

LETTERS OF MARCUS ANTONIUS KAPPUS
FROM COLONIAL AMERICA III

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The letter of Marcus Antonius Kappus (1657—1717) from Cucurpe in Sonora (Mexico), dated 20. January 1691, which is now published for the first time in the present study, is historically important, because it speaks in considerable detail of the revolt of the Tarahumara Indians in 1690. It is one of the few contemporary accounts of this revolt and brings a number of facts unknown so far.¹

I.

The Tarahumara Indians — they call themselves Rarámuri — are one of the major aboriginal tribes in northwestern Mexico.² They inhabit the eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre, in southwestern part of the Chihuahua Province, and extend partly also towards the east into the Chihuahua plateau. They are therefore divided into the Tarahumaras Altos in the Sierra, and the eastern Tarahumaras Bajos. Towards the northwest they border on the Pima Bajos and Opatas, towards the east on the Conchos and the nomadic Tobosos, to the south on the Tepehuanes, and to the west on a number of smaller tribes who inhabit the western slopes of the Sierra Madre (Varohio, Temori, Tubar).

¹ The present study is a continuation to the two earlier contributions: Janez Stanonik: Letters of Marcus Antonius Kappus from Colonial America I, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), 33—56 and part II, *Acta Neophilologica* XX (1987), 25—38. The first part tried to reconstruct the biography of Marcus Antonius Kappus; the second analyzed the journey of Kappus and his companions, 23 Jesuits, from Cádiz to America in summer 1687.

CORRIGENDA: In the second contribution several mistakes have unfortunately been made by the printer in the Latin letter from the Canary Islands, dated 10. July 1687 and in its English translation (*Acta Neophilologica* XX, 1987, pp. 25—38). In the Latin text, p. 36, line 11 from above: read »velox« instead of »Velox«; line 37 from above read: »eleuacionis gradum versemur, hoc nempe...« instead of: »eleuacionis gradum, hoc nempe...«. In the English translation one line has been dropped out by the printer: after p. 38 line 7 from above which ends: »twice baked white...« the omitted line should be added: »bread in the evening, before we lie down, fresh water and bread. With sugar we...«

² An early account of the Tarahumara country was written by Juan Ratkay which is still unpublished. An early little known published work on the Tarahumaras is by Josef Neumann: *Historia seditionum, quas adversus Societatis Jesu missionarios, eorumque auxiliares moverunt nationes Indicae, ac potissimum Tarahumara in America Septemtrionali*. This book was probably published in Prague in Bohemia in 1730. This rare work is available in a photostatic copy in the Bancroft Library of the University of California in Berkeley.

Geographically they inhabit the region between the source area of the Yaqui River in the north and the Rio Fuerte and its tributaries in the south. Linguistically they belong to the Uto-Aztecan group of Indian languages and are more closely related to the Opatas and Cáhita Indians.

Before the Tarahumaras came into contact with the Spaniards they supported themselves with agriculture, growing corn, beans and squash, and with hunting. They lived scattered in small rancherías which were widely separated from each other. Frequently they migrated seasonally from their field areas on the high mountain plateaus into the more protected canyons in winter.

Decisive for the spreading of the Spanish colonization into the Tarahumara region was the discovery of silver mines which attracted many new Spanish settlers. The centre for the Spanish expansion into this area was the town of Durango which itself was started in 1563 as a silver mine. In 1567 silver was discovered in a place that was given the name of Santa Barbara, 500 miles north of Durango, in the southeastern part of the Tarahumara territory, in 1631 silver was found at Parral, in 1685 in Cusiuhiriachic in the northwestern part of the Tarahumara territory, and in 1709 at Chihuahua, the present capital of the province. In this way the Spaniards penetrated step by step along the eastern, peripheral section of the Tarahumara region northwards. These silver mines needed slave labourers, and so those Tarahumaras who were not baptized were hunted down and forced to work in the mines. Also a certain number (4 %) of christianized Indians was forced to work as paid labourers in the mines: these regulations were frequently violated and misused by the mine owners. Around the mining towns the Spaniards created large haciendas and ranches where the Indian labour was also needed. This situation created tensions with the native population which frequently led to revolts.

The missions in the Tarahumara country were led by the Jesuits, while east of them, among the Conchos, the missionary work was conducted by the Franciscans. The first missionary among the Tarahumaras, Juan Fonte, came to work here in 1607 and founded the mission San Pablo Balleza, near the mining town of Santa Barbara. In 1616 he was killed by the revolting Tepehuanes who were joined in the rebellion also by the southern Tarahumaras. The Jesuits resumed their work in the area in the 1630's, after the dis-

There is considerable modern literature on the Tarahumara Indians. The most significant works are: Carlos BASAURI: *Monografía de los Tarahumaras*, México, Talleres Gráficos de Nación, 1929. — Wendell C. BENNETT and Robert M. ZINGG: *The Tarahumara, An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1935. — Peter Masten DUNNE: *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948. — Filiberto GOMEZ GONZALEZ: *Rarámuri, un diario Tarahumara*, México, Táll. Tip. de Excelsior, 1948. — A. L. KROEBER: *Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1934. — México, Departamento del Trebajo: *La raza Tarahumara*, México, 1936. — Manuel OCAMPO: *Historia de la misión de la Tarahumara 1900—1950*, México, Editorial Buena Prensa, 1950. — Francisco M. PLANCARTE: *El problema indígena Tarahumara*, Instituto nacional indigenista, Memorias, vol. V, México 1954. — Carl SAUER: *The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern México*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1934. — 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, 1981. — Rudolf ZABEL: *Das heimliche Volk, Erlebnisse eines Forschungsreisenden am Lagerfeuer und vor den Höhlen des Urvolks der Tarahumara-Indianer*, Berlin, Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1928.

covery of silver at Parral. They soon created a number of missions in the eastern Tarahumara Baja. The missionaries tried to reduce the Tarahumaras into their mission centres, but without much success. During the whole of the XVIIth century a considerable part of the Tarahumara country remained free and the Tarahumaras had the possibility to flee into this area when necessary. The years from 1648 to 1652 were characterized by several mutinies which were cruelly suppressed by Spanish soldiers. The Spaniards tried now unsuccessfully to found a military outpost in the centre of the revolting area, in the source region of the Yaqui River, at a place they called Villa de Aguilar, and a Jesuit mission nearby at Papigochic. Here the Jesuit missionary Padre Cornelio Beudin Godinez was killed in 1650, and his successor Padre Jacome Antonio Basilio in 1652. This stopped the Jesuit expansion into this area for twenty years.

In the mid-seventies new missions were founded at Carichic, Papigochic, Tutuaca, and in several other places in the source region of the Yaqui and Conchos rivers. At Carichic worked from 1681 to 1683 Juan Ratkay, born in Ptuj in Slovenia, who died here under not quite clear circumstances. Peace reigned in this area from 1652 to 1690.

The new revolt broke out in 1690. This is the revolt described by Kappus in his letter which we reprint in our present study. In 1685 a new mine was discovered at Curihuiachic which brought Spanish settlers into this north-western mountainous part of the Tarahumara country. The revolt started at the mission Yepómera, where its missionary, the Spaniard Padre Diego Ortiz de la Foronda was killed on 11. April 1690. The revolt threatened to spread also among the Jova Indians, a tribe belonging to the Opatas, living in Sonora. The rebellion, however, was soon suppressed by Spanish soldiers who came from Parral.

The revolt of 1690 was the forerunner of the last and the largest revolt of the Tarahumara Indians which broke out in 1696. Its centre was again Yepómera. The rebellion spread over the largest part of the Tarahumara Alta. The Spanish soldiers tried to suppress it with great cruelty. The Indians fought desperately, frequently preferring death to subjugation, until 1698 when the country was finally pacified. The Tarahumaras, however, still continued to find refuge in the rugged canyons of the headwaters of the Mayo and Fuente rivers. In the mid XVIIIth century it is believed that there were some 18.000 Tarahumaras. At present there are some 50.000 Tarahumaras. In the 1930's, under the president Cárdenas del Rio, they obtained their first schools in the vernacular.

II.

Although Kappus did never live among the Tarahumaras, his report of the Tarahumara rebellion is a valuable historical source. According to Kappus's own statement his knowledge of the events is largely based on what he was told about them by the Father Visitador. This was in 1690 and 1691 the famous missionary Juan Maria Salvatierra whose life was also endangered by the revolt.³

³ Gerard Decorme; S. J.: *La obra de los jesuitas mexicanos durante la época colonial, 1572—1767*, Mexico City 1941, of. vol. II, p. 384. — About Salvatierra, cf. the first part of our study, *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), p. 47 ff.

Kappus's description of the general development of the revolt agrees basically with what is already known about it. Interesting is Kappus's statement how the fear of the revolt reached even Cucurpe and thus it spread over the whole northern Sonora.

Kappus in his letter speaks of the deaths of two missionaries killed by the rebellious Indians. Kappus confirms what is already known about the death of Padre Diego Juan Ortiz de la Foronda at Yepómera on 11. April 1690 which marked the outbreak of the rebellion. Diego Juan Ortiz de la Foronda was born in 1655 in Guadalupe in Spain. He joined the Jesuit order in the Province of Toledo, and left for America in 1675. For a time he taught at the College of San Luis Potosi. Since 1684 he worked among the Tarahumara Indians.⁴

Kappus, however, gives a completely new version of the death of Padre Manuel Sanchez. In Kappus's letter we find the name of this missionary distorted, as P. Emanuell Sanenez. This is doubtlessly due to the fact that Kappus's present letter is preserved in a copy only, and the copyist was not able to decipher here Kappus's handwriting. Padre Manuel Sanchez was born in 1639 in Marchena, the Province of Sevilla. He joined the Jesuit order in 1659 in the Province of Andalusia. In 1675 he embarked at Cádiz for America. Since 1684 he worked as a missionary in the north, in 1687 he came to Tutuaca where he remained until his death. According to Kino, he was returning from the Real de San Nicolas, where he had preached, to his mission at Tutuaca, when he was attacked by the Indians in the area between Yecora and Tutuaca and killed together with his companion Captain Manuel Clavero.⁵ — According to Kappus, however, Manuel Sanchez was paying a visit to Maximilianus Amarell who worked as a missionary at Yécora (among the Lower Pimas). When Manuel Sanchez heard of the revolt he immediately decided to go to Tutuaca to save the chalice there and the church robes, but on the way he was attacked by the Indians and killed by stabbing. Kappus confirms this by stating that he himself had seen the jacket of the dead missionary pierced to pieces.

Interesting is also the information about Maximilianus Amarell, that he was a travelling companion of Kappus and Adam Gilg when they went from Mexico City to their working places in Sonora at the beginning of 1688, and that he worked at Yécora. About Maximilianus Amarell little is known, except that he was a missionary from the Bohemian Province.

III.

Kappus's letter, dated Cucurpe 20. January 1691, which we reprint here in German original and in English translation, is preserved in the same collection as the two letters that we have already published in the preceding numbers of *Acta Neophilologica*, that is in the Archives of Slovenia in Ljub-

⁴ About Padre Diego Juan Ortiz de la Foronda, cf.: *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta*, ed. by Charles W. Polzer, S. J. and Ernest J. Burrus, S. J., Rome, St. Louis, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971. — Francisco Zambrano, S. J.: *Diccionario bio-bibliografico de la Compañia de Jesús in México*, Mexico City 1961 ff, vol. X, p. 659.

⁵ About Padre Manuel Sanchez, cf. *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta*, op. cit., and Zambrano, op. cit. vol. XIII, p. 262.

Ijana, in the collection Archives from Dol (Dolski arhiv). The text is preserved on a single piece of paper, dimensions 30.5 × 21 cm, written on both sides. There is no opening head of the letter: the letter begins immediately addressing Kappus's brother to whom the letter was written. The manuscript preserved in the Ljubljana Archives is obviously a copy of the original: this is proved by the fact that the copyist was not able to read correctly the name of the missionary Manuel Sanchez. The writing of the manuscript shows that the copy was made already in the XVIIth century. The manuscript is written in Gothic script with the exception of the names which are written with the Latin characters. The orthography and the dialect (the so-called southern Bavarian which is spoken in Austria) show the same characteristics that we have registered for the letter from Cucurpe, dated 30. April 1689 which we have published in our first study.⁶

THE TEXT

Herzlibster Herr Bruder: den 8: Aprill des verloffenen 1690 Jahrs hob ich das Glück gehobt sein den 15: Marty geschribenes Brieffl sambt andern Europeischen schreiben zuempfangen. Es freyt mich von grundt meiner Seelen, dass sich der Herr Bruder sambt denen Vnsrigen sich woolauff befindet, Vnd alle meine Brieff denselben zuhanden khömben sein. Bedankhe mich ganz herzlich vmb das zuegeschickte Verschlögl, wie woollan solches zu meinen Händen noch nicht Khomben ist. Ober Weillen es der P. Stephanus Fliscus, wie er mir geschriben schon nach Cadiz verschikht, Vileicht wierts nach hauss Taglicht Kumben. Dises Johr hat sich vndter den Tauromanensichen Indianern, die gegen Orient von vns gelegen sein, eine erschreckliche revolution erwegt, dan die maisten dern hoben zusamben conspiriret, alle Patres die vndter Ihnen in vndterschidlichen Missionibus leben, vmbzubringen. Den 29 Mertzen hoben sie zu Jepomera dieses vollzuziehen angefangen, vnd in aller fruehe dass Hauss des fäter mit solchen feuer, vnd Rauch vmbgeben, dass er gezwungen war sich auss dem Hauss zubegeben. Vnd als er sich khaumb bei der Thür hat sehen lassen, da hoben ihn die bösewicht olsobolt mit pfeillen zugesezt, vnd erbärmlich zu Tott geschossen. Der Pater nente sich Didacus Ortiz De Foronda. Also boldt darauf verbrenten sie die Kirchen vnd das Hauss, vnd machten sich auf eben solches in der negsten Mission allwo sich 3 Patres beysamben fanden, zu vollziehen, ober es khame ihnen vor ein Threuer Indianer, welcher bey Zeiten die Patres vermandt damit sie flucht namben. Vnd hoben die ormen in aller Eyll vndter die Threue Indianer reteriredt. Vndter dessen Khamben diese Traurige Zeitungen auf Jekhoru, welche Mission administrierte ein Teitscher Pater auss Böhmen, welcher auss Mexico main Raissgspan ware nambens Maximillianus Amarell, vnd hate zu gast oder vill mehr zu Trost einen andren Fater der nehsten Mission, welcher nach verstandener Sach sich also boldt aufgemacht, den Khölich, vnd Kirchen ornat auss seiner Mission zuheben, ober es überfalleten ihn die Barbaren vnter wegs, vnd als er wohr namb, das der glorwürdige Tott vor handen ware Kniete er nider vnd mit zusamen geschlogenen händen batte er den guedten gott vmb seine feint. Vnd als er also Khniendt bettete, da tanzte gegen ihm, vnd machte schimpf stossen vor seiner einer auss den Barbaren, vnd rendt ihn entlich durch mit einer Klingen von der rechten Seithen biss zu der linggen durch, vnd durch, einmoll vnd zwaymoll biss er Ihnn zu Tott gestossen. Dessen glückseligen Faters wämäsel wie es zerstossen war, mir diser Tagen der P. Visitor gewissen. Der vmbgebrachte Pater war ein Spaniger nambens Emanuell Sanenez. Hetten auch auf ebne weiss 8: andere Paters dass vnschuldige bluet vergossen so sie nicht durch anordnung gottes von Etlichen Treyen Indianern bey zeiten weren vermandt worden, wie vnd wo sie ihr leben in die Sücherheit stellen solten. Alss dise schmerzhaftte Zeitungen Täglich sich mehr vnd mehr hören wisen, mahneten, vnd batten mich meine Indianer, ich solte mich nicht daroun machen, vnd sie verlassen, welches ich zwor nicht gedacht. Dan sie wolten wenn es soll darzue khomben, stattlich vnd manhaft für

⁶ Op. cit., *Acta Neophilologica* XIX (1986), cf. p.

den glauben streitten, vnd sagten, wass ist den wan wür auch entlich alle sterben solten. Wür werden fJr gott vnd für den glauben sterben vnd du sollest eheunder sterben alss wan wür schon alle solten vmbgebracht werden, es gefielle mir über die massen ihre Treuherzigkeit, und zweifle nicht dass sie auss herzen geredt hoben. Jezt ist widerumb gott sey es gelobt, alles still, dan es haten sich etlich 100 Spaniger zusamben gesamblet, vnd hoben mit hülf der Threuen Indianern etliche hundert der Barbaren vmbgebracht, vnd die übrige in die flucht geschlagen, den 19: May hat sich nicht wait von hier auch ein sehr schmerzliches Vnglück zugetragen. Dan ein Spaniger hat vngefehr sein frau mit ein amder Späniger beysamben gefunden, vnd alsoboldt den man erschossen, vnd sein aignes weib mit der Fixen zu tott geschlagen. Ich will mich waiter nicht ausslassen mit der feder, damit ich nicht velleicht dise guete gelegenheit versaume, bitte einzig, vnd allein der H. Bruder wolle beständig meiner in seinem H. gebett ingedenkh verbleiben, ich vergesse auch nicht den Ersten vnd letzten tag eines jeden Monaths mein Möss auf die intention des H: Bruder aufzuopfern ohne dem dass ich Täglich des H: Bruders vnd aller der vnsrigen in der H. Möss opfer ingedenkh bin. Der H: Bruder wolle mich allen den vnsrigen absonderlich seiner Haussfrauen dero ich auch gar offt ingedenkh bin, der frau Francisca, vnd Maria Teresa, dem P. Zacharias, dem H: Hanss Georgen, der frau schwester Fruepergerin, der frau Adlmänin so sie noch lebt, vnd allen Steinpüchlern, meinen H. Cori Joseph, vnd Joahimb ganz freintlich anbefelchen. Es freyt mich dass der Händsel ist Jesuiter worden, vnd dass der Zöherl so wool studiert, aber es schmerzt mich das zeitliche ableiben vnsrerer frau Schwogerin Cord: ich bin taglich ihrer in meinem Memento ingedenkh, der allegüt: Gott gebe vns sein H. Segen vnd gnad, damit wür vns alle in dem andern, vnd beständigen leben beysamben fünden, vnd in ewigkheit beysamen vorbleiben. Amen. Cucurpe den 20 Januar 1691.

meines herzlichst H. Bruder bis in Tott
Treuge vnd alzeit ingedenkh
Marcus Ant: Kappus S: J:

Den vergangenzen Mertzen hob ich dem H: Bruder
vnd dem H: Hans Georgen wie auch der frau Mumb
Francisca zugeschickht hoffe es wurden solche Brieff
allen zukhomben sein

TRANSLATION

Dearly beloved Sir Brother: on the 8th of April of the passed 1690 year I had the good fortune to receive, together with other European letters, His' letter, written on the 15th of March. I rejoice with all my heart, that my Sir Brother and all our people are well and that all my letters have reached him. I thank most cordially for the small box sent to me although it has not yet come into my hands. Yet since it was sent already to Cadiz by P. Stephanus Fliscus, as he wrote to me, it will perhaps come home any day. This year a horrible revolution arose among the Tarahumara Indians who live towards the East from us; for the majority of them have together conspired to murder all the Fathers who live among them in various missions. On the 29th of March they began to carry out this at Jepomera and to surround quite early in the morning the house of the Father with such a fire and smoke that he was forced to go out of house. And as soon as he showed himself at the door, the villains at once attacked him with arrows and in a wretched manner they shot him dead. The Father's name was Didacus Ortiz de Foronda. Immediately afterwards they burned down also the church and the house and left to do the same thing at the next mission where 3 Fathers got together; yet a faithful Indian arrived before them who in time warned the Fathers so that they could take to flight. And these poor (Fathers) retreated in all haste to the faithful Indians. In the meantime the sad news reached Jekhoró, a mission administered by a German Father from Bohemia with the name of Maximilianus Amarell who was my travelling companion (on the road) from Mexico. He had as his guest, or rather for his solace, another Father from the next mission

⁷ i.e. brother's. Kappus uses the personal pronoun for the third person singular as the form of address for the addressee.

who as soon as he learned of the events set out to take from his mission the chalice and the church robes. But the Barbarians attacked him on the road, and when he became aware that the glorious death was near, he knelt down and with the folded hands he asked the good God for his enemies. And when he so prayed kneeling, one of the Barbarians danced towards him and made sham thrusts in front of him, and finally he ran the blade through him, from the right side through to the left side, through and through, once and twice, until he had stabbed him to death. These days the Father Visitator has shown me the vest of the blessed Father, how it was pierced to pieces. The murdered Father was a Spaniard with the name of Emanuell Sanenez. They would have shed in the same way the innocent blood of 8 other Fathers had they not been exhorted in time through God's disposition by several faithful Indians how and where they should place their lives into safety. When each day these dolorous news were heard more and more, my Indians admonished and begged me I should not flee away and leave them which in reality I had not thought of. Because they wanted — if it would come so far — to fight with dignity and manly for the faith, and they said, what it is finally when we should all die. We shall die for God and for the faith and you would actually die only after we had already all been murdered. This faithfulness pleased me extremely and I do not doubt that they spoke from their hearts. Thank God, everything is now calm again because several hundred Spaniards had gathered and with the help of the faithful Indians they killed several hundred Barbarians and the rest put to flight. On the 19th of May a very dolorous accident happened also not far from here. For a Spaniard had found by chance his wife together with another Spaniard, and he shot immediately the man and hit his own wife with his firearm to death. I will not further enlarge with my pen so that I do not miss this good opportunity. I only beg that Sir Brother would always remember me in his holy prayer. I also do not forget on the first and the last days every month to celebrate my Mass for the intention of my Sir Brother in addition to my daily remembrance of my Sir Brother and of all ours in the celebration of the holy Mass. Sir Brother may most friendly recommend me to all our people, especially to his housewife whom I also frequently remember, to Lady Francisca and Maria Teresia, to P. Zacharias, to Sir Hans Georg, to Lady sister Fruepergerin, to Lady Adlmänin if she is still alive, and to all the inhabitants of Kamna gorica, to my Sir Karl Joseph and Joachim. I am glad that Hänsel has become a Jesuit and that Zöcherl^s studies so well, but the temporary demise of our Lady Sister-in-law Cord(elia) grieves me: I remember her daily in my Memento. May God in his infinite goodness give us his blessing and mercy that we find us all together in the other and everlasting life and remain together in eternity. Amen. Cucurpe, on the 20th of January 1691.

To my dearest Brother faithful unto
 death and always remembering him Marcus
 Ant: Kappus S: J.

The last March I have sent (letters) to Sir Brother
 and to Sir Hans Georg as well as to the Lady
 Aunt Francisca. I hope that these letters have reached them all.

^s Zöcherl, a diminutive of the name Zacharias.