 reales.

59. Elefante, a vara, 8 reales.

60. Chinese mitra, a vara, 10 reales.

61. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 8 reales.

62. Chinese silk, a vara, 3 pesos.

63. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, [illegible]-1/2 reales.

64. Soft, untwisted, mixteca silk, all colors, an ounce, 12 reales.

65. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 14 reales.

66. Light Bengal cambaya, a piece, 6 pesos.

67. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 5-1/2 pesos.

68. Terlingas, each, 6-1/2 pesos.

69. Men's Canton stockings, imitation of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 6 pesos.

70. Same, for women, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.

71. Fine, white Rouen linen, a vara, 11 reales.

72. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 11 reales.

73. Same, narrow, a vara, 10 reales.

74. Silesian linen, a vara, 8 reales.

75. Cotanza linen, a vara, 8 reales.

76. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 9 reales.

77. Fine, white bramant linen, a vara, 10 reales.

78. English serge, a vara, 20 reales.

79. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.

80. Calamanco, a vara, 12 reales.

81. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos.

82. Granada taffeta, a vara, 14 reales.

83. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 5 pesos.

84. Seville desk-covers, each, 16 pesos.

85. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 20 pesos.

86. Milan net stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

87. Women's stockings, Italian-loom silk, a pair, 5 pesos.

88. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 5 pesos.

89. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 4 pesos.

90. Men's large, fine woollen stockings, a pair, 14 reales.

91. Same, for women, a pair, 10 reales.

92. Brussels stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

93. Seville socks, a pair, 10 reales.

94. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 10 reales.

95. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 8 reales.

96. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 5 reales.

97. Same, of Cleme, an ounce, 5 reales.

98. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 4 reales.

99. Fine, white paper, 5 sheets, 2-1/2 reales.

100. Bed blankets (1/2), each, 5 pesos.

101. Shepherd blankets, each, 20 reales.

VIII. For the Presidio of San Juan Bautista

1. Flour, 1 pack load, 22 pesos.
2. Corn, from private estates, a bushel, 20 reales.
3. Corn, from the missions, a bushel, 2 pesos.
4. Cattle, a head, 10 pesos.
5. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 8 reales.
6. Mexican cloth (1/16), all colors, a vara, 22 reales.
7. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.
8. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 14 reales.
9. Cholula moss-cloth (1/18), a vara, 3 pesos.
10. Blue baize, of the country, a vara, 9 reales.
11. Wide Puebla blankets, a vara, 5 reales.
12. Same, medium width, a vara, 4 reales.
13. Wide Chaponeco, a vara, 5 reales.
14. Same, medium width, a vara, 4 reales.
15. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 18 reales.
16. Same, regular, 3 varas, 2 pesos.
17. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 22 reales.
18. Same, ordinary, a pair, 20 reales.
19. Cloths, like those of Ahultepeque, 3 varas, 2 pesos.
20. Good Puebla powder-puffs, each, 4 reales.
21. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
22. Good mountain shawls, cotton and silk, each, 14 pesos.

23. Same, medium or thin, each, 10 pesos.

24. Toluca stockings and socks, a pair, 4 reales.

25. Blankets, of Patles, each, 3 pesos.

26. Campeche blankets, each, 9 pesos.

27. Villalta blankets, each, 22 reales.

28. Quahutitlan and Tescoco blue sackcloth, a vara, 4 reales.

29. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 12 reales.

30. Black work-hats, each, 20 reales.

31. Same, ordinary, half-lined, each, 10 reales.

32. Good, clean tobacco, a bundle, 8 reales.

33. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 6 reales.

34. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

35. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 8 reales.

36. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 6 reales.

37. Chocolate cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

38. Horses for travel, each, 10 pesos.

39. Saddle-trappings: cow-hide of superior weight, of the stamp of Penjamo, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 22 pesos.

40. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with straps, each, 9 pesos.

41. Small pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 3 pesos.

42. Complete saddle-trappings, of Mexican stamp, a set, 15 pesos.

43. Irons for saddles, a set, 3 pesos.

44. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 25 pesos.

45. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 4 pesos.

46. Guns, each, 25 pesos.

47. Gun-cases of leather strap, agave, and silk, each, 6 pesos.

48. Same, ordinary, each, 3 pesos.

49. Light gun-stocks, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

50. Broad and short swords, each, 12 pesos.

51. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

52. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 20 reales.

53. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 8 pesos.

54. Good, large spurs, spiral or Magellanes, a pair, 4-1/2 pesos.

55. Strong, fine bridles, each, 20 reales.

56. Same, regular, each, 12 reales.

57. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

58. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 2 pesos.

59. Elefante, a vara, 7 reales.

60. Chinese mitan, a vara, 8 reales.

61. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 7 reales.

62. Chinese silk, a vara, 2 pesos.

63. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 2 reales.

64. Soft, untwisted, mistaca silk, all colors, an ounce, 8 reales.

65. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 6 reales.

66. Light Bengal cambaya, a piece, 5 pesos.

67. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 4-1/2 pesos.

68. Terlingas, each, 5-1/2 pesos.

69. Men's Canton stockings, imitation of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 5 pesos.

70. Same, for women, a pair, 22 reales.

71. Fine, white Rouen linen, a vara, 8 reales.

72. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 9 reales.

73. Same, narrow, a vara, 8 reales.

74. Silesian linen, a vara, 6 reales.

75. Cotanza linen, a vara, 8 reales.

76. Wide cross-linen of León, a vara, 7 reales.

77. Fine, white brament linen, a vara, 6 reales.

78. English serge, a vara, 2 pesos.

79. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 18 reales.

80. Calamanco, a vara, 9 reales.

81. Shag, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.

82. Granada taffeta, a vara, 12 reales.

83. Valencia y Toledo satin, a vara, 4 pesos.

84. Seville desk-covers, each, 14 pesos.

85. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 18 pesos.

86. Milan net stockings, a pair, 5 pesos.

87. Women's stockings of Italian-loom silk, a pair, 4 pesos.

88. Same, of Toledo net, 3 pesos.

89. Same, of Milan net, 3 pesos.

90. Men's large, fine woollen stockings, a pair, 12 reales.

91. Same, for women, a pair, 8 reales.

92. Brussels stockings, a pair, 8 reales.

93. Seville socks, a pair, 8 reales.

94. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 8 reales.

95. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 6 reales.

96. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 3 reales.

97. Same, of Clema, an ounce, 3 reales.

98. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 2 reales.

99. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 4 pesos.

100. Shepherd blankets, each, 14 reales.

IX. For the Presidios of Coahuila (Monclova), Cerralvo, and Cadereyta.

1. Corn, a bushel, 2 pesos.
2. Flour, a hundred-weight, 4 pesos.
3. Cattle, a head, 6 pesos.
4. Sweet chocolate, a pound, 8 reales.
5. Mexican cloth (1/16), all colors, a vara, 22 reales.
6. Querétaro cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.
7. Blue woollen cloth, a vara, 14 reales.
8. Cholula moss-cloth (1/18), a vara, 3 pesos.
9. Blue baiz , of the country, a vara, 9 reales.
10. Wide Puebla blanket, a vara, 5 reales.
11. Same, medium width, a vara, 4 reales.
12. Wide Chapaneca, a vara, 5 reales.
13. Same, medium width, a vara, 4 reales.
14. Fine Puebla petticoats, blue and flesh, a pair, 28 reales.
15. Same, ordinary, a pair, 20 reales.
16. Fine Puebla mufflers, of Aguilas, 3 varas, 18 reales.
17. Same, regular, 3 varas, 2 pesos.
18. Cloths like those of Zultepeque, 3 varas, 2 pesos.
19. Good Puebla powder-puffs, each 4 reales.
20. Same, ordinary, each, 3 reales.
21. Good mountain-shawls, cotton and silk, each, 14 pesos.

22. Same, medium or thin, each, 10 pesos.

23. Toluca stockings and socks, a pair, 4 reales.

24. Blankets, of Patles, each, 3 pesos.

25. Campeche blankets, each, 9 pesos.

26. Villalta blankets, each, 22 reales.

27. Quahutitlan and Texcoco blue sac-cloth, a vara, 4 reales.

28. Tochomite, all colors, a pound, 12 reales.

29. Black work-hats, each, 20 reales.

30. Same ordinary, half-lined, each, 10 reales.

31. Good, clean tobacco, a bundle, 8 reales.

32. Same, ordinary, reasonable, a bundle, 6 reales.

33. Soap, 10 cakes, 1 peso.

34. Men's and women's Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 8 reales.

35. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 6 reales.

36. Chocolate-cups and half-cups, each, 1 real.

37. Horses for travel, each, 10 pesos.

38. Saddle-trappings: cow-hides of superior weight, of the stamp of Penjamo, with trees, bows, straps, pads, and other accessories, a set, 22 pesos.

39. Light cuirasses, of the same stamp, with straps, each, 9 pesos.

40. Small pads, of the same stamp, a pair, 3 pesos.

41. Complete saddle-trappings, of Mexican stamp, a set, 15 pesos.

42. Irons for saddles, a set, 3 pesos.

3. Leather jackets, with necessary trimmings, each, 25 pesos.

44. Large Cordovan shoulder-belts, each, 4-1/2 pesos.

45. Guns, each, 25 pesos.

46. Gun-cases, of leather strap, agave, and silk, each, 6 pesos.

47. Same, ordinary, each, 3 pesos.

48. Light gun-stocks, each, 3 pesos.

49. Broad and short swords, each, 12 pesos.

50. Light sword-scabbards, with chapes and hooks, each, 6 reales.

51. Field-knives, with scabbards, each, 20 reales.

52. Stirrups, ridged, a pair, 8 pesos.

53. Good, large spurs, spiral or Magallanes, a pair, 4-1/2 pesos.

54. Strong, fine bridles, each, 20 reales.

55. Same, regular, each, 12 reales.

56. Copper pots and pans, a pound, 8 reales.

57. Copper kettles and jugs, each, 2 pesos.

58. Elefante, a vara, 7 reales.

59. Chinese mitan, a vara, 8 reales.

60. Double petticoats, all colors, a vara, 7 reales.

61. Chinese silk, a vara, 2 pesos.

62. Chinese silk ribbon, plain and fancy, a vara, 12 reales.

63. Soft, untwisted, mixteca silk, all colors, an ounce, 8 reales.

64. Same, twisted for sewing, an ounce, 2 reales.

65. Light Bengal cambaya, a piece, 5 pesos.

66. Lanquin tapestry, a piece, 4-1/2 pesos.

67. Terlingas, each, 5-1/2 pesos.

68. Men's Canton stockings, imitation of Laguna, all colors, a pair, 5 pesos.

69. Same, for women, a pair, 22 reales.

70. Fine, white Rouen linen, a vara, 8 reales.

71. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 9 reales.

72. Same, narrow, a vara, 8 reales.

73. Silesian linen, a vara, 6 reales.

74. Cotanza linen, a vara, 8 reales.

75. Wide cream-linen, of León, a vara, 7 reales.

76. Fine, white brament linen, a vara, 8 reales.

77. English serge, a vara, 2 pesos.

78. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 18 reales.

79. Calamanco, a vara, 9 reales.

80. Shag, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.

81. Granada taffeta, a vara, 12 reales.

82. Valencia and Toledo satin, a vara, 4 pesos.

83. Seville desk-covers, each, 14 pesos.

84. Five- and seven-pointed cut covers, each, 18 pesos.

85. Milan net stockings, a pair, 5 pesos.

86. Women's stockings, of Italian-loom silk, a pair, 4 pesos.

87. Same, of Toledo net, a pair, 4 pesos.

88. Same, of Milan net, a pair, 3 pesos.

89. Men's large, fine woollen stockings, a pair, 12 reales.

90. Same, for women, a pair, 8 reales.

91. Brussels stockings, a pair, 8 reales.

92. Seville socks, a pair, 8 reales.

93. Same, of Genoa, a pair, 8 reales.

94. Same, of France and Galicia, a pair, 6 reales.

95. Thread, of Munequilla, an ounce, 3 reales.

96. Same, of Cleme, an ounce, 3 reales.

97. Same, of Salon, short, an ounce, 2 reales.

98. Fine white paper, 5 sheets, 2 reales.

99. Bed-blankets (1/2), each, 4 pesos.

100. Shepherd-blankets, each, 14 reales.

(2) PRICE LIST FOR THE PRESIDIO OF [illegible], MADE BY RIVERA IN HIS AUTO OF JANUARY 19, 1728.

1. Corn, a bushel, 2 pesos.
2. Horses, each, 10 pesos.
3. Leather jackets, each, 25 pesos.
4. Guns, each, 30 pesos.
5. Broadswords, each, 16 pesos.
6. Gun-cases, each, 2 pesos.
7. Small pads, a pair, 3-1/2 pesos.
8. Saddle-trappings, a complete set, 20 pesos.
9. Spiral spurs, a pair, 8 pesos.
10. Fine bridles, each, 4 pesos.
11. Fine white Rouen linen, a vara, 9 reales.
12. Cross-linen, a vara, 9 reales.
13. Narrow Breton linen, a vara, 9 reales.
14. Wide Breton linen, a vara, 10 reales.
15. Querétaran cloth, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
16. Mexican cloth, a vara, 3-1/2 pesos.
17. Baize, a vara, 10 reales.
18. Serge, a vara, 3 pesos.
19. Scarlet cloth, a vara, 3 pesos.
20. Petiss cloth, a vara, 6 reales.

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[1]Pedro de Rivera, Auto, Monclova, January 19, 1728, Saltillo Archives, I, 76, University of Texas photostat.

21. Blankets, each, 3 pesos.

22. Chocolate, a pound, 1 peso.

23. Sugar, a pound, 3 reales.

24. Cordovan shoes, all sizes, a pair, 10 reales.

25. Cow-hide shoes, a pair, 1 peso.

26. Tobacco, a bundle, 1 peso.

27. Paper, a packet, 1 peso.

28. Men's silk stockings, a pair, 7 pesos.

29. Women's silk stockings, a pair, 6 pesos.

30. Brussels stockings, a pair, 8 pesos.

31. Ordinary hats, each, 2 pesos.

32. Fork-hats, each, 3-1/2 pesos.

33. Nitan-cloth, a vara, 10 reales.

34. Under-stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

35. Cotton under-stockings, a pair, 10 reales.

36. Thread, an ounce, 5 reales.

37. Powder, a pound, 2 pesos.

38. Calamance, a vara, 20 reales.

39. Shag, a vara, 4 pesos.

40. Cambaya [like cambric], a vara, 1 peso.

41. Charoneco, a vara, 6 reales.

VITA

Henrietta Murphy, daughter of David Adrian and Henrietta Alderman Murphy, was born January 28, [redacted], in Mexia, Limestone County, Texas. She attended the public schools of Mexia, from which she was graduated in 1902. She has continued in school work since then, alternately and sometimes concurrently as student and teacher. She received the degree of B.A. from Texas Presbyterian College and the degree of M.A. from the University of Texas. She has also attended the University of Chicago and the University of Colorado.

She has taught history in the high schools of Mexia, San Angelo, and Cleburne, in Texas Presbyterian College at Milford, in Trinity University at Waxahachie, and in Southwest Texas Teachers College at San Marcos. In that college she is an associate professor of history, having begun her work there in 1919.

Her published articles are "The Teaching of History in Texas High Schools", in University of Texas Bulletin No. 2311, March 15, 1923; "Texas, 1519-1846", in Hearst Press, March, 1934; and "The Journey of Pedro de Rivera, 1724-1728", in Southwestern Historical Quarterly, October, 1937.

This thesis was typed by Mrs. Charles N. Zivley, Austin, Texas.