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1762 ON THE SAN PEDRO
Reevaluating Sobaípurí-O'odham
Abandonment and
New Apache Raiding Corridors

by
Deni J. Seymour

ACCORDING TO SOME traditional O'odham accounts the prehistoric cultures of southeastern Arizona were chased out, or at least the upper echelon of their societies were unseated, by groups coming from the east who used their magic against the evil overseers.¹ At about the same time, evidence of the Sobaípurí-O'odham appears, as presumably does evidence of other O'odham groups, who likely intermixed with the remaining Hohokam commoners. Dates in the 1400s that I have obtained from several Sobaípurí sites in the middle and lower San Pedro and upper and middle Santa Cruz river valleys indicate that this O'odham group was present to view, contribute to, or benefit from the downfall of the prehistoric Hohokam and Western Pueblo groups, such as the Salado.²

In 1539, Fray Marcos de Niza described an evergreen garden in what is thought to have been the middle San Pedro Valley, south of Benson. Both archaeological and documentary data indicate that the Sobaípurí occupied these well-irrigated and richly producing lands with settlements distributed every couple of miles along the river.³ Current assessments of the route indicate that a year later Coronado turned before reaching these Sobaípurí settlements, but encountered two distinct mobile groups, one along the river and one in an adjacent valley at Chichilticali, which is thought to be an abandoned Salado pueblo.⁴ These two groups seemingly

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correspond with two of the other known archaeological culture groups, or complexes, defined for this time period.

Recent archaeological research indicates that the Canutillo complex, thought to represent the Jano or Jocome in this area, is present from at least A.D. 1400 onward until the final small populations of these people were subsumed by the Sobaípurí, Apache, and Tigua/Piro.⁵ O'odham pottery found on these earliest Canutillo complex sites provides evidence of some form of interaction with the Sobaípurí, but it is not yet known whether these vessels were obtained through trading, raiding, or some other means. I have argued elsewhere that the Jano or Jocome probably intermarried with the Sobaípurí, which provides an explanation for some of the material culture similarities between these groups and the gradual decline in Jano and Jocome as distinct culture groups.⁶

Dates from as early as the 1300s have been obtained for ancestral Apache sites in the Whitlock and Dragoon mountains, indicating a much earlier presence than previously thought.⁷ These earliest Apache are the ancestral Chiricahuas who, along with the Jocome, dominated the region not otherwise occupied by the Sobaípurí south of the Gila River. By 1814 the lower San Pedro fell within Western Apache territory, at which time the group was referred to as the Aravaipa band or the Pinalaño Apache.⁸

When the Jesuit missionary Father Eusebio Kino entered the San Pedro Valley (figure 1) in 1692, he encountered much-reduced populations of Sobaípurí, owing to recurrent waves of disease in the 1600s.⁹ His maps and journal entries, and the texts of his military escort, Capt. Juan Mateo Manje, and others describe a relatively small but thriving population of Sobaípurí who at times traded and co-resided with the Apache, Jano, and Jocome, and later were occasionally attacked by them.¹⁰ The Sobaípurí held their own, usually winning their battles with these groups, although they periodically left the valley for a few years or moved their settlements elsewhere on the river. In these early centuries, the Sobaípurí were the regional diplomats, forging successful interactions with a diversity of groups, while occupying the choicest lands along the fertile rivers. Where the archaeological record suggests some degree of amiable pre-contact interaction between these groups, the documentary record indicates that Apachean pressure soon led to the complete abandonment of the San Pedro Valley by the Sobaípurí.¹¹

SOUTHEASTERN ARIZONA IN 1780

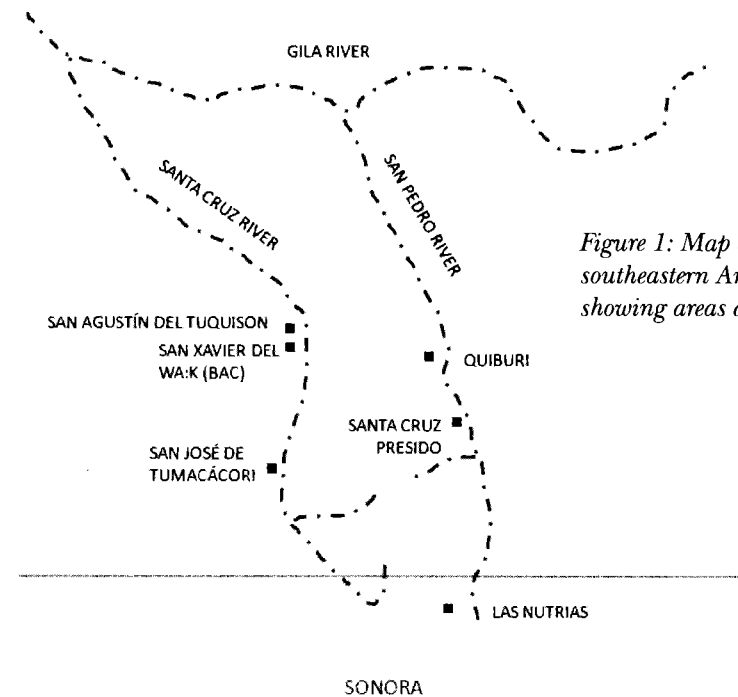


Figure 1: Map of southeastern Arizona, showing areas discussed.

Interpretations of the documentary record have led historians and ethnohistorians to assert that, after the Sobaípurí moved out of the San Pedro Valley, the Apache thrust southward deep into Sonora. For example, Peter Stern and Robert Jackson comment that "The removal of the Sobaípurí Pima from the San Pedro Valley facilitated Apache penetration into the Santa Cruz Valley, and the tempo of raiding increased."¹² This argument, and specifically the causal relationship between its parts, entails many assumptions that are now contested on the basis of new archaeological and documentary evidence. Among these long-held postulations is: (a) that the Apache threat drove the Sobaípurí from the San Pedro; (b) that the Sobaípurí actually abandoned the valley; and (c) that Apache raiding increased in Sonora as result of Sobaípurí removal in the mid-eighteenth century.

These concepts have a long history. For example, Thomas Edwin Farish wrote in 1918 that "[Adolph] Bandelier states that 'the Apaches caused the Sobaípurí to give up their homes on the San

Pedro, and to merge into the Papagos'.¹³ Jack D. Forbes suggested in 1960 that "the Sobaipuri lost the San Pedro Valley to the Apaches in 1763"¹⁴ and Albert Schroeder commented about the same time that "In 1762 the Sobaipuri were driven from the San Pedro Valley by the Apache."¹⁵ Joseph C. Winter noted in 1973 that "By 1762 the San Pedro Valley had been depopulated as a result of the severe Apache pressure."¹⁶ Cynthia Radding continued this thread when she observed in 1997 that "In the spring of 1762 an estimated 250 Pimas from the San Pedro Valley migrated westward to the missions of Bac, Guevavi, and Suamca. Their move left the Sobaipuris' homeland dangerously exposed [*sic*] to the sweep of Apache raids."¹⁷ Thomas E. Sheridan likewise suggested that "The Apaches drove the Sobaipuris out of the San Pedro Valley."¹⁸ More recent overviews by geographers, Native American Studies scholars, lawyers, and others continue to advocate this view, which has permeated the popular literature and shaped scholarly conceptions of this period.¹⁹

This concept of valley abandonment was based initially on the content of the *Rudo Ensayo* that refers specifically to 1762 as the date of this out-migration.²⁰ Henry F. Dobyns succinctly summarized the importance of this series of assumptions:

Sobaipuri resettlement on the Santa Cruz River both converted it into the front line of hostilities and attracted Apache attackers to that previously protected valley. Moreover, the Sobaipuri retreat opened up the San Pedro Valley as a new corridor for Apache raiding south into central Sonora.²¹

Newly acquired archaeological data and previously neglected documentary records, however, indicate that the Sobaipuri persisted in this portion of the San Pedro Valley. If the Sobaipuri did not entirely abandon the San Pedro Valley, as was once thought, to what degree was it the motivating factor in the apparent upswing of Apache raiding, or for the opening of new raiding corridors to the south in the last quarter of the eighteenth century? The continued presence of the Sobaipuri requires us to modify the traditional scenario. In light of recent evidence, a more critical review of the *Rudo Ensayo* and other documents bearing on the 1762 abandonment seems warranted, along with a reassessment of the many inferences and conclusions drawn from them.

Commonly Accepted Truths

The frequent repetition of this standard claim about Sobaipuri abandonment of the San Pedro and the opening of a new corridor

for the Apache is readily identifiable in works spanning three centuries, or four if the original *Rudo Ensayo* and texts contemporary with it are considered. Although reworded and variably placed within a series of larger arguments, this concept of the 1762 exodus has become a standard linking statement that describes and at the same time explains frontier conditions, inter-tribal interaction, Spanish ineffectiveness, and the decline of the Sobaipuri as a distinctive cultural entity. This hinge point has also been used to justify shifts in land control and other politically charged processes. It has become a standard transitional statement between a past where the Apache were controllable, to the initiation of a period where they ravaged Sonora, and where the Sobaipuri were autonomous, to when they were under Tucson's colonial thumb. This singular event has been used to explain the errorneous policy that led to monumental changes on the colonial frontier and to justify paternalistic European policies. Through time, it has been repeated and has taken on a life of its own, showing the dangers that arise when documentary content of such apparent clarity is adopted without sufficient criticism or independent verification.

The argument relating to the 1762 exodus incorporates a series of concepts and assumptions that branch out with numerous implications. It is useful to understand how these have been linked into a coherent line of thinking and how they might change with the addition of new data. When dissected and examined individually, in the context of the times and the specific argument being made, the logic that binds concepts and assumptions to one another and to presumed facts is revealed. The linked concepts and facts to be examined include: (a) the Sobaipuri as a buffer, (b) the late arrival of the Apache and Sobaipuri into the region, (c) the scale of the 1762 exodus, (d) the motivating force behind the Sobaipuri movement, and (e) the opening of new corridors for Apache raiding following Sobaipuri abandonment.

Sobaipuri as a Buffer

A concept fundamental to this argument is that the Sobaipuri living along the San Pedro (and other O'odhams) served as a buffer between the colonial Spanish presence and the marauding Apache.²² For example, Dobyns noted that "As long as the Sobaipuris lived along the San Pedro River, they formed the first

line of defense against hostile Apache penetration into Sonora, and an effective defensive line it was. A Jesuit in the frontier missions characterized the Sobaipuris as 'the most warlike among all the Pimas'.²³ This divide-and-conquer tactic is well known and was widely practiced. Many native communities were given their autonomy in exchange for their service as auxiliaries or their defensive residence in these boundary zones. As Forbes noted, "Certainly the Spanish policy of pitting tribe against tribe was to prove advantageous, and for many years the Pimas and Sobaipuris were to form the major defense for western Sonora."²⁴

The use of native peoples, including the Sobaipuri, as buffers in the missionary period to reduce the threat of other native peoples hostile to the Spanish is undisputed. From this concept, it seemed logical to assume that once the San Pedro Sobaipuri were removed, the Apache were then free to ravage central Sonora.

Apache Arrived Late

This perception of the Sobaipuri as buffers dovetails with the concept that, except for occasional forays during raiding expeditions, the Apache had not yet reached what is now southern Arizona and northern Sonora. This is further based on the notion that the Apache resided in the mountains far to the northeast, having traveled down the Plains.²⁵ As ethnographer Edward Spicer noted, they were still in the process of migrating south and west when the Spaniards arrived, and did not enter the Pimería Alta until a vacuum was created by the vacating Sobaipuri.²⁶ Once they had moved closer to Spanish settlements, the Apache routinely found their way into Sonora. John Francis Bannon similarly observed that "As the eighteenth century opened, the Indian lineup was something like this: closer in, on the eastern border of New Mexico, were the Apache, some of them mildly friendly, others rather consistently hostile."²⁷ This situates the Apache on the Plains, ready to enter the mountainous Southwest but too far afield to influence events in modern-day Arizona and Sonora, until something significant occurred to alter conditions there. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the removal of one group of occupants made room for the Apache, whose numbers were welling up at the fringe of the region.

Other researchers place the Apache vaguely in the Southwest but infer that they had not extended as far west as the Santa Cruz

Valley, except for the occasional raid, until quite late.²⁸ For example, James Officer refers to the protective buffer for the Spanish settlements on the Santa Cruz provided by the Sobaipuri villages along the San Pedro.²⁹ He describes the Apache, who had established themselves as a major threat on the Spanish frontier "in the last half century," as slipping around these Sobaipuri to raid farther south in Sonora.³⁰

Many archaeologists argue that the Sobaipuri, themselves, were recent arrivals in southern Arizona. They suggest, for example, that "By around 1450 the entire region was devoid of archaeologically visible settlement and remains so for nearly 200 years until the arrival of the Sobaipuri, the inhabitants of the region when the Spanish first settled in southern Arizona in the late 1600s."³¹ This means that pre-Spanish Sobaipuri-Apache relations did not need to be explained. It was presumed that when the Apache eventually reached southern Arizona, after the Spanish, there was friction between all the newly arrived indigenous groups that continued throughout the historic period. When the Sobaipuri left, the argument goes, the natural result was the unabated advance of the Apaches.

Recent archaeological data indicate, however, that the Apache were already present in southern Arizona before European arrival, as were the Sobaipuri. Understanding that the ancestral Chiricahua Apache had long resided in the mountains surrounding Sobaipuri and Spanish settlements in the Pimería Alta (e.g., southeastern Arizona and northern Sonora; as well as in northern Chihuahua) changes the entire structure of the argument. It is not yet certain how early ancestral Apachean groups settled in the Santa Cruz Valley, but they bordered the San Pedro at least as early as the 1400s, while clear evidence of mobile non-Apachean groups along the Santa Cruz likewise dates to the 1400s.³² Evidence suggests Sobaipuri also were present in both valleys at that time.³³

Given the earlier presence of both the Sobaipuri and Apache in and bordering the San Pedro Valley, the original argument is difficult to sustain. The supposed territorial vacuum created by the vacating Sobaipuri no longer explains what appears to be the initial Apache presence in the valley. Moreover, it has been argued that, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, forms of interaction between the Sobaipuri and the Apache were complex, and often peaceful.³⁴ As relations between various indigenous groups seem

to have shifted during the missionary period, many ethnically Sobaípurí people became Apache and these links may have proven critical in the late 1700s, when new lines of allegiance were once again being drawn.

The 1762 Sobaípurí Exodus

Clearly, most researchers have suggested that the Sobaípurí moved out of the San Pedro Valley before 1770. Among those holding this view was Edward Spicer, who referred to the “complete retirement of all the Sobaípuris from the San Pedro Valley. Captain Coro’s people held out until 1762.”³⁵ Another proponent was archaeologist Charles Di Peso, who suggested that the Sobaípurí had completely abandoned the San Pedro Valley by 1769.³⁶ Di Peso and others held this view because extant documentary sources suggested such was the case and there were no data to contradict or modify seemingly clear and definitive statements such as the following from the *Rudo Ensayo*:

Among the Pimas, the most inured to war are the Sobahipuris who have been reared on the Apache frontier and are used to almost constant fighting. However, in 1762, being tired of frequent battles, they abandoned their pleasant and fertile valley. Some migrated south to Santa María Suamca while others went farther southwest to Guebavi and Sonoitac, and still others traveled west to San Xavier del Bac and Tucson, thus leaving free ingress to the whole Upper Pimería to the Apache enemy.³⁷

Historian Herbert Bolton—listing a series of early Jesuits he regarded as principal historians of this area, including the author of the *Rudo Ensayo*—stated that “all wrote chronicles which will never be displaced.”³⁸ The clear message of the *Rudo Ensayo*, itself, and the affirmation of respected historians, such as Bolton, indicate firm confidence in the meaning and significance of this passage.

There has been no reason to question their statements because additional documentary data also seemed to support the conclusion that the Sobaípurí abandoned the San Pedro Valley. For example, a 1762 letter by Capt. Francisco Elías Gonzáles, commander of the Spanish presidio at San Felipe de Guevavi, or Terrenate (south of the modern international boundary), to Governor Don Joseph Tienda de Cuervo, and translated by ethnohistorian Henry Dobyns, reports that “Colonial officials decided on a policy of Northern Piman migration westward from the Apachean frontier.”³⁹ Elías Gonzáles states:

Apparently the San Pedro River Sobaípuris were disposed to abandon their aboriginal range by progressive loss of manpower and military pressure exerted by hostile Western Apaches. Both of those forces had been set in motion by the colonial activities of Spain. Then, in 1761, Spanish authorities decided on migration as a move to strengthen the frontier of New Spain.

They [Spaniards] decided to use colonial troops to force Sobaípuris to resettle at existing Jesuit missions.⁴⁰

This concept has become entrenched and is now a common constituent of the historical documentation of the O’odham. For example, historian John Wilson notes in a report to the Gila River O’odham:

The Sobaípuris disappeared as a separate entity after 1762, when the Spaniards relocated all of the people living on the San Pedro River to Piman communities further west along the Santa Cruz River and Sonoita Creek.⁴¹

Because the statement about the Sobaípurí leaving the San Pedro seemed so authoritative, the 1762 date, derived directly from the *Rudo Ensayo*, developed into a key turning point in history. Regrettably, some researchers even suggest, incorrectly, that Sobaípurí occupation of the Tucson area began at this time,⁴² or as Wilson suggests, that this move caused the Sobaípurí to disappear as a distinct entity, intermixing with other O’odham groups in the Tucson area. Both conclusions are inaccurate, as native settlements in the Tucson area, including San Xavier del Bac, were Sobaípurí; and the San Pedro Sobaípurí who moved west simply joined their Sobaípurí cousins along the Santa Cruz.

Evidence that Quiburi Persisted on the San Pedro

In 1780, the garrison at the presidio of Santa Cruz de Terrenate moved south to Las Nutrias.⁴³ A few months after the move, Lieutenant of the Infantry and Engineer of the Royal Armies Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa prepared a map (figure 2) and a journal of a campaign to the north. The map shows the now-abandoned presidio on the San Pedro miles south of the Sobaípurí settlement of *El Quiburi*.⁴⁴ A second map (figure 3), prepared by Rocha y Figueroa in 1784, shows *El Quiburi* in the same position relative to the abandoned Santa Cruz presidio.⁴⁵

In his 1780 journal, Rocha y Figueroa notes that on day nine:

We continued to the south/southeast one league to the ford of Tres Alamos, eight to *El Quiburi*, and then after resting another 3 to the south 4 degrees

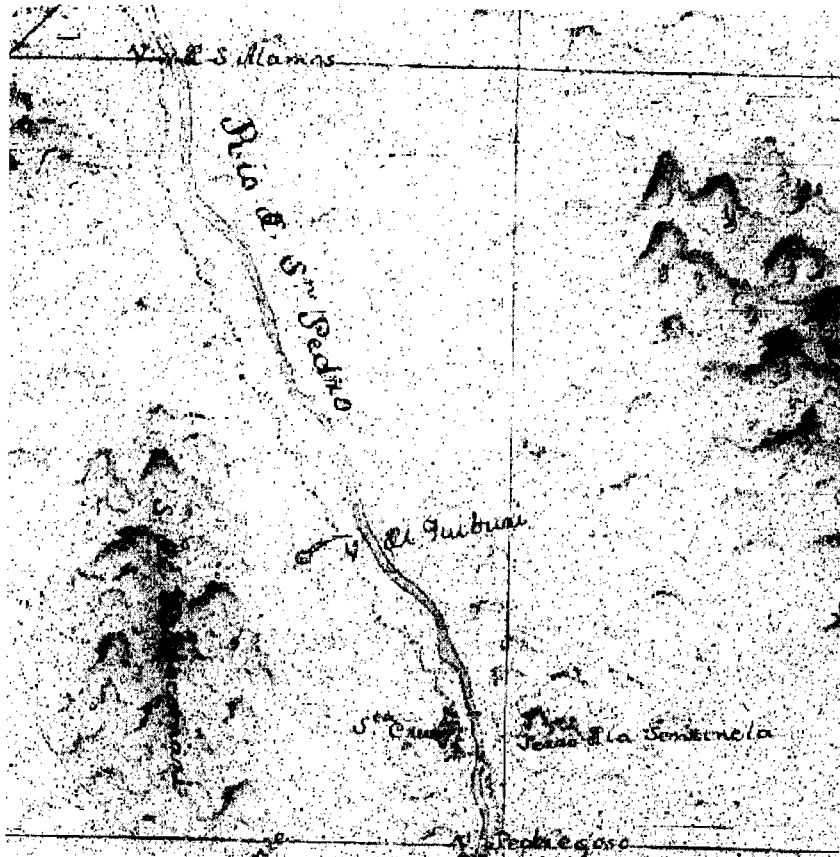


Figure 2: 1780 Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa map, showing El Quiburi in relation to Santa Cruz (de Terrenate) Presidio. From Mapa de la Frontera de Sonora par el establecimiento de la linea de presidios.

southeast up to the Presidio of Santa Cruz. . . . El Quiburi has a small population that is a bit spread out, and with sufficient water, it has springs independent of the river. (author's translation)⁴⁶

His description is consistent with the map plots and clarifies that the Quiburi settlement was 3 leagues (8-10 miles) north/northwest of the presidio of Santa Cruz de Terrenate, by a somewhat circuitous route. This was the only Sobaípurí settlement mentioned as being in this area or along the San Pedro River.

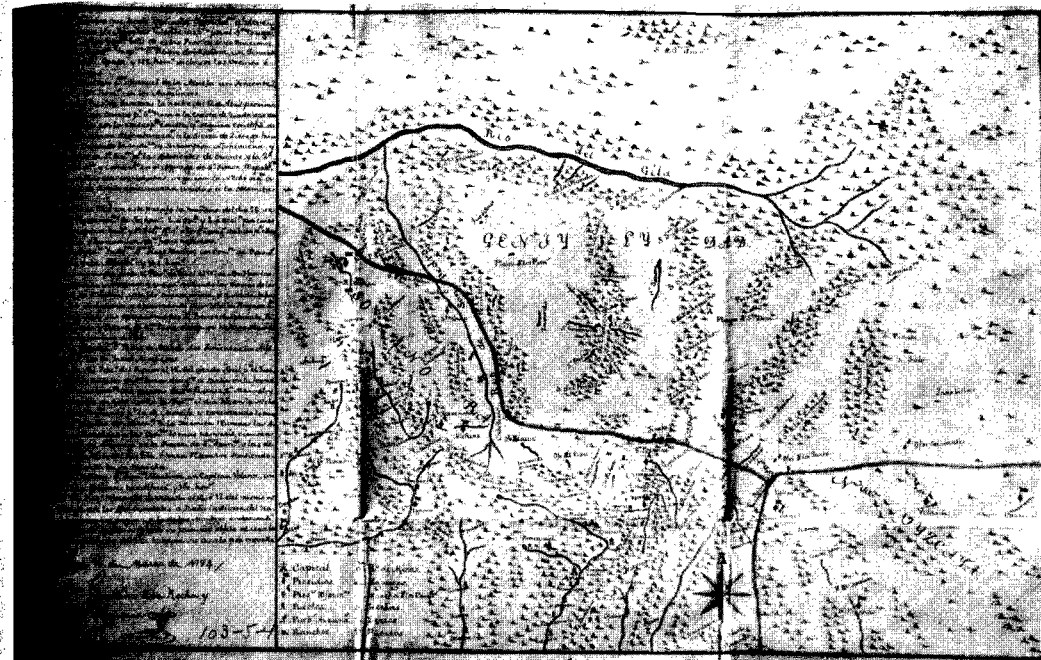


Figure 3: 1784 Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa map, showing El Quiburi in relation to Santa Cruz (de Terrenate) Presidio. From Mapa del Torreno que ha de vaitir la Expedición que deve executarse contra los Apaches Gileños, March 18, 1784. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. Call # Map Photo Spain, AGI, 103-5-4, Vol. 1.

Reconciling the Discrepancies

Juan Nentvig's rough descriptive essay (*rudo ensayo*) implies that all of the Sobaípurí had left the San Pedro River, but from the Rocha y Figueroa documents it appears that less than twenty years later Quiburi was occupied. This raises the question of how to explain, or account for, the divergences.

Because Quiburi was the only Sobaípurí settlement still occupied in 1780, it seems that the populace of an earlier-mentioned secondary settlement (Santa Cruz) had either moved to Quiburi or left the valley. The latter is suggested by the fact that the population at Quiburi was said to be small. This interpretation would also be consistent with the population shift mentioned in the *Rudo*

Ensayo and the forced migration discussed in Elias González's letter, although the *Rudo Ensayo* states that all the Sobaípurí had moved. The content of the *Rudo Ensayo*, however, has been questioned. More than fifty years ago the seemingly lone voice of historian James Rodney Hastings argued that "This notion of Sonora supine before the Apache has gained wide acceptance. To a considerable extent it rests on the evidence of only one document—the famous *Rudo Ensayo*, a lengthy, detailed and highly rhetorical account by an anonymous Jesuit, now known to be Juan Nentuig."⁴⁷

From Rocha y Figueroa's documents it is possible to suggest that, while many of the San Pedro Sobaípurí may have left the valley, a small population remained behind—a population that was too small to warrant much outside attention. That Rocha y Figueroa mentions it matter-of-factly suggests that its presence was commonly understood. Elias González supports this inference, indicating in his letter to Governor Tienda de Cuerbo that only a subset of the population had moved to Tucson. The actual number of people who moved seems to have somewhat confounded the captain, or perhaps he was only feigning confusion while hinting that not all the Sobaípurí had complied with the order to move:

In regard to what Your Lordship wrote me of the Sobaipuris, I notify Your Lordship that I have just arrived from settling them in the town of Tucson. Their number reaches 250, although the missionary and justices informed me that they numbered 400 souls.⁴⁸

The discrepancy suggests that if only 250 Sobaípurí moved to Tucson, another 150 may have remained behind (or fewer, if another thirty actually moved to Santa María Suamca mission, as Dobyns claims).⁴⁹ Interestingly, this is in line with population estimates based on the number of house remains at the archaeological site believed to be Quiburi.⁵⁰

Alternatively, the entire population may have left around 1762, with some Sobaípurí returning to Quiburi after a temporary absence. The hiatus in Sobaípurí occupation along the San Pedro between 1698 and 1705/1706, after a key battle, may provide a good analogy (see below).⁵¹ Dobyns seems to support such a scenario:

[Fr. Manuel] Aguirre [in 1764] criticized the original decision to remove the Sobaipuris from the San Pedro River Valley by emphasizing the degree to which Apache raids increased thereafter. He commented that the colonial authorities should have moved the Tubac garrison to the San Pedro to reinforce its valiant

Native American defenders instead of removing the Sobaipuris to the Santa Cruz River Valley.⁵²

This latter possibility is not conclusive, as such comments could have been mere lamentations or they just might have provided the needed justification for continuing to ignore the noncompliant Sobaípurí who had remained behind.

It seems, then, that the community of Quiburi persisted at least until the 1780s, or was reinserted into the valley, but without a missionary presence that would have brought it more mention. This likely also explains why the Quiburi of 1780 was referenced only by its O'odham name, whereas earlier Quiburi settlements had Christian modifiers appended to them.

Archaeological evidence also supports the Rocha y Figueroa documents that place Quiburi in the valley at this late date. A site (AZ EE:4:38, ASM) has been documented that is appropriately positioned, dates to the post-Kino period, possesses the correct material culture, is situated on a suitable landform, has a supply of water separate from the San Pedro, and is relatively small.⁵³ No other Sobaípurí sites are known for another twenty miles to the north.

Did the Apache Chase the Sobaípurí out of the San Pedro?

As indicated earlier, the concept persists that the Apache chased the Sobaípurí from the San Pedro. "By the end of the eighteenth century," Bernard Fontana writes in *The Land of Little Rain* (1981), "the Sobaipuris, driven off by unrelenting attacks of Apache Indians, has abandoned the San Pedro River Valley in favor of the Santa Cruz and Gila."⁵⁴ This is consistent with notions that the Apache were so formidable that even the warlike Sobaípurí could not withstand their onslaught. But the documentary evidence cited above clarifies that the Sobaípurí were not chased out of the San Pedro Valley by the Apache in 1762; rather, they (or at least some of them) were forcibly removed by the Spanish.⁵⁵ Other documentary sources, supported by archaeological evidence, indicate that many Sobaípurí remained on the San Pedro, suggesting a different dynamic between them and the Apache.

In 1698, the Sobaípurí won a battle with the Apache and their allies, apparently killing hundreds of the enemy with their poisoned arrows and pursuing them for miles into the adjacent

mountains.⁵⁶ Despite the Sobaípurí victory, the residents of both Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and Quiburi (the entire population of this portion of the valley) left the San Pedro to occupy Los Reyes del Sonoita (Sonoydag), probably in an effort to allow emotions surrounding the incident to cool down a bit: discretion perhaps being the better part of valor.⁵⁷ They returned a few years later to resettle along the banks of the same general segment of river they had earlier abandoned.

This hiatus did not mean that the Sobaípurí abandoned the valley for good and, in this sense, may provide a model for the post-1762 period, or at least illustrates the tenacity of the San Pedro Sobaípurí. Consistent with O'odham beliefs, the village of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea was in fact abandoned entirely after this incident and, upon their return, a new Santa Cruz was established miles to the north of its former location. Archaeological and documentary evidence seem to confirm this series of events. While this stance is contrary to some modern perspectives that the O'odham did not abandon villages,⁵⁸ these revisionist positions have no basis in ethnographic reality. Nor do these pan-indigenous and late-focused views adequately consider differences between various O'odham populations, failing to take into account changes through time and the fundamental differences between mobile and stationary O'odham groups.

People died at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, including the captain and up to four other O'odham. Consistent with O'odham beliefs and mourning rites, measures would have been taken to ensure that the spirits of the deceased did not disturb the survivors. One common way to guard against this likelihood was for the village to be abandoned after the death of a community member, especially the leader, in favor of residence in a new location.⁵⁹ That new location was likely north of the Terrenate Narrows, at the place later occupied by Santa Cruz de Terrenate presidio, as later documents, chronometric dates, and archaeological evidence suggest.⁶⁰

This incident suggests how militarily strong the Sobaípurí were, and how willing they were to defend themselves and their homeland. The Sobaípurí held their own against the Apache (and other groups hostile to them) in more than one battle, which may explain why they were able to maintain a settlement on the San Pedro even after the Santa Cruz de Terrenate presidio was abandoned.⁶¹ An

alternative explanation for the persistence of the Quiburi population may be that a Sobaípurí faction found common ground with the Apache against the Spanish.⁶²

Discussion

Given the continuous occupation along the San Pedro (or perhaps a return of Sobaípurí after a short hiatus), there is no basis to suggest that the absence of Sobaípurí was the reason for increased Apache raiding in the late eighteenth century. We need, therefore, to examine other potential factors behind the presumed southward thrust. It could be argued that this was part of the general Athapaskan movement south and reflects their particular manner of migrating.⁶³ The increasing European population in Sonora would be cause enough to attract the interest of raiders looking for concentrated resources, such as horses and livestock. And, conversely, the more numerous Sonoran settlers would have felt the presence of these intruders. It is also possible that, after a cumulative series of failures, the Marqués de Rubí's inspection resulted in a greater focus on the region and, specifically, on the "Apache problem," making it seem as if Apache raids had increased in frequency. It also may be that the Spanish distraction with the Seri, and inattention to the northern frontier, opened the door,⁶⁴ or that a more general concern about a potential union between the Seri and Apache was the real issue.⁶⁵ These, and a series of other questions, arise or are revived as a result of eliminating the handy explanation provided by the vacating Sobaípurí.

Certainly, we can debate whether the Sobaípurí on the San Pedro in the 1780s were a sufficiently formidable force to stop the Apache advance or raiding forays. Still, these newly applied data suggest that we need to change how the argument regarding these issues is structured. Rather than assuming that the Sobaípurí had left, and that this event in itself explains Apachean movements, the latter might best be explained by Spanish fears, weaknesses, or internal disagreements, or by something internal to Apachean lifeways.

A whole series of implications arise when these new facts are inserted into the historical formula. It seems likely that some Sobaípurí were sufficiently anti-Spanish that they ignored the order to relocate. This same Sobaípurí faction may have been suitably friendly with the Apache to survive, as both were outsiders facing the impending threat of colonial subjugation.⁶⁶ This

threat endangered the autonomy and way of life of the San Pedro Sobaipuri. If Maria Soledad Arbelaez is correct in her 1991 article on the Sonoran missions and eighteenth-century Indian raids, raiding was as much an act of rebellion and an effort to constrain the development of the mission system, settlement, and Spanish colonial society, as it was to obtain cattle, horses, and other mission property.⁶⁷ When increased raiding into Sonora is viewed as open resistance and violent rejection of Spanish society, the remaining San Pedro Sobaipuri, whose sympathies may have lain with the marauders, seem much less vulnerable and more understandable. This alliance among native resisters is less difficult to accept when it is acknowledged that the Sobaipuri and the Apache were not “traditional” or “hereditary” enemies, as has so often been suggested,⁶⁸ but rather interacted in various ways throughout their common history.⁶⁹ If nothing else, continued residence on the San Pedro would have made the Sobaipuri themselves less favorable targets for raiding and revenge. As Fray Bartholome Ximeno noted in 1773, regarding O’odham populations surrounding Tumacacori: “They are reluctant to settle because they say that in the missions the Apaches kill them, but that in their own lands the Apaches do not fall upon them as often.”⁷⁰ At the very least, these freshly considered data suggest the wisdom of reconsidering what seem to be self-evident truths in documentary sources, suggest the need for more careful and detailed historical research based on new documents, and illustrate the role of archaeology in breaking new ground. Greater collaboration between specialists who share a common focus is likely to contribute further insights.

NOTES

1. Donald Bahr, Juan Smith, William Smith Allison, and Julian Hayden, *The Hohokam Chronicles: The Short Swift Time of Gods on Earth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). J. Alden Mason, “The Papago Migration Legend,” *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 34 (Autumn 1921), pp. 254-68; Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975); Deni J. Seymour, “An Archaeological Perspective on the Hohokam-Pima Continuum,” *Old Pueblo Archaeology Bulletin No. 51* (December 2007), pp. 1-7; Deni J. Seymour, “Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier: Seventeenth-Century Sobaipuri Social and Economic Relations in Northwestern New Spain, Part I,” *New Mexico Historical Review [NMHR]*, vol. 82 (Winter 2007), pp. 469-99; Ruth M. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (New York: AMS Press, 1939).
2. Seymour, “Archeological Perspective”; Deni J. Seymour, “Evaluating Eyewitness Accounts of Native Peoples along the Coronado Trail from the International Border to Cibola,” *NMHR*, vol. 84 (Autumn 2009), pp. 399-435; Deni J. Seymour, *Where the Earth and*

- Sky are Sewn Together: Sobaipuri-O’odham Contexts of Contact and Colonialism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011).
3. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539-1541: “They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty nor Did They Wish to Be His Subject”* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005); Seymour, “An Archaeological Perspective”; Seymour, “Evaluating Eyewitness Accounts.”
 4. Seymour, “Hohokam-Pima Continuum”; Seymour, “Evaluating Eyewitness Accounts.”
 5. Deni J. Seymour, “The Canutillo Complex: Evidence of Protohistoric Mobile Occupants in the Southern Southwest,” *Kiva*, vol. 74 (Winter 2009), pp. 421-46.
 6. Seymour, “Delicate Diplomacy, Part I”; Deni J. Seymour, “Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier: Seventeenth-Century Sobaipuri Social and Economic Relations in Northwestern New Spain, Part II,” *NMHR*, vol. 83 (Summer 2008), pp. 171-99.
 7. Seymour, “Hohokam-Pima Continuum”; Deni J. Seymour, “Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland: A Methodological Perspective on Ancestral Apache Landscape Use in the Safford Area,” Chapter 5 in David E. Purcell, ed., *Crossroads of the Southwest: Culture, Ethnicity, and Migration in Arizona’s Safford Basin* (New York: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008), pp. 121-62; Seymour, “Evaluating Eyewitness Accounts.”
 8. John P. Wilson, “Apache Use of the Pinaleno Mountain Range,” *Coronado National Forest Report No. 55* (1991); John P. Wilson, “Apache Use of the Pinaleno Mountain Range II,” *ibid.*, *Report No. 57*; Deni J. Seymour, “‘Big Trips’ and Historic Apache Movement and Interaction: Models for Early Athapaskan Migrations,” Chapter in Deni J. Seymour, ed., *From the Land of Ever Winter to the American Southwest: Athapaskan Migrations and Ethnogenesis* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, forthcoming). Western Apache, in this sense, refers to the Cibicue, White Mountain, San Carlos, and Tonto Apache—not to the Chiricahua and others.
 9. Seymour, *Where Earth and Sky are Sewn Together*.
 10. Seymour, “Delicate Diplomacy, Part I”; Seymour, “Delicate Diplomacy, Part II,” pp. 171-99.
 11. Alberto Francisco Pradeau and Robert R. Rasmussen, *Rudo Ensayo: A Description of Sonora and Arizona in 1764, by Juan Nentvig, S.J.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), pp. 73-74; James E. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), p. 40; Henry F. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976).
 12. Peter Stern and Robert Jackson, “Vagabundaje and Settlement Patterns in Colonial Northern Sonora,” *The Americas*, vol. 44 (Winter 1988), p. 471.
 13. The terms *Papago* and *Pima* have been replaced by the preferred terms *Tohono O’odham* and *Akimel O’odham*, respectively. The Sobaipuri were a river-dwelling people most akin to the Akimel O’odham, who resided along the Gila River. All were considered Upper Pima. Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona* (1918), vol. 7, p. 306, http://southwest.library.arizona.edu/hav7/front.1_div.2.html
 14. Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), p. 245.
 15. Albert H. Schroeder, “Documentary Evidence Pertaining to the Early Historic Period of Southern Arizona,” *NMHR*, vol. 27 (Summer 1952), p. 139; Albert H. Schroeder, “Shifting For Survival in the Spanish Southwest,” *ibid.*, vol. 43 (Winter 1968), p. 301.
 16. Joseph C. Winter, “Cultural Modifications of the Gila Pima: A. D. 1697 - A. D. 1846,” *Ethnohistory*, vol. 20 (Spring 1973), p. 72.
 17. Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: Colonialism, Ethnic Spaces, and Ecological Frontiers in Nonwestern New Spain, 1700-1850* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 154.
 18. Thomas E. Sheridan, “The O’odham (Pimas and Papagos): The World Would Burn Without Rain,” in Thomas E. Sheridan and Nancy J. Parezo, eds., *Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), p. 115.

19. "The Papago Tribe of Arizona versus the United States of America," 19 Indian Claims Commission 394 (1968), p. 411, digital.library.okstate.edu/icc/v19/icc19p394.pdf; Conrad J. Bahre and David E. Bradbury, "Vegetation Change along the Arizona-Sonora Boundary," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 68 (Summer 1978), pp. 145-65; Winston P. Erickson, *Sharing the Desert: The Tohono O'odham in History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), pp. 38, 51; T. J. Ferguson and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, *History is in the Land: Multivocal Tribal traditions in Arizona's San Pedro Valley* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), p. 83; Carl Steinitz, Hector Arias, Scott Bassett, Michael Flaxman, Thomas Goode, Thomas Maddock, David Mouat, Richard Peiser, and Allan Shearer, *Alternative Futures for Changing Landscapes The Upper San Pedro River Basin in Arizona and Sonora* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2003).
20. Pradeau and Rasmussen, *Rudo Ensayo*, pp. 73-74.
21. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*, p. 22.
22. John Francis Bannon, *The Spanish Borderlands Frontier: 1513-1821* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1970), p. 188; Sidney B. Brinckerhoff, "The Last Years of Spanish Arizona, 1786-1821," *Arizona and the West [A&W]*, vol. 9 (Spring 1967), p. 13; Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, p. 245; James Rodney Hastings, "People of Reason and Others: The Colonization of Sonora to 1767," *A&W*, vol. 3 (Winter 1961), p. 336; John L. Kessell, ed., "San José de Tumacácori—1773: A Franciscan Reports from Arizona," *A&W*, vol. 6 (Winter 1964), pp. 303-312; Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, p. 33; Albert H. Schroeder, *A Study of the Apache Indians, Part IV: The Mogollon, Copper Mine, Mimbres, Warm Spring, and Chiricahua Apaches* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1974), p. 20/36; Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 128.
23. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*, p. 22.
24. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho, and Spaniard*, p. 245.
25. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, p. 14.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, p. 125.
28. Schroeder, *A Study of the Apache Indians, Part IV*, p. 20/36.
29. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, p. 33.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 38.
31. Jeffrey J. Clark, Patrick D. Lyons, Henry D. Wallace, J. Brett Hill, Anna A. Neuzil, and William H. Doelle, "Migration, Coalescence, and Demographic Decline in the Lower San Pedro Valley and Safford Basin" (2006), p. 26, paper on file at Arizona State Museum, Tucson.
32. Seymour, "Despoblado or Athapaskan Heartland"; Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex"; Deni J. Seymour, "Contextual Incongruities, Statistical Outliers, and Anomalies: Targeting Inconspicuous Occupational Events," *American Antiquity*, vol. 75 (Spring 2010), pp. 158-76.
33. Deni J. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach to Identification of the Historic Mission Site of San Cayetano del Tumacácori," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 11 (Autumn 2007), pp. 269-96; Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, Part I"; Seymour, *Where the Earth and Sky are Sewn Together*; Deni J. Seymour, "Isolating a Pre-Differentiation Athapaskan Assemblage in the Southern Southwest: The Cerro Rojo Complex," Chapter in Seymour, ed., *From the Land of Ever Winter*.
34. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach"; Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, Part II."
35. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, p. 127.
36. It is not clear why Di Peso chose 1769 rather than 1762. Charles C. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southwestern Arizona* (Dragoon, Ariz.: Amerind Foundation Publication No. 6, 1953), pp. 40-42.
37. Pradeau and Rasmussen, *Rudo Ensayo*, pp. 73-74.
38. Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960 [1936]), p. 13.
39. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*; Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, p. 40.
40. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*, p. 19.
41. John P. Wilson, "Peoples of the Middle Gila: A Documentary History of the Pimas and Maricopas, 1500s-1945," p. 10 (Researched and Written for the Gila River Indian Community, Sacaton, Ariz.). www.gricrmp.com/.../Peoples%20of%20the%20Middle%20Gila.pdf
42. Barnet Pavao-Zuckerman and Vincent M. LaMotta, "Missionization and Economic Change in the Pimeria Alta: The Zooarchaeology of San Agustín de Tucson," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 11 (Autumn 2007), pp. 246, 250, 261.
43. Now in Sonora, Mexico, not far from the previously occupied San Felipe de Guevavi, or Terrenate. See John L. Kessell, "The Puzzling Presidio: San Felipe de Guevavi, Alias Terrenate," *NMHR*, vol. 41 (Spring 1966), pp. 21-46.
44. Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa, *Mapa de la Frontera de Sonora para el establecimiento de la línea de presidios*, microfilm, reel 55, manuscript No. Add. 17661 A (original in British Library, London); Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa, *Diario de los reconocimientos hechos en la frontera de la provincia de Sonora en consecuencia de la superior orden del 19 de abril del presente año del señor comandante general de las provincias internas de Nueva España por el teniente de infantería e ingeniero extraordinario de los reales ejércitos Don Gerónimo de la Rocha y Figueroa* (Diary of the facts made in the frontier of the Sonoran province under the orders of the general commander of the Provincias Internas of New Spain . . . by the engineer of the royal armies Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa. April 19, 1780), manuscript in Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Geronimo de la Rocha y Figueroa, *Mapa del Terreno que ha de vadir la Expedición que deve executarse contra los Apaches Gileños, March 18, 1784*, Gobierno, Audiencia de Guadalajara, 103-5-4, Audiencia Gobierno de Indes, copy in box 15, no. 552, Karpinski Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. See also John Edwards, comp., *Conquistadors: The Struggle for Colonial Power in Latin America, 1492-1825*, microfilm, British Library Edition. Luis Navarro García, *Don José Gálvez y la Camandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla. Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1964), p. 148. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Sevilla, Plate 123.
45. Navarro García, *Don José Gálvez*, p. 113; Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Story of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 252-53; Jack S. Williams, "The Presidio of Santa Cruz de Terrenate: A Forgotten Fortress of Southern Arizona," *The Smoke Signal* (Tucson Corral of the Westerners, 1986), pp. 129-48, 260.
46. Rocha y Figueroa, "Diario de los reconocimientos," p. 209.
47. Hastings, "People of Reason and Others," p. 337.
48. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*, p. 20.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
50. Deni J. Seymour, "The Waning Days of Quiburi: Sobaipuri-Oodham Occupation on the San Pedro River in 1780," manuscript.
51. Herbert E. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), pp. 178-83; Harry J. Karns, *Luz de Tierra Incognita* (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1954), pp. 96-98; Fay Jackson Smith, John L. Kessell, and Francis J. Fox, *Father Kino in Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona Historical Foundation, 1966), pp. 48-49.
52. Dobyns, *Spanish Colonial Tucson*, p. 23.
53. Seymour, "Waning Days of Quiburi."
54. Bernard L. Fontana, *Of Earth and Little Rain* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989 [1981]), p. 38.
55. Although Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, "Dreams at the Edge of the World and Other Evocations of O'odham History," *Archaeologies*, vol. 2 (Spring 2006), p. 27, states "the con-

- flicts with Apache groups reached such a pitch that the Sobaipuri chose to leave the San Pedro Valley," this is not supported by documentary evidence. The move was compulsory and some Sobaipuri chose to comply with the order, but many others chose not to move.
56. Bolton, *Kino's Historical Memoir*, pp.178-83; Karns, *Luz de Tierra Incognita*, pp. 96-98; Smith, Kessell, and Fox, *Father Kino in Arizona*, pp. 48-49.
57. Perhaps it is an error to assume that all Sobaipuri occupying Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and Quiburi left at this time. It is equally likely that a small faction who had been friendly to the mobile attackers and resisted the conflict remained behind. Perhaps this move related to a rift among the Sobaipuri occupying these settlements, and only one faction moved.
58. Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh, *History is in the Land*, pp. 83, 186-87, 234-35; Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and T. J. Ferguson, "Rethinking Abandonment in Archaeological Contexts," *SAA Archaeological Record*, vol. 6 (Spring 2006), pp. 37-41.
59. John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrow: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691-1767* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), p. 56; Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians* (26th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1904-1905. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 194; Seymour, *Where the Earth and Sky are Sewn Together*; Theodore E. Treutlein, "The Relation of Philip Segesser," *Mid-America*, vol. 27 (Autumn 1945), pp. 139-87.
60. Seymour, "Waning Days of Quiburi." Deni J. Seymour, "Quiburi: The Sobaipuri-O'odham Rancheria of Kino's Conception," manuscript.
61. The presidio of Santa Cruz de Terrenate was abandoned but, contrary to statements by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson, "Rethinking Abandonment," p. 40, all "use, interest, and claim" in it and the valley was not given up. The Spanish continued to use the presidio as a staging area and critical landmark during future campaigns, and as a symbol of the crumbling northern presidio line. They also continued to occupy the valley, but further south, and used the riverside trail as a route to the north. It would seem that, even for the Europeans, abandonment was a relative concept in this shared landscape. Fontana, *Of Earth and Little Rain*, p. 81.
62. Seymour, "Waning Days of Quiburi."
63. Seymour, "'Big Trips'."
64. Officer, *Hispanic Arizona*, pp. 44-45.
65. Bannon, *Spanish Borderlands Frontier*, p. 184.
66. Perhaps it was these Sobaipuri who formed the basis of a Western Apache clan, the "Flat Topped People," or another similarly assimilated group.
67. Maria Soledad Arbelaez, "The Sonoran Missions and Indian Raids of the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Southwest [JSW]*, vol. 33 (Autumn 1991), pp. 368, 375.
68. David H. DeJong, "'Good Samaritans of the Desert': The Pima-Maricopa Villages as Described in California Emigrant Journals, 1846-1852," *JSW*, vol. 47 (Autumn 2005), pp.457-96; David H. DeJong, "'None Excel Them in Virtue and Honesty': Ecclesiastical and Military Descriptions of the Gila River Pima, 1694-1848," *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 29 (Winter-Spring 2005), pp. 24-55; and Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian, Being a series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., 20 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: The University Press, 1907-1930). Available at Northwestern University Library Digital Collections, "Edward S. Curtis's The North American Indian," <http://curtis.library.northwestern.edu/> See also Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 21-22; Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, p. 14; Russell, *The Pima Indians*, p. 23 n.; and Charles Polzer, trans., and Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta, S.J.* (St. Louis: St. Louis University; Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), p. 59.
69. See Seymour, "Delicate Diplomacy, Part 1."
70. Kessell, ed., "San José De Tumacácori," p. 311.