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With Padre Kino on the Trail

BY
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Model of proposed statue in honor of *Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino*.
By Mahonri Young.

PREFACE

I have been assisted in the preparation of this book by friends and scholars everywhere. My colleague, George R. Nichols, has given willing and unstinted help. He has translated for me from the Spanish all passages quoted from Kino's memoirs, *Favores Celestiales*, though he is not to be charged with certain changes of phrasing that have been made in the interest of ease and clarity of English style. My colleague, Dr. Frank H. Fowler, has translated six Latin letters, written by Kino in early life to the Father General of the Jesuit Order in Rome, into the excellent English in which they now appear. So far as I know, these letters are here for the first time printed in English. Dr. W. D. Powers, an acute and versatile linguist, carefully read the manuscript, and made valuable suggestions that were adopted. The map that accompanies the biography was made by W. P. Herbert especially for this work.

J. R. Chini, of Flushing, Ohio, a remote collateral relative of Father Kino, early caught the contagion of my ardor and exerted himself early and late to forward my task. His brother, Benedetto Chini, of Rovereto, Italy, has rendered invaluable service. Mrs. George F. Kitt of the Arizona Pioneer Historical Society, and members of the staff of the University of Arizona Library and of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, have been generous and constant in assistance. My colleagues, Milton M. Evans and Dr. J. G. Brown, photographed from drawings in books long out of print illustrations that appear here, and other friends to whom due acknowledgment is made in the body of the book have permitted me to use photographs made by them. My daughters, Elizabeth and Mary-Margaret, translated passages for me from the Spanish and Italian respectively. Father Laurence O'Keefe, S. J., and Father George G. Fox, S. J., of Brophy College, have given helpful advice—as has Father Felix A. Rossetti, S. J.; and, finally, I have been constantly aided and encouraged by His Excellency G. M. Martino, former Royal Italian Ambassador at Washington, and by the staff of the Royal Italian Consulate in San Francisco.

F. C. L.

Tucson, January 20, 1934.

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With Padre Kino on the Trail

BY
FRANK C. LOCKWOOD

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

The fame of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino has been long obscured; but now, out of the mists of uncertainty that had gathered about him, his name and his deeds shine out with ever-increasing distinction. Kino (or Chini*) was a Jesuit priest exactly contemporaneous with Marquette and La Salle; and, both in what he was and in what he achieved, is of equal importance with these illustrious characters. Of late years he has become widely recognized as the most heroic figure in the history of the Southwest. He was our first and most celebrated pioneer. Not only did he prove himself a mighty spiritual captain; he was, also, an explorer, a ranchman, a builder and a statesman. He was the first one to traverse and map what was known in his day as Pimería Alta (now northern Sonora and southern Arizona); he first brought domestic animals into Arizona; San Xavier Mission was founded by him; and it was he who discovered that California was not an island, but was accessible by land from northern Mexico.

It seems strange that hitherto there has been no single volume in which the story of Kino's life might be read. The only significant work in English dealing with him is Bolton's translation of *Favores Celestiales*, with its scholarly introduction. These volumes, published in 1919 in a limited edition, were from the first quite out of reach of the general reader. Then, too, fundamental and fascinating as this work is, it deals only briefly with the *Padre's* origin (he was an Italian,) early life, and picturesque career previous to his appearance in northern Mexico. The time has come when such a book as is now offered to the public is a necessity, if the Kino legend is to grow and thrive in the common soil of human interest.

*The accepted Italian spelling.

In setting about this task, it has been my chief desire to write a story that men, women, and children in all walks of life will read and enjoy. My ambition is to introduce Kino as a familiar friend into the homes, school-houses, mining camps and ranch-houses of the Southwest. I want to make him known everywhere as a brave, wise, humble, devout, unselfish comrade of men, women and children throughout the Southwest; for he found and broke our trails for us; located our water-courses and wells, raised our churches and villages, and poured out his life in tireless service to the Pima Indians, who have been our friends from that day to this. I have eagerly steeped myself in his spirit; have made myself familiar with the scenes amidst which he labored; have retraced most of the trails which he first opened to the white man; and have visited with reverence and admiration all of the noble mission churches which he founded here in the Southwest. I have long loved and honored the exalted character of Kino, and for the past four years have looked forward eagerly to the time when I could begin the pleasant work I now enter upon.

Eight years ago on a journey from Tucson to Magdalena, Sonora, I passed by the ancient Spanish missions of San Xavier, Tumacácori, and San Ignacio. Then for the first time I realized their historic significance; but at that time the name of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino was still strange. I little knew that this heroic man was the first to plant civilization in the Southwest; that he had established more than two centuries ago a chain of some twenty-five missions in the region now included in northern Sonora and southern Arizona; and that these structures, reared upon foundations laid by him are pointed to by artists and builders as the noblest and most beautiful architectural remains of the Spanish Occupation in America.

During the winter of 1927 I read much about the work of the early *padres* in Arizona, and in so doing got some due conception of Kino's place in Southwestern history. My admiration for him grew into reverence; and it seemed very strange to me that his name was almost wholly unhonored and unsung here in the region that he had redeemed from savagery. In the autumn of 1927, I was invited to deliver a lecture in Tucson on *The Early Missionary Fathers in Ari-*

zona. At the close of my address I made the following statement and suggestions:

"On May 28, 1700, Father Manuel González, commenting on Kino's belief that California could be entered by land, wrote: 'If you accomplish this we must erect to you a rich and famous statue.' I have longed to discover some picture or statue of Kino, but have been unable to find trace of any likeness of him. What would be a finer tribute to this greatest of all Arizona pioneers than the erection even at this late date of an idealized statue of him at San Xavier (which he founded) or in Tucson?"

Immediately the idea met with a hearty response from the press, from prominent pioneers, and from men and women in all ranks of life, without respect to sect or nationality. Almost spontaneously a local committee came together to consider suitable steps for promoting the project. The members of the original group thought it wise to enlarge the committee so that it might include representative men and women from different parts of the State, and, indeed, from the whole Southwest. Letters were accordingly sent to a score of leading citizens who were likely to be interested in such an undertaking, and nearly everyone addressed accepted a place on the committee. For four years, The Kino Memorial Committee carried on the work with great ardor; and, in 1932, took the decisive step of transforming the committee into The Kino Memorial Association.

In the early winter of 1928, it was the author's good fortune to travel for nine days in company with Prof. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California over desert trails made by Father Kino nearly two and a half centuries ago. Dr. Bolton's objective on this trip was to trace, march by march and camp by camp, the route that Captain Juan Bautista de Anza traversed in his overland journey from Tubac to Monterey in 1774—the first expedition ever made by land from northern Mexico to the Pacific Coast. As far as the Colorado River, however, Anza was following trails broken eighty years earlier by the intrepid Kino; and the writer must confess that his interest in Kino, the original pioneer, quite outstripped his admiration for Anza and his bold enterprise, great as that achievement was.

To return to our automobile journey of 1928. We crossed into Mexico at the dismal and forlorn town of Sasabe. About

thirty miles beyond the border we passed the crumbling ruins of San Ambrosio at Busánic, a mission founded by Kino in 1689; at the quaint, ancient village of Sáric, we visited the spot where Santa Gertrudis stood; at Tubutama we viewed at our leisure the still lovely and imposing Church of San Pedro (1689); a few miles farther south we located the walls of Santa Teresa, which dates back to 1692.



Photo by H. L. Shantz.

Mission at Caborca—looking South.

Next came charming San Antonio, standing graceful and genial on a hillside in the picturesque village of Oquitoa. Altar, though an old and important seat of government, and though named by Kino and visited often by him, has no church of his founding; but at Pitiquito, some fifteen miles to the westward is the austere and massive old mission San Diego; and six miles farther to the west is a church equally beautiful and stately, Nuestra Señora de la Concepción. Finally just before we crossed over into Arizona again on

our long northwestern trek to Yuma, we walked around the mounds of earth and brick that represent the tragic remains of San Marcelo de Sonoita. All of the missions mentioned here were founded by Kino previous to 1700.

After this delightful trip through a portion of northern Mexico, the writer felt a keen desire to acquaint others with the Kino mission chain and the scenic beauty of this region. So, early in the spring of 1928, he wrote to Gov. George W. P. Hunt, of Arizona, and to the chief executive of Sonora proposing that a program of coöperation be undertaken between the two states, looking toward the easy crossing of the border and an improvement of the highways that connect the various missions. It seemed likely that such a plan would both draw the two states together in the friendly intimacy that they had enjoyed in Kino's day (for the whole region was then a continuous portion of Sonora) and open the way for many people to visualize the dramatic past through the study of these noble relics of Spanish architecture.

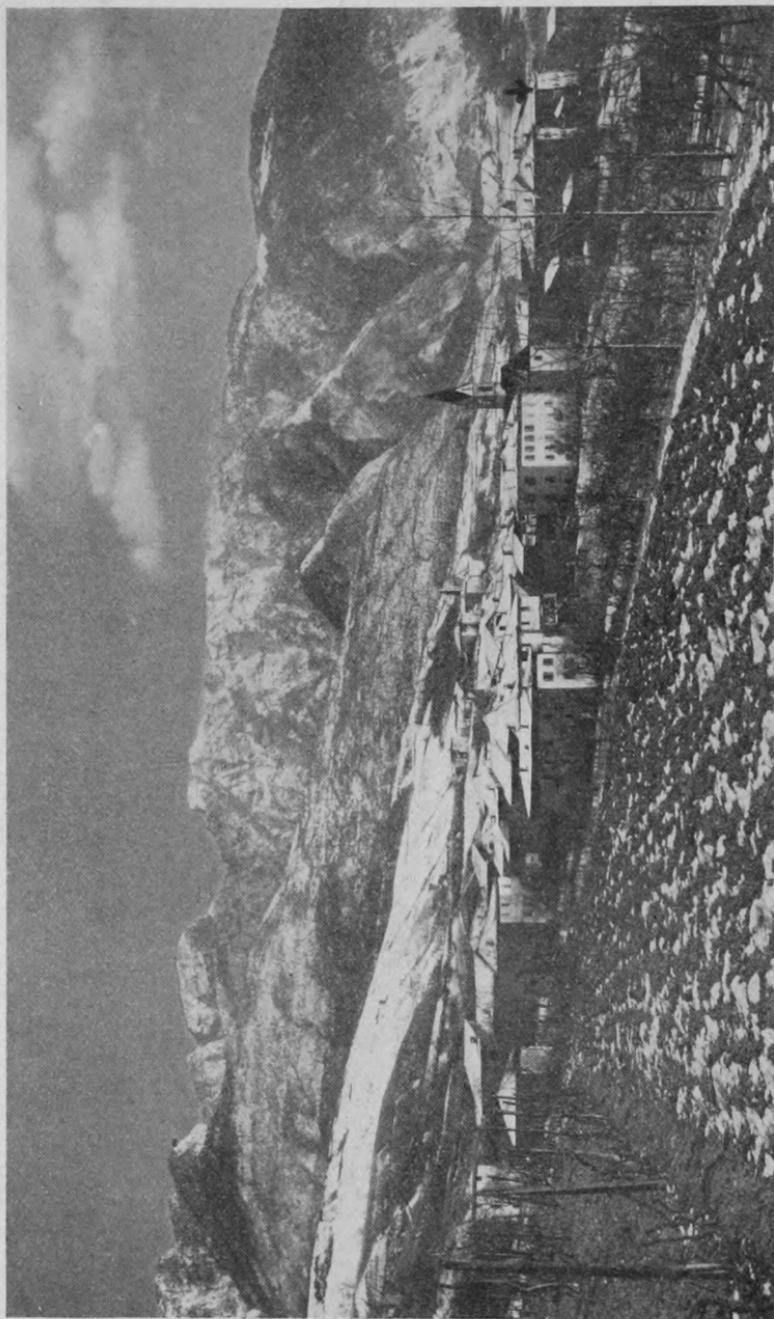
The two governors at once took steps to carry out the proposal. By appointment they met at Nogales, Sonora; and, together, in Governor Hunt's official car, decorated with the flags of the two republics, and accompanied by a number of gentlemen from both Sonora and Arizona, set out to visit the principal missions that are still standing. A prime purpose of the expedition was to determine what missions might best be included in a three days' circuit and at the same time to examine the condition of the roads. At the expense of an extra day's travel, over all but impossible routes, three of the party visited the site of Father Kino's mother mission, Dolores, founded in 1687. The American party was received in Sonora with marked courtesy and enthusiasm. The expedition was a great success, and the following places were decided upon as constituting an ideal three days' tour: San Xavier, Tumacácori, Imuris, San Ignacio, Magdalena, Tubutama, Oquitoa, Pitiquito, and Caborca.

CHAPTER II

ANCESTRY, EDUCATION, AND MISSIONARY CALL

Eusebio Kino, was born in the Province of Trent, Italy, at the village of Segno in the Valley of Anaunia. He was presented for baptism at the parish church of Saint Eusebius at Torra August 10, 1645; and, as it was the custom in Italian families to baptize infants immediately after birth, we may be assured that he was born on that day. Segno and Torra are a short distance apart. In the last named village was located the chief parochial church, Sant' Eusebio, the residence of the parish priest, and the baptismal font. Consequently the baptismal ceremony took place at Torra. There is in Segno, however, the Church of St. Mary, which was consecrated November 29, 1483. Not until a decade ago did this church have a baptismal font and a settled parish priest.

The name Anaunia is very ancient and its history interesting. In the year 46, A. D., the Anauni were granted Roman citizenship by Emperor Claudius. The decree conferring the privilege upon them was engraved on a bronze tablet, and hung on the door of a pagan temple. After many centuries the temple was destroyed and the tablet was buried in the ruins. When work was being done in the Black Fields near Cles in 1869, the memorial was unearthed, and was found to be undamaged. I have a photograph of this relic. Anaunia was so named for the people who first inhabited this valley. In the course of nineteen centuries the name has undergone various changes and abbreviations, from the Latin and the medieval Italian forms to the present modern Italian spelling Val di Non. In 1291, the Counts of Tirolo took forcible possession of the County Sporo-Flavon in which were included the villages of Torra and Segno. Until 1803, these villages belonged to the County previously named. This explains why the youth Eusebio Chini, when he registered in the University of Freiburg, wrote: "*Tridentinus Tirolensis*"—*Tridentinus* because he was a native of the Diocese of Trento; *Tirolensis* for the reason that he was born in Segno, in the County of Sporo-Flavon, which was dependent upon the Tirolo.



Segno, Italy. Kino's native village.

The valley of Kino's nativity was converted to Christianity in the fourth century by Saint Vigilius, Bishop of Trent, who later suffered martyrdom. The boy Eusebio came of a very ancient line, and one not undistinguished. He was a descendant, in the fourth generation, of Dr. Simone Chini, Notary and Imperial Judge, who on March 15, 1529 obtained



Birthplace of Kino.

from Charles V a grant of nobility. He was able to trace his lineage back four generations to Bartolameo, who was living in 1380. The descendants of Dr. Simone Chini, in 1600, became proprietors of the greater part of the taxes of Segno and much of the property of Mezzocorona. They had a tomb of nobility in the church of Torra. It is a circumstance of no little interest that the house in which Eusebio was born is the very one in which his ancestor Doctor Simone lived, and that it is still standing.

On August 11, 1929, there was set in the front wall of St. Mary's Church at Segno, an historical table of marble in memory of Father Kino. A large crowd from all parts of the Valley was present at the unveiling ceremony, and, also, many prominent men from a distance—among these, Senators Conci and Zippel, Dr. G. B. Trener, President of the

Museum of Natural History at Trent, and Prof. G. V. Galligari, of the University of the Sacred Heart, Milan. The official oration was delivered by the very Reverend Anthony Rossaro, librarian of the Civic Library in Rovereto. Addresses were made, also, by Dr. G. B. Trener, and Benedetto Chini, a school-master in Rovereto, a descendant of Doctor Simone, and the prime mover in the erection of the memorial. The tablet was blessed by Father Louis Bergamo, the parish priest of Torra. These are the words chiselled on the marble.

Among these Walls of the Ancient Boundary
 Was born on August 10, 1645
 Padre Eusebio Chini
 Who, Missionary of the Society of Jesus
 Carried with the Light of the Gospel,
 Latin Civilization to the awesome Lands of California
 And, untiring Explorer,
 in learned Volumes
 Committed precious Documents concerning those unexplored
 Lands to future Generations.

Up to four years ago, when there was originated in Tucson, Arizona, a plan to erect a statue in bronze to the memory of Chini (Kino), there was confusion and uncertainty with regard to his nationality and the proper spelling of his name. Mr. Benedetto Chini, in Rovereto, Italy, learning that there was a movement on foot in America to honor Father Kino, and learning at the same time of his labors and achievements in the New World, set about the task of clearing up the obscurities in connection with his name and place of birth. We owe it to the eager and diligent research of this capable modern Italian, who comes of the same lineage as the illustrious missionary, that we are now able to speak with certainty of the birthplace of our Kino, to speak with assurance of the original form of his name, and to trace fully the story of his ancestry. For four years the author has kept up a correspondence with Mr. Chini and as a result has received from him many facts and documents that had never before been brought to light about Eusebio Chini of Segno, Trentino, Italy—the same saintly man and resolute pioneer whom we in the Southwest have known and admired under the name Eusebio Francisco Kino.

From time to time during our correspondence Mr. Chini

has kindly sent newspaper and magazine articles, photographs, the genealogical tree of the Chini family extending back more than four centuries, scholarly documented his-



Memorial tablet placed on the church of St. Mary, in Kino's native village.

torical and linguistic notes, both of his own and of eminent scholars; and, most valuable of all, six letters written by Father Kino in Latin—unpublished at the time they came to

my hand, and now for the first time published in English. These letters are reproduced in the course of this chapter. It is interesting to note that, not until after the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, was it obligatory to keep registers of marriages, births, and deaths. The genealogical tree of the Chini family was compiled as early as 1718 by the notary, Dr. John Colleti. This chart, supplemented by documents in parchment of the Chini family, documents in parchment of the Counts of Tono, parish registers in the archives of the Church of St. Eusebius at Torra from the year 1619 to the present, and documents in the archives of the parish of Cles in the Valley of Anaunia from 1589 to 1930, are the sources from which Mr. Chini has drawn.

The charter of privilege authorizing Simone Chini to make use of the Insignia and Ornaments pertaining to his order of nobility, issued by the Imperial Council of Charles V, is a document steeped in the spirit of the past—an echo from the borderlands of the Feudal Age. It would require five full pages of this book to list the Emperor's own titles and dignities, to describe the Insignia and Ornaments given, conceded, and willed to Simone Chini, and to specify the benefits and privileges bestowed upon him, whether "in honest and perfect affairs of every sort, or jocosely in fights, duels, defences; in tabernacles, insignia, seals, ornaments, or graves." Among all the descendants of the great Doctor Simone entitled to enjoy the proud distinctions here authorized and decreed, doubtless the self-effacing devout missionary to the Pima Indians was the one who least valued them.

The proper form of the name of our famous pioneer has long been a matter of dispute. From remote times, in all public records of the family and in the Act of Charles V conferring the title of nobility upon Simone, the name has been written "Chini." In private papers and business contracts, the forms "Chini," "Chino," and "Chinus" were all used. "Chinus" was always adopted when our *Padre* corresponded in Latin. In a somewhat lengthy document of 1695, the spelling "Chino" is found as often as that of "Chini." It appears that each member of the family adopted the spelling that pleased him best. Benedetto Chini has this to say: "The family name in which we are concerned takes many varied forms: Chini, Chin, Chinus, Chino,

Chinae. This because the name is very easily declined in the Latin form. This variety of forms can be found in other similar family names and one should not marvel, because notaries, almost to the middle of the eighteenth century, were accustomed to draw documents in Latin."

Finally, the family name, as declined in Latin would run as follows: nominative, Chinus; genitive, Chini; dative, Chino; accusative, Chinum; ablative, Chino. The fixed form by 1780, became Chini. On one point the Italians are insistent, namely, that the surname could not have been derived from the German Kühn, for there has never been an infiltration of Germans into the Val di Non, where the Chini family have resided since the fourteenth century.

Now how does it come that in America the spelling has always appeared as "Kino"? This is to be explained by the fact that *Padre Kino*, though an Italian, was serving in Mexico under Spanish authority, and in consequence adapted his name to the requirements of the Spanish language. His Excellency, G. M. Martino, former Royal Italian Ambassador at Washington, in a letter to the author, has the following to say on this point:

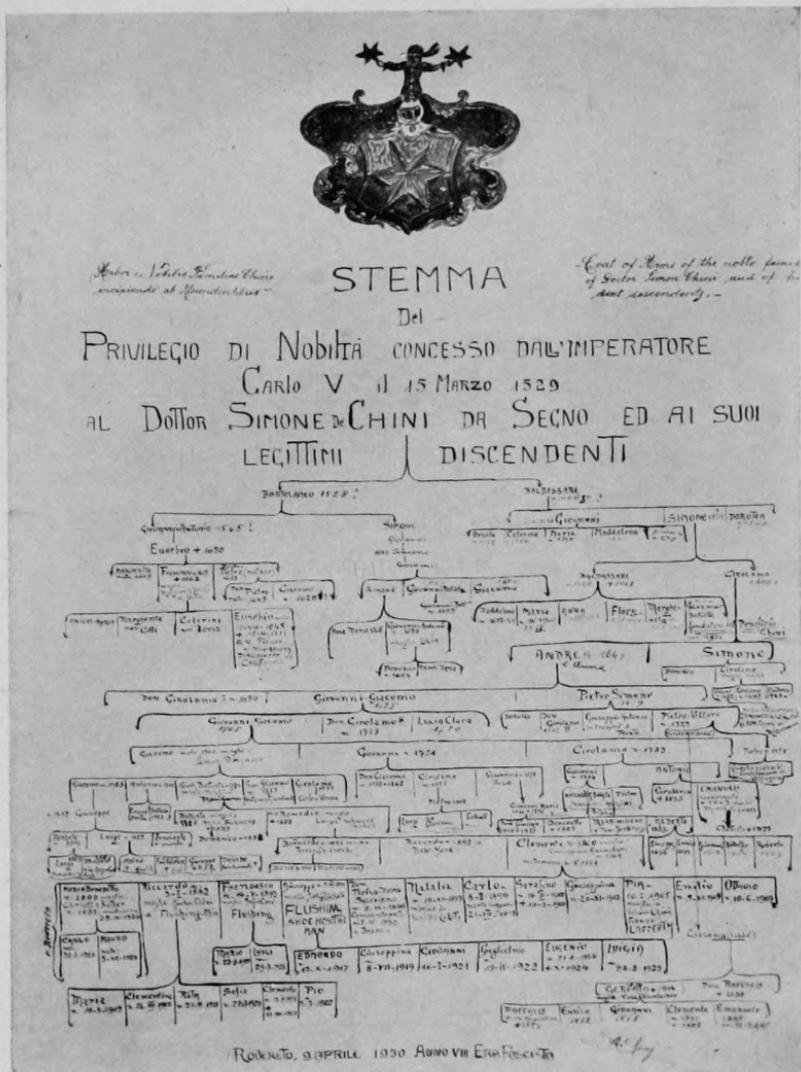
"In Italian 'Ch' has the hard sound rendered by the letter 'K' which is not found in the Italian alphabet. This fact explains why the surname 'Kino' was frequently adopted by historians and by the explorer himself, who, as appears from Spanish documents, may also have spelled his name 'Quino' when the Spanish language was used."

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, in his recent attractive brochure, *The Padre on Horseback*, writes: "Kino's cognomen was a troublesome one. In Spain Chino was the word for Chinaman; in Mexico it was also the name applied to certain mixed-bloods of low caste. Hence Father Chino changed his name to Kino."*

In the writing of this biography it has been a question—weighed with some anxiety in the mind of the author—whether to use the name in its Spanish form, as Kino himself wrote it during his long labors in America, or to revert to the Italian spelling, which is undoubtedly the ancient and correct form of the word. The time has come when the nativity of this illustrious character should be clearly rec-

*The Sonora Press, San Francisco, 1932.

ognized and accepted. He is an Italian; and it was as a son of Italy that he became a world figure. The name Chini



Kino's family tree—furnished by courtesy of Benedetto Chini.

which he took at his birth, the name by which all his lineage have been known for centuries, and the name that has

lately been claimed and honored in his own country by memorials in marble—this name should be restored to him unmistakably. He, himself, cared little for name, or fame, or nationality; for he desired “a better country, that is, an heavenly. He looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.”

On the other hand, it is of course impossible to substitute here in the Southwest the Italian spelling of the name. The form Kino has been so universally used in America, and has taken such deep root in the minds and hearts of those who have known and cherished it that a change now would all but destroy the identity of our greatest hero of the American Southwest. Having attempted to justify the name Chini; and to show Italy's irrefutable right to place him among her men of renown, the form Kino will hereafter be used consistently.

There seems to be almost nothing known about Kino's parents or about his boyhood activities. Presumably, he began his serious studies in the Jesuit College at Trent—at a fairly early age, no doubt, for we know that he was a student of rhetoric at eighteen.

In 1670, June 1, Kino, then approaching his twenty-fifth birthday, writes in a letter to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, that seven years before, being then a student of rhetoric, ill in bed as the result of a wound that was thought fatal, he made a vow that, should his life be spared, he would seek admission to the Jesuit Society and an appointment to an Indian mission. He states that even before that time his desire to enter the Society of Jesus and to be sent as a missionary to the Indians had long been known to one of the Fathers.

The date of Kino's actual entrance into the Society of Jesus was November 20, 1665. It has been assumed that he was at Freiburg in 1665, and this assumption is now established by an entry in the *Archivi Trentino* of the year 1900, to which Benedetto Chini calls attention. The names of students from the Trentino who studied at the University of Freiburg during the years 1664-1665 are there listed. In that roster is the following entry: “Eusebius Chynus, Tridentinus, Tivolensis logicae studiosus.” It was while here at Freiburg, on November 20, 1665, that Kino obtained entrance to the Society of Jesus; but not until thirteen years



Monument to *Padre Kino*, erected in Trent, Italy. The monument is the work of a distinguished Italian sculptor, Stefano Zueck. The design is pre-Columbian, and is intended to keep alive the memory of the ancient Toltec and Aztec civilizations in Mexico. The shaft represents the body of "The Feathered Serpent" emblematic of the beneficent god Quetzalcoatl who symbolizes the earliest Mexican culture. The conception seemed both ingenious and historically appropriate as a shaft to the memory of a Christian missionary; for, just as the eagle symbolizes ancient Rome; the Sphinx, Egypt; and the Dragon, China; so "The Feathered Serpent" symbolizes the idolatry of the vast regions of America that Kino brought into the light of the Gospel. The monument, therefore, stands as a witness to the victory of Christianity over the pagan religion of Old Mexico.

later, March 30, 1678, was he to have the joy of actually turning his face toward the New World for the purpose of entering upon his missionary labors among the Indians; and, even then, five years more were to elapse before he was permitted to stand in the presence of the wild beings he so longed to convert to Christianity. How ardent his desire was to carry the light of the Gospel to the benighted natives of California and Mexico we shall read in the six letters that he wrote to the Father General between 1670 and 1678.

For the present it is best to follow the educational career of this gifted and devout young man. In 1667, he began his philosophical studies at Ingolstadt. When he was just about to complete this three-year course he writes as follows to the Father General:

Very Reverend Father in Christ
The Peace of Christ

Seven years have now passed since the time when I, a student of Rhetoric, confined as I was to my bed because of a serious wound, followed the advice of one of our Fathers, to whom was known my purpose already most ardent to seek admission to the Society and to undertake the Indian mission, and made a vow that, if I should recover my health, I should seek both admission to the Society and appointment to the Indian Mission. And now, since through the matchless kindness of divine bounty I was received into the Society five years ago, and since that most earnest desire of obtaining the Indian Mission or one similar to it has not diminished in the least but rather has increased day by day to such an extent that even if I were entirely freed from the vow made seven years ago, I should still most persistently seek a Mission of that sort, I have decided, now that my study of Philosophy is almost finished, to place my prayers before Your Reverence. And so, while I feel that by the grace of God my attitude of mind is such that, in whatever place or office even the most humble I may be placed by the direction of any superior, I shall be content with that, I am most earnestly asking, nevertheless, from Your Reverence the Indian Mission or the Chinese or some other like those and very difficult, if anything under divine favor is difficult. But He knows, He who has graciously increased my eager desire to endure and to suffer many severe toils for the greater glory of God, and the salvation of men, God, I say, knows that never will a fulfillment be granted more in accordance with my prayers than to be permitted to pour forth my blood and my life in love of Christ Jesus and for the benefit of the Church and the Society; but because now and until the kindly providence of God shall decide otherwise I deem myself altogether unworthy of a blessing so desirable and excellent, most eagerly in my ardent soul do I yearn to perform

the more usual duties of the Society in the midst of the varied experiences of toils, prisons, pains, poverty and scorn. Since this would be attained most fully of all places in the Indian Missions, I again and again ask and pray Your Reverence that you do not hesitate in accordance with your watchful and more than paternal kindness toward your servants to grant these prayers of mine; and this will be the more fully shown, the more quickly these prayers of mine, that I be sent to the Indies or to another Mission of that sort, are granted. Certainly this favor once received, seeing that it is priceless, I shall never be able to forget in time or eternity, unless I am ungrateful. And so myself and my being sent I most humbly commend to the most holy Sacrifices of the Mass of Your Reverence, I write and most humbly ask that my prayers be granted, falling on my knees before the image of the most holy and indivisible Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, and of Our Most Holy Father.

Ingolstadt, June 1, the festival of
the same most Holy Three, 1670.
Of Your Most Reverend Paternity
The Most unworthy Servant
Eusebius Chinus. S. J.

Chini's request was not granted at that time. Instead, he was sent to Innsbruck to be instructor in letters at the College of Ala. But so great was his desire for missionary work on the dangerous frontiers of the world that, on January 31, 1672, from Innsbruck, he renews his most earnest prayer to the Father General.

Very Reverend Father in Christ
The Peace of Christ

Not yet have two years entirely passed from the time when I expressed to Your Reverence my desire for the Indian Mission or another similar; nevertheless, either because we gladly act in those matters which we love or because we desire to possess the thing loved, I have decided to express again to Your Reverence my ardent prayers. And, although, praise to God, I am most ready to be here so long as it is appointed to me, being determined meanwhile to give attention to the perfection of myself and of those committed to my care, and holding as certain that it is better in accordance with the will of God to live free from all inordinate ambition rather than with selfish purpose to convert the whole world, yet in the meantime it always delights me greatly even to remember those plans, and most humbly in the good pleasure of Your Reverence I express and submit my great desires. Certainly after the first news which I heard concerning the sending of Father Beatus Amrhyn and Father Adam Aigenter to China, and especially after their departure from our Province, the desire of securing a like mission has burned in me to such a degree that I have scarcely been able to be quite content

until, the matter having been commended to God, I should lay these prayers of mine before Your Reverence. I most humbly commend myself and my appointment.

At Ala on the Inn, Jan. 31, 1672
Of Your Very Reverend Paternity
The most humble servant in Christ
M.* Eusebius Chinus, S. J.

Again his prayer was denied. So in 1673, he returned to Ingolstadt to begin his regular four-year course in Theology; not, however, without again urging that he be sent to some remote and dangerous mission field. This third letter is dated July 18, 1673, and like the previous one is written from Ala on the Inn.

Very Reverend Father in Christ
The Peace of Christ.

Before beginning the theological studies which, as I am told, are soon to be my next task, I am again expressing to Your Reverence my desire for the Indian Mission or another similar to that, not that by my insistence I may wring consent before it shall seem best to the kindly pleasure of heavenly providence, whose divine will I always consider of more worth than the conversion of the whole world, but that it may clearly appear that I am in no way forgetful of the divine admonition, as I trust in the wounds of Christ, and of my propitious appointment to do and accomplish many things for the glory of God with the favor and protection of the supreme will. If I accomplish this purpose, I shall be here or there so long as it is appointed me, and restraining my impetuous desires to do otherwise, I shall exert myself carefully to perform those tasks which the holy mother Society assigns to me. And I humbly commend myself and my appointment to the holy Sacrifices of the Mass of Your Reverence.

Ala on the Inn, July 18, 1673
Of Your Very Reverend Paternity
The humble servant in Christ
Eusebius Chinus, S. J.

This letter, like the others, failed to convince his superiors at Rome that the time had arrived for him to take up the missionary labors that he longed so earnestly to begin. So back to Ingolstadt he went; and it is from that city that he next writes, February 25, 1675. He is now almost thirty years of age. He has proceeded far in his studies, having completed his three years in philosophy and being now in the second year of the four-year theological course.

Among other interesting items to be found in this letter

*Magister (Teacher).

is the reference to his fondness for mathematics and the facility with which he pursued the study of the mathematical sciences. More than once his future career was to be influenced in no slight degree by the fact that he was proficient in these branches. He taught mathematics while he was in the University; and, he states that in 1676 he entered into a discussion of mathematics with the Duke of Bavaria and his father when they were visiting Ingolstadt on a sort of tour of inspection. So strongly were they impressed with Kino's ability that they invited him to remain in Europe and teach his favorite sciences in the University. There is no doubt that, if he had accepted such an appointment, he would have been known as one of the eminent scholars of the Continent; but he preferred the obscure and perilous life of a missionary—to the Indians in the uncivilized portions of the world—and who shall say that he did not choose wisely?

Your Very Reverend Paternity in Christ
The Peace of Christ

I am employed upon theological studies in my second year, and now, having first commended the matter to the kindly judgment of heavenly wisdom, I am reminded to present again to Your Reverence my request for the Indian Mission which I have at other times eagerly sought. And although I most devoutly consecrate myself and all my affairs in time and eternity to the beneficent plan of the most gracious Deity, yet if He shall view with favor my purpose that I, in accord with His most holy will, Your Reverence being the judge, shall spend this mortal life in some difficult Mission fruitfully to the glory of divine Majesty and the enlargement of the most holy mother Society, it will be a joy for me to know this, whenever it shall seem best to Your Reverence. Meanwhile I am striving to give earnest attention to the theological course of study, and also, when time permits, to devote myself to the study of mathematics, in which study by divine favor I experience very great facility; but I do this without prejudice against or detriment to the study which is of primary importance, that is theology, a study to the greatest degree necessary for Missionaries. In these studies I dedicate myself wholly to the adoration of the Heavenly Father, ever remembering the toils and merits of his only-begotten Christ Jesus and having as purpose the enlightenment and conversion of those mortals who are straying from the path of true faith. I pray that with divine help I may bring it to pass that no obstacle because of me or my sins may ever be placed in the way of the most gracious providence of God concerning myself and all my affairs. And meanwhile I shall expectantly await that one word, "Go," from Your Reverence

when it shall be decided that the time is opportune for the wished-for Mission. And so most humbly I commend myself to the Sacrifices of the Mass of Your Reverence.

Ingolstadt, February 25, 1675.
Of Your Very Reverend Paternity
The most humble servant in Christ
Eusebius Chinus, S. J.

Three more years go by, and now, having completed his course in theology, he passes on to Old Oettingen, Bavaria, for his third and final probation before the assumption of the solemn vows. It is while at Oettingen that, for the fifth time, he requests the Father General to send him as a missionary to the Indians. In this letter he reveals an excited and confident expectancy; for he has learned that missionaries for the Indians are actually being enrolled.

The Very Reverend Father in Christ
The Peace of Christ

With such great joy of soul have I learned within these last few days that the Indian Missionaries are being enrolled that I cannot do otherwise than, by this letter written with great assurance, commend again most earnestly to Your Reverence my long-standing desire to obtain a similar difficult Mission to the Indians. Meanwhile concerning me and all my affairs may the purpose of Christ Jesus be most gracious in all and through all. To be brought most thoroughly in accord with this purpose in life and in death, in time and eternity, that would be for me the most beautiful Paradise.

Those former prayers of mine to obtain from God and from Your Reverence the Indian Mission and in varied toils to do and to suffer much under divine favor to the glory of the supernal Majesty and the spiritual welfare of my fellow men, according to the instructions of the most holy Parent Society, these prayers grow more ardent and day by day increase in fervor and strength. Now by this present writing I most humbly and eagerly ask that Your Reverence may proceed to determine whether this wish of mine issues from heaven and so whether I ought even to hope to accomplish it.

And so with the most favorable prayers for the Paschal festival and for all prosperity from the heavenly Deity I most humbly commend myself and my appointment as missionary to the Indians again and again to the most holy Sacrifices of the Mass of Your Reverence.

March 17, 1678, at Old Oettingen
Of Your Very Reverend Paternity
The servant in Christ
Eusebius Chinus, S. J.

Almost before the letter just quoted was out of his hands, word came to him that the Father General had at last ac-

ceded to his desire. He barely took time to prepare what things were required for his long journey. For this purpose he stopped a few days at Munich. There was little to hold him in the Trentino, for he had no worldly goods to dispose of. Long ago he had said farewell to any craving for material things; and, as the last male of the family, he had conveyed his entire property to the Company of Jesus—this transaction having been completed on December 10, 1667, while he was at Ingolstadt. Of his separation from his mother country, to which he was never afterward to return, Dr. Eugenia Ricci writes very touchingly: "There remained only the patrimony of his soul—the love of his native spot carried with him in his heart." Here is the last of his six fervid letters to the Father General.

Very Reverend Father in Christ,
The Peace of Christ.

I present to Your Reverence my heartiest thanks that you have deemed it proper to give assent so kind and so timely to my prayers for securing the Indian Mission. I shall be the most ungrateful of mortals, if, as long as I shall live, I shall not be most constantly and steadfastly mindful of the matchless favor which I have received. May I be able to act in a way befitting the special graciousness herein shown to me. May the most potent love of Christ Jesus cause that I never wish, do, speak, or think anything which shall be inconsistent with an appointment so eminent.

About six weeks ago I sent a letter to Your Reverence in which I commended to you my appointment to the Indians, and scarcely had my letter left Germany, when our Reverend Provincial Father came to the House of the Third Probation at Oettingen. He told me that assent had been given to my prayers by Your Reverence. And so having received from the same Reverend Provincial Father an official letter of appointment directing me to Genoa, Father Antonius Kersparner and I, on March 30, left Oettingen for Munich. We stayed at Munich six days until the things necessary for our journey should be prepared, and leaving there on the seventh of April we took the road into the Tyrol to Hal and Innsbruck. We arrived at Innsbruck on the twelfth of April, at Trentino on the eighteenth, at Brixia on the twenty-fourth, at Milan on the twenty-seventh, and on the second of May we reached Genoa, being, praise to God, at all times safe, at all times unharmed; especially were we everywhere most kindly received and treated by our brothers.

Of the missionaries ordered here to Genoa we arrived first of all, although two days after our arrival seven others from Bohemia also reached here, and four others are expected to arrive within two days. There is, how-

ever at present no opportunity for going by sea to Cádiz; we hope that God will soon furnish a way; otherwise we shall undertake the journey by land or in what way shall seem best to our Superiors. And so with the repetition of my most sincere thanks, most humbly and most earnestly I again commend myself and my Mission to the most Holy Sacrifices of the Mass of Your Reverence.

Genoa, May 6, 1678.

Of Your Very Reverend Paternity
The bond-servant in Christ.

Eusebius Chinus, S. J. departing for Mexico.

CHAPTER III.

FROM GENOA TO THE CITY OF MEXICO

June 12, 1678, in company with eighteen other Jesuit missionaries, Kino took ship at Genoa, expecting to embark at Cádiz for the New World. The passage to Cádiz was slow, as the Fathers encountered dangerous seas in the early part of the voyage and were later becalmed for several days. At the end of two weeks they put in at Alicante on the southeastern coast of Spain. A good many vessels were seen between Genoa and Cádiz, and so warlike were the times that the sailors constantly held themselves in readiness for action. They were unmolested, however, and at last reached Cádiz—though too late to catch the Royal Fleet for the West Indies. At Seville they were taken ashore, and here they had to wait many months. But the time was not spent fruitlessly, for the younger priests continued their studies and the older ones devoted themselves to the mastery of the Spanish language, to the study of mathematics and astronomy, and the manipulation of various instruments of navigation, such as the compass and the sun-clock.

In the early spring of 1680, the Fathers went to Cádiz hoping for an early embarkment; but it was not until July 10 that they were able to take ship. At that time, the Fleet for the Indies being in readiness for the voyage, the missionaries were taken aboard "The Nazarene." We are able at this point to pick up the thread of Kino's fortunes through a wonderfully interesting series of letters written by him between August 18, 1680, and February 15, 1687, to the rich, devout, and renowned lady, the Duchess d'Aveiro, de Arcos, y de Maqueda. She was one whose whole heart and soul was bound up in missionary work among heathen people in all the remote parts of the earth. The Fathers called her "Mother of Missions," and priests all over the world corresponded freely with her concerning their labors and the progress of the numerous missions which she fostered. In the collection of letters referred to above there are twenty from Kino to the Duchess, and thirteen written by him to

fellow Jesuits, or about him and his work by his contemporaries.

I first learned about this bundle of letters four or five years ago through the courtesy of my friend Dr. George Watson Cole, librarian emeritus of the Huntington Library. He sent me Catalogue 432, of Maggs Brothers, London, famous dealers in fine and rare books, prints, and autographs, which contained, not only an excellent account of these thirty-three autograph letters, but, also, very copious extracts from them translated into beautiful English. I wrote to Maggs Brothers to find out, if possible, where the letters had reposed during the generations and centuries that have intervened since they were written and the circumstances under which they came to light. Maggs Brothers replied: "We have much pleasure in giving you the information you ask for about the Kino Letters, which are now in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. These letters were originally written to the Duchess of Aveiro, whose archives were sold by her descendants some twenty years ago, and came into the hands of friends of ours, who sold them to us."*

Later, in the Huntington Library, I read and examined all the letters just as they left Kino's hand. Across the centuries they came to me warm with life. I seemed to sit in the presence of this simple and heroic seventeenth century priest. I entered into his ardent aspirations, I shared his adventures on the deep, his hardships, successes and disappointments during the early days of missionary endeavor. At times the very handwriting and the condition of the paper on which he wrote made me sensible of his physical surroundings as he indited this or that epistle. One letter he dates February 24, 1681, "From our ship, not far from the Canary Islands." The script is not so round and regular as usual; there is a suggestion of haste; the letter is brief; possibly the ship is rolling more violently than it should. Is it possible that he may be suffering from a touch of seasickness?

Writing from "the Camp of Nuestra Señora del Rosario,"

*In quoting from the Kino-Duchess d'Aveiro letters, I have, throughout, made use of the translations that appear in the Maggs Brothers' Catalogue.

on June 3, 1682, his chirography is so large, so different from what we have been accustomed to—that we are almost led to doubt whether the letter is in his own hand. Another document—addressed to no one, and unsigned, a relation rather than a letter, written early in 1685, on a small sheet of paper in a large hurried hand—is so unlike previous examples of his handwriting that we feel it must have been composed amid the hardships and inconveniences of camp life. And we find that such was the case; it was written while he was on an extended exploring expedition into the interior of the California peninsula. A letter dated at Mexico City, November 16, 1686, is written on rice paper—of excellent quality, no doubt—but now dingy and yellow. I think no letter came home to me with such peculiar force—such convincing intimacy—as the first one in the collection that was indited at Dolores, the earliest mission founded in Sonora—the parent establishment from which so many flourishing missions were to arise. It is dated June 30, 1687, and is addressed to Father Baltaser de Mansilla. I had recently stood on the very spot where this letter was written two hundred and forty years before; had gazed upon the crumbling ruins of the church that Kino built there; and had viewed the purple mountains with which he daily communed, and, as a result, I felt the impact of his personality as a very real thing.

There is another reason why these letters to the Duchess d'Aveiro are significant historically. We trace here the progressive changes that took place in the *Padre's* manner of writing his surname. The first letter to the Duchess, dated Cádiz, August 18, 1680, is in Italian, and is signed Quino. The second written in Spanish about a month later (in the body of the letter there are four lines of German), is signed likewise, Quino. The third is in Latin, and is signed Eusebius Franciscus Chinus, S. J. The fourth, also, is in Latin, but is signed Eusebio Francisco Chino. The fifth and sixth letters are signed in Latin. A letter of January 8, 1681, in Spanish addressed to Father Luis de Espinosa, S. J., is signed Eusebio Francisco Chino. His next letter to the Duchess is both written and signed in Latin, as are the next two. His first letter from Mexico addressed to the Duchess is signed Eusebia Francisca Kinus, S. J. The

spelling Kino is first used by the missionary in a letter dated June 3, 1682. The name appeared there as follows: Eusebio Francisco Kino. From this time on, he consistently used the familiar form Kino; though in a letter written by Francisco de Florencia, of the Society of Jesus, to the Duchess, from Mexico, November 1, 1684, in which the writer is giving an account of Kino's work in California, the name is written thus: "P. Esebio Franco Quino."

H

Ala Ex:^{ma} Señora mi Señora
 la Duquesa de Aveiro, y Arcos
 que N. S. G. muchos años

M. real.

Madrid.

Specimen of Padre Kino's handwriting on a letter now in the possession of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

To return to the main thread of my story: Kino wrote the first of his many letters to the Duchess d'Aveiro August 18, 1680. In it he tells her that after living two years in Seville waiting for passage to their field in the New World, he and his companions embarked July 10, on "The Nazarene," one of the vessels of the Royal Fleet bound for the Indies. He explains that immediately after setting sail "The Nazarene" came to grief among the rocks and almost foundered. He goes on to say that after awhile:

"The sea became calm and we returned safe and sound to the city and our college towards the evening. Our Proc-

tor of the Indies proceeded to ask throughout that night what hope we had of returning on board; whereupon, when he learned that the vessel would not be seaworthy for some weeks, he returned to the college; and at two o'clock that night he roused us to go and embark on the other vessels of the Fleet, which we reached at about seven of the following morning. We were nearly all without cloaks, caps, or breviaries as we had been on leaving the shipwrecked vessel "Nazarene"; but in spite of many prayers and supplications, they would not receive on board any of the vessels more than eleven missionaries; the others, amongst whom were the writer and three novices, were obliged to return to Cádiz and to the College."

At first it was hoped that "The Nazarene" could be repaired in time to continue with the Fleet. But this expectation proving vain Kino, with Father Thomas Revell, was left in Cádiz to do the work of the College there, while the Proctor and the other missionaries who had been left behind went to Seville.

The most cherished desire of the Duchess d'Aveiro was to send missionaries in search of the *Unknown Land of Australia* in order to bring to its inhabitants the light of Christianity. Father Theofilo de Angelis of Siena had been named by the Duchess as a suitable companion for Kino in this perilous expedition. Father Theofilo, too, had written to the General suggesting that Kino be sent with him. When Father Theofilo informed Kino of all this, he himself wrote to Rome expressing his willingness to undertake this mission. Father Theofilo had sailed for the Indies before the Father General had made known his decision; so Kino in his letter of August 18, 1680, inquires whether, perhaps, there may be any good news for him concerning his "inclination to undertake the discovery of *Unknown Lands in Australia*." He still hopes that letters may come from Rome instructing him to join Father Theofilo. No such word ever came; and we in America may be thankful that it did not; for doubtless Kino would very early have worn the crown of martyrdom had he been sent to that field. Father Theofilo himself never got so far as Australia. He set out for the Mariana Islands, not far from Australia, in 1681; but here,

in the summer of 1684, he was killed by the savages whom he came to evangelize.

In a second letter to the Duchess, written September 15, 1680, while he is still waiting at Cádiz, uncertain what the decision of the Father General might have been with respect to him, Kino says: "If by any chance the letters which Father Theofilo wrote before leaving Europe should reach Rome, asking that I might accompany him on his voyage of discovery to Australia (near the Mariana Islands), it would be one of the greatest comforts I have ever known in my life (but of course, I would not ask it myself, if it is not so ordered by the Superiors)."

He tells her Grace that there is still some expectation that he may be able to set out for New Spain before the end of the year, either in ships from Honduras that are expected to arrive soon, or in a dispatch boat bound directly for Vera Cruz, or in ships destined for the Leeward Islands that she had told him about. Before the letter is posted, he adds this fresh bit of news from the wide seas:

"During the last four days the ships have arrived from Honduras, and they bring bad news—that the French and English and other pirates have sacked Porto Bello, and that they wish to proceed to Lima. They also report that between Panama and Cartagena some rich gold mines have been discovered; and within the last three days three ships have put in from Biscay, which, they say, are ships from the Indies or windward squadron."

In a letter to the Duchess dated November 16, 1680, Kino reverts to her passionate interest in the mission to the Mariana Islands and the quest for the *Unknown Land of Australia*; and, after mentioning that Father Theofilo and other missionaries are now on their way there, adds: "If we cannot follow these lucky Fathers on their journey to the Eastern Church with our bodies, we can at least follow them mentally and pray for them and their success continuously, as well as for their successors in the whole of the Orient and in the *Unknown Lands of Australia*."

He continues: "God knows how eagerly some ten years ago I endeavored to obtain at Rome and elsewhere a Portuguese grammar so that I might learn Portuguese, or at least its chief elements while I was still in Germany, in order that

I might, in due course if it pleased God and my Superiors, go to the East Indies. In the letter which I received four days ago from Rome, the Father General confirms, as does also the Assistant Father of the German Province, Charles de Noyelle, that we were to go either to Paraguay, or to the New Kingdom. But since the chance is gone of going to Paraguay, we may be going to the New Kingdom as there is a despatch boat which will leave Europe with the Fleet, and will take us to the Port of Vera Cruz, as the Father Procurator of the Indies has warned us, who wishes that those Fathers who are destined for the Phillipines, or the Mariana should follow the others who are going to Mexico with the Fleet, so that they may be able to take a boat in Acapulco for the Phillipines."

In this same letter Kino, in reply to inquiries made by the Duchess as to his nativity, has this to say: "What your Grace wishes to know about me I will write most willingly about my nation and my country; I am a Tyrolese from Trento, but I don't know whether I can say whether I can call myself an Italian or a German, because the town of Trento makes use of the Italian language, laws and habits, but although it is situated in the very extremity of the Tyrol, and although our College of Trento is the college of Upper Germany, it is usual to speak Italian there."

There is in Kino's next letter a certain urbane charm and playfulness that is as unexpected as it is welcome. Buoyant and joyous as he always seems to be, he is, nevertheless, so much a "God-intoxicated man," so single, and pious, and earnest in all his hopes and aims in life that this letter brings to the reader a sense of pleased surprise. Yet even his pleasantry merges naturally into the most devout sentiment and noble religious yearning.

As regards the pious saying 'It shall be given thee, O Rudolph, what thou asketh;' I do not wish to appear to wish for something which depends on God and my Superiors; if they have decided differently, my wish would be a mortal sin.

This reminds me what a certain pious Canon of Milan once said, who, when he was asked by an Italian Bishop in friendly conversation, whether if he were to become a Pope, he would like to be beatified, piously and laughingly answered, 'It would be good for your Grace and it would be good for me, because you would be Pope and I would be a saint.'

In the same way I may say, 'It shall be given thee, O Rudolph, what thou asketh,' when your Grace predicts a martyrdom for me as a result of my labors in Japan and China. I make answer, 'It would be good for your Grace and it would be good for me because your Grace would be a prophet and I would be a martyr.'

It is now mid-December, 1680, and Kino still at Cádiz, is in constant readiness to set sail for his unknown field in the far seas. He writes:

I have received your letters with those enclosed intended for Mexico, and I shall do my utmost that they shall reach their addresses safely.

As regards my mission, I desire my eternal salvation, but value equally and desire even more the conversion and salvation of the heathen Indians. But, with the help of God, I shall always be obedient to God's will and my Superiors.

Your Grace's prayers will procure for me that great joy and reward, however, and whenever it appears good to God to send me I shall go. If I consider Japan, and the victories of its martyrs which have been obtained by the love of God, then your letters which I have recently received, and which mention Japan, seem to me most pleasing. If, however, I look at China with my mind's eye I am delighted that I spent so many years in the study of mathematics and other sciences, which were so pleasing to me that it has always been a delight to me to live in rooms in the colleges which had windows to the East so that the aspect of the East, where I always intended to go to convert to God, delighted me.

In a letter to the Duchess d'Aveiro written from Cádiz on December 28, 1680, Kino makes mention of the famous comet of 1680-1681, which he had been carefully observing for some days.

Here we saw during five days, at 6, 7, and 8 in the evening, an enormous Comet, and I do not doubt that it was also visible at Madrid, perhaps, however, one hour before it was visible to us. It began to be visible and observed by us who live here in the College on the twenty-third of this month, although others saw it three or four days previously. I have no doubt whatever that this is the same Comet which many people assert that they saw four or five weeks ago at 4 and 5 in the morning, and indeed in the East, before sunrise, with its tail pointing toward the West. Those who deny that this is the same Comet give as a reason the difference in time at which it was seen, and the difference of position of its tail. On the other hand, one may well say that in the same way the

planet Venus is one and the same planet although at different times of the year it precedes or follows the sun, and then bears different names; in summer when it precedes, it is called Lucifer or Phosphorus, and in winter, when it follows the sun (as now the neighbouring Comet) it is called Hesperus.

He promises that in his next letter he will tell more about the comet—its size, its distance from the earth, "Its exact locality, and its unhappy effects upon the Kingdoms of Europe." So, on January 11, 1681, after some comment upon the possibility that some missionaries who had already been designated for the New Kingdom would have to remain in Spain owing to lack of funds for the journey, and a reference to the rumor that the Fleet was to sail within a few weeks, he goes on to say:

With regard to the great Comet which is visible here (and as I believe throughout the world) we saw it in the evening at the hours of 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, and later, and you will have understood from my (previous) letter that this Comet has been observed by me almost every day in the sky, except the last three days when the obscurity of the sky prevented us from observing the Comet. Notwithstanding, I think, that, even in these last three days, the Comet ascended by its own motion towards the Arctic Pole in a slight declination towards the East, and that it will pass the Tropic of Cancer. And although the longitude of the Comet's tail from the 5th of January when it almost reached as far as the seventieth degree has been diminishing daily, I firmly believe that the Comet will last the whole month of January, and a considerable part of next month.

Finally the time is at hand when Kino is to set sail for Mexico. He conveys this news to the Duchess in a letter of January 26. For eight days the galleons had seemed to be on the point of departure. The Viceroy and the Vicereine had even gone on board their ship, and the missionaries, three days before, had sent all their bags and boxes aboard. But, writes Kino, there is still a possibility that their departure may be delayed three more days on account of the strong wind which has prevailed. The missionaries bound for Mexico most eagerly await the Father Procurator, cheered by the report that he has already reached Seville on his journey from Madrid. So Kino closes his letter with the words: "The end of my letter is this, to say good-bye in Europe."

A month later, aboard ship near the Canary Islands, he writes again, giving some details of the voyage up to that point. The passage consumed three months—to be exact, ninety-five days if we count both the day of departure from Cádiz, January 29, and the day of arrival in Vera Cruz, May 3. Upon reaching Mexico, Kino at once sent a full account of his long voyage to the Duchess d'Aveiro. Writing from Mexico City, July 4, 1681, he states that all of his letters since leaving Spain had been committed to the hands of Father Baltasar de Mansilla, Procurator of the Phillipines and of the Mariana Islands, and that they had all been "included in the Royal Chest which is sent from Mexico to Madrid."

As to his own probable destination he has this to say: "Father Baltasar is trying to send me to China, and several days ago he mentioned the matter to the Father Provincial of the Province of Mexico, endeavoring to obtain me for the Far East. But the Father Provincial has not given Father Baltasar his definite consent, on the contrary, he intends to send me with another veteran missionary father to California whither in a few months ships and soldiers and a magnificent expedition are being sent to discover whether this be indeed an island or a large, vast peninsula. It may, however, be that the Father Provincial will yet give his consent. . . . In the meantime, however, I do not listen to one more than the other, nor do I let myself wish one thing more than the other. On the 23rd of June at 6 o'clock in the evening, we had a great earthquake here. Many public prayers had taken place, in order to obtain rain. I suspect that this extraordinary drought had somewhat caused the earthquake, because afterwards there was a great inundation."

Upon his arrival in Mexico, Kino was established in the great College, where he no doubt, in accordance with a custom that Father Ratkay tells about, received the usual gift bestowed by the King of Spain upon each new missionary. In more ways than one Kino's proficiency in mathematics stood him in good stead. Almost at once, upon reaching the Capital, he was drawn into a public discussion of the recent Comet with the learned Jesuit Sigúenza y Góngora; and as a result, though these two learned men clashed sharply in

opinion, won the friendship and admiration of this distinguished scholar, and general esteem from eminent men in Mexico. Another outcome of this disputation was the publication by Kino that same year of a little volume, "Astronomical Exposition of the Comet, that in the Year 1680, during the Months of November and December, and this year 1681, during the months of January and February, Could be seen throughout the World."

One hundred copies of this treatise he sent back to the Old World, by the hand of Father Joseph Vidal, to be distributed among the nobility in Europe by the Duchess d'Aveiro, to whom it was dedicated. He requested her Grace to send six copies to the Jesuit Father Pedro de los Escuderos, at Seville, and the same number to Rome, also, with the request that the Assistant Prefect of Spain distribute them among the celebrities of the Eternal City.

CHAPTER IV

MISSIONARY BEGINNINGS IN CALIFORNIA

Kino's soul was always aflame with the desire to work among the Indians in California. It is true that as the years went by he became as much attached to the Pima Indians of northern Mexico as any father could be to his own flesh and blood children. It was, too, his work in Pimería Alta that brought him eternal fame. But it was in California that he first tasted the spiritual luxury of converting Indians to the Christian way; and never did his fervent heart relinquish the hope that he might renew his labors among the Indians of California. He was filled with joy, therefore, when, on June 3, 1682, he was able to write as follows to his friend the Duchess d'Aveiro:

"My Superior, the Viceroy and the Bishop of Guadalajara, are sending me to the New Conquest and the New Missions to the great Kingdom of the Californias, which, to my mind, is the fairest isle on the face of the Globe. To Father Baltasar de Mansilla I owe many thanks for the efforts he has made to send me to vast China, a mission which for so many years I had so greatly desired; but I am convinced that it is God's decree that I should go to California, and may the most Holy Will so be done of him who knows best what is for the best. I confess that I set forth with the greatest consolation."

THE PLACE AND THE NAME CALIFORNIA

When mention was made of California in Kino's time and during the preceding one hundred and fifty years, Lower California was meant. It was then thought to be an island or one of a group of islands that barred the way to Asia and the Spice Islands. From the time of Cortés to that of Kino Spanish mariners held sway in the Pacific Ocean, then known as the South Seas. When Cortés conquered Mexico, and for generations afterwards, all to the north and west of

Lower California was shrouded in mystery. Many attempts were made by the Spanish to break through the screen and find what lay beyond. In 1533, Cortés sent out two ships on an exploring expedition. One of them, in control of Fortuno Ximénes, chief pilot, who had assumed command after the sailors had mutinied against their captain, entered the little bay where La Paz was later to be founded. Here Ximénes was murdered by the natives. Two years later, with three ships, Cortés himself sailed into the bay and made a landing.

To Cortés and his followers must be given the credit of discovering California. The name California, which carried the suggestion of island riches, was first used in a Spanish book published in 1510. Cortés called it the land of Santa Cruz. The name California was actually applied to what we now know as Lower California by Francisco Preciado, diarist to Francisco de Ulloa, in his voyage in 1539. Ulloa was one of Cortés' best sailors. He had been with Cortés in 1535, when a landing was made at Santa Cruz (La Paz) and an attempt was made to start a colony. The Spaniards were not able to establish a colony at that time. But, in the confident belief that he would find incredibly rich islands near the shores of Asia, Cortés had sent out Ulloa and Gomara on this new voyage of discovery in 1539. This expedition reached the head of the Gulf, but instead of discovering gems and gold and fruitful lands they found only arid, sterile deserts and grim volcanic mountains. Though from this time on the land was called California, no one was certain whether it was an island or a peninsula. There are several maps published between 1541 and 1622 on which California is pictured as a peninsula; but in many maps made between 1622 and 1746 it is represented as an island.

In 1540, the ambitious Viceroy, Mendoza, sent Alarcón up the west coast of Mexico with the expectation that he would join the land forces of Coronado who about the same time had been commissioned to march into the North to find the Seven Cities of Cibola. Alarcón sailed to the foot of the Gulf and well up into the Colorado River, but he failed to unite with Coronado. Nor did he realize that California was not an island but a peninsula. However, in 1642, a sensational advance was made. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, sent by Mendoza to explore the outer coast of California, touched

at Santa Cruz (La Paz), passed out into the Pacific, and then skirted the coast. He set sail June 27, 1542. On September 28 he put in at what is now San Diego Bay. On January 3, 1543, he died as the result of an accident; but he enjoined his fellow officer, Ferrelo, who succeeded to the command, to continue the exploration undaunted. March 1, Ferrelo reached latitude 42 degrees—the boundary line of modern California.

A half century now passed during which no significant new voyages were made. Meantime, the Spanish had discovered the Philippines. At Manila richly laden Chinese junks from the near-by ports of Asia met the bold galleons of the Spanish, and for gold and silver from Mexico exchanged Eastern luxuries. These perfumed and glittering cargoes from China and Japan—silks, velvets, rich stuffs of gorgeous hue, cushions, carpets, musk, ivory, beads, precious stones, lace, cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs, and amber—the Spanish ships carried to Acapulco, to be forwarded there in new bottoms to the Mother Country.

It was all important for the galleons plying between Manila and Acapulco to find harbors along the California coast where they could put in for repairs and fresh water; for as time went on the navigators found that the most favorable winds and sea currents for ships returning from the Philippines to Mexico were by the northern California coast. In 1579, Francis Drake, after finding his way through the Strait of Magellan, played havoc along the Pacific coast—capturing and plundering one Spanish ship after another. In his own little flagship, the *Golden Hind*, he encountered and overcame the rich Philippine galleon, taking a half million dollars worth of treasure—much of it in silver bars the size of bricks. This exploit of Drake's was a rude awakening to the Spanish sea captains in the Pacific and to the King at home; but the surprise was mild compared with the shock received in 1587 when the young Englishman Thomas Cavendish, with two ships, sailed clear up to the extreme southern point of Lower California and there laid in wait for the regular annual treasure ship from the Philippines. This galleon is said to have carried the richest cargo ever yet shipped from Manila. After a fight of some hours the vessel was captured; its incredibly valuable cargo of gold, musk,

civet, pearls, and stuffs was taken, and the ship itself given to flames and the sea. When it thus became plain to King Philip that the English captains were beginning to sail the South Seas seeking with evil intent the Spanish galleons and their priceless cargoes, he realized that Spain would have to secure and colonize the California shores and harbors. There was no alternative. Spain must either colonize or see these long-established but neglected outposts in the Pacific wrested from it by the invincible English sea-dogs.

Accordingly, in 1596, Philip II ordered the Viceroy of Mexico to explore and colonize California. The result was an expedition of three ships under Sebastián Viscaíno. He sailed across the Gulf of California, taking with him four Franciscan Fathers, and landed at Santa Cruz—now, because of the peaceable disposition of the Indians they found there, first named La Paz. They erected there a small fort, a rude church, and a number of simple huts—altogether, the beginnings of a colony. The Indians were kindly and generous, bringing them such food as they had—fish and fruits—and, also, pearls. However, supplies were scarce; quite insufficient for the support of a colony; so Viscaíno soon returned to Mexico. This first serious attempt at missionary work in Lower California is interesting to students of Father Kino; as the attempt just described is to be almost exactly duplicated eighty-six years later by the expedition to which the heroic priest was attached.

Since so much is to be said in this book about California and missionary effort there, it seems desirable to complete the story of attempts at exploration and settlement up to the coming of Kino, and, indeed, on to the final successful planting of a mission by Kino's noble friend Salvatierra. In 1602, Viscaíno made a second and more extended voyage—sailing as far north as the 40th parallel of latitude and discovering what was to become the famous Port and City of Monterey. Philip II died in 1598, and from that time for three-quarters of a century Spanish power dwindled in these far outposts. What development there was must be attributed to private and commercial enterprise. Men still sought to enrich themselves from the pearl fisheries in the South Seas that wash the shores of Lower California; but they went as private individuals under license from the Crown.

One of these expeditions under Royal patent was that of Iturbe in 1615. He made a second voyage in 1632. Many pearls of great size and beauty were found off the shores of Lower California; but, successful as the traffic in pearls might have been, no permanent trade center was established. In 1636, Carboneli was able to gather an abundance of pearls, but when he tried to find, farther north along the coast, a suitable place for settlement, he was unable to do so. It seemed impossible to discover any fertile, well-watered spot where a colony could be planted.

In 1642, the Viceroy ordered the Governor of Sinaloa to cross over to California and make careful surveys and maps of the coast. Father Jacinto, a Jesuit, was a member of the Governor's party, and he gave glowing reports of the fitness of the region about La Paz for the location of a mission. Later the Spanish Government sent over from Spain Admiral Don Pedro de Casute and two Jesuit missionaries to carry the survey still farther and to establish a colony in California. They did their work well, but for some reason were ordered to Mexico before they could carry out their purpose. Still another expedition, under Pinadero, was sent by the Crown for the purpose of effecting a settlement in California, but though two different attempts were made both failed. The pearl-fishing industry continued to prosper through all these years; but, as for colonization all was for the worse; instead of winning the Indians to a desire for the Spanish Sceptre and the Christian Cross, the Spaniards abused and alienated them.

KINO GOES TO CALIFORNIA

It was at this juncture that Kino came upon the scene, and we shall again follow his fortunes. Just at the time he came to Mexico a new movement was under way to settle and Christianize California. By royal authority this enterprise was committed to the Governor of Sinaloa, Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón. To this gentleman's former titles was now added that of Admiral of the Kingdom of the Californias. Kino was assigned to this expedition in a double capacity: by the Father Provincial he was appointed as missionary, and by the Viceroy he was named royal cosmo-

grapher. It was, of course, his scientific and mathematical training that won him this second distinction. Before going to his new field Kino studied carefully the geography of California, and made copies of maps that were in the possession of the Viceroy.

In the late autumn of 1681, Kino set out from the City of Mexico to join Atondo at Pueblo de Nío in Sinaloa, where the Admiral was building the necessary ships for the undertaking. It took persistence as well as consecration to get into actual contact with a heathen in those days, so another full year rolled round before the expedition put to sea. Writing to the Duchess d'Aveiro, November 3, 1682, Kino says: "On the 28th of October of this year of grace 1682, we sailed for these Southern Seas; and 3rd November, after a pleasant though somewhat tedious voyage lasting seven days, we reached this port of Chacala. . . . Here we have made provision for six months' navigation, although, with favorable winds, we shall be able to pass on from here to California."

At last, from California, Kino writes a long letter in the form of a diary to Father Francisco Ximénez in Mexico. This communication bears the date 1st to 20th April, 1683.

"Since the 18th March when we left the sandbank of the River at Sinaloa, we had been obliged, for the lack of favorable winds, to remain in the vicinity of the rocks around the islands of Ignacio, but on the 25th of March, on the Day of the Annunciation of Our Lady, the Almighty ordained that we should sight California whilst keeping in view the coastline of Sinaloa and the above-mentioned rocks of the island of Ignacio. The distance athwart can be no more than thirty-five leagues.

"On the 31st March we entered the Great Bay of Nuestra Señora de la Paz, the entrance to which is at latitude 24 degrees, 55 minutes.

"April 1st. The following day, the 1st April, we entered, heading for the South towards the mouth of the harbour at La Paz, and some of us landed and discovered a beautiful wellspring; plenty of wood; a lovely plantation of palm trees; tracks left by the Indians, etc.

"2nd. On the 2nd April, almost all of us landed and fashioned a great cross and placed it upon a hillock; then returned to our ships to sleep.

"3rd. Saturday. Once again we landed, but did not encounter a single Indian, which was a great disappointment to us.

"4th. On Sunday, aboard two launches, we penetrated farther into the creek of the Port of La Paz, which is at latitude 24 degrees, 10 minutes, but again we neither made any discovery, nor met any Indians. In the afternoon, we went fishing and caught an enormous quantity of fine fish; and, as in the distance, we saw some columns of smoke.

"5th. On Monday we began to build a small church, and a small fort or camp of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

"6th. From this date onward we began to sleep and live ashore. On Tuesday morning, whilst some of our people were descending a hill and others were chopping wood for our buildings, we suddenly heard shrieks from the Indians, whom we observed advancing toward us, with terrific yells, armed with bows and arrows; making a great show of bravado as befitted belligerents engaged in (at least) defensive warfare; and indicating by gestures that we should betake ourselves from their lands. We endeavoured to make them understand that our attitude was pacific, and bade them lay their weapons upon the ground, assuring them that we would do likewise, but they refused. We went up to them, Father Goni and I, and gave them maize and biscuits, which at first they refused to take from our hands, asking us to place them on the ground. But subsequently they began to accept gifts from our hands and we became very friendly and familiar; and they gave us very well-made headdresses, and birds' plumage which they wore on their heads. We showed them a holy crucifix and, another day, an image of the Virgin, but they showed no sign of recognition or of having seen any symbol of the Catholic Faith. In the afternoon they went away, apparently happy, but, as some of our people suspected, they were not to be trusted.

"7th. Wednesday was given over to wood cutting and felling huge palms; planning and erecting a little fort in the form of a crescent; and our small church.

"8th. On Thursday we caught a very large quantity of beautiful fish, which provided for all of us for more than three days.

"9th. Friday again saw the Indians at our camp, accompanied by many more, in all about eighty, all quite peaceful and very friendly, asking for maize which they call 'aquaj'; it is a great luxury for them—they eat it as though it were a sweet-meat—and after giving them maize we taught them to make the sign of the Cross.

"At sunset they retired, very happy, to the mountains to sleep, telling us they would return the following day, which they did, and very friendly and docile, they were, too.

"10th. We held up a leather shield for them to aim at with their darts; but, as it touched the target without penetrating it, so each arrow snapped and fell. Then our soldiers fired at it with a gun, and when the shot passed through it, the Indians were full of admiration but none the less terrified; and in the afternoon they retired to their huts.

"11th. On Palm Sunday we blessed, and distributed many beautiful palms.

"12th. On Monday and the following days, we continued building our little church and the fort; whilst the Captain's ship put in for repairs prior to sailing for Hiaqui for supplies and horses.

"13th. On Tuesday the Admiral sent nine soldiers to scout inland and see if there were any river, or lake, or hamlet; but, owing to the fact that they were obliged to go on foot, which hindered their progress, they were only able to survey three leagues of land and did not discover either a river or a hamlet. From an eminence, however, they saw columns of smoke in the distance and a lagoon and lovely plains; so that, if it please God, we will penetrate further inland, as far, indeed, as the opposite coast, which cannot be more than twenty leagues away.

"14th. On Wednesday many of the Spanish Gentlemen came to confession.

"15th. On Thursday a few more attended, and the Admiral, the Captains, many soldiers and sailors received the Sacrament.

"In the afternoon more than forty Indians called upon us, most of them being the ones who had visited us before. They meekly learned to make the sign of the Cross and we gave them maize and chocolate powder; and, subsequently they retired to their hills to sleep under the trees.

"There was a sermon for the Spaniards.

"16th. On the Friday, the Indians returned with a load of wood, for they had noticed that on the previous day we had rewarded those who assisted in chopping wood; and at noon they returned to their encampment. In the afternoon there was another sermon on the Passion of Our Lord.

"17th. On the Saturday, we sang the Litanies and said Mass as we were accustomed to do; and at the *gloria in excelsis*, and five other times during the Mass, all the musketry was discharged, with a festive peal of bells, and much rejoicing.

"The land is good, and the temperature pleasant; there is an abundance of fish, wood, birds, stags, rabbits, etc.

"We have sown maize and planted melons, water-melons, etc., and hope they will yield fruit; and we trust that in a few months from now we may begin to baptize, for these Indians seem to me the most docile, affable, pleasant and sociable in all America."

FIRST STEPS IN MISSIONARY WORK

The Fathers now busied themselves with the study of the Indian language, a task by no means easy, as they had no interpreter. The very shortest way to the good-will of the Indians was through the stomach and the eye, and this route the missionaries took, making them presents of maize, beads, small knives, bright bits of ribbon, and other trifling ornaments. In return, the natives brought the white men the fruit of the *pitahaya*, and a good many pearls—small, but some of them of fine luster. The Fathers went with the officers and soldiers on short exploring tours, east, south and west. They could go only a few leagues in each direction as they had brought over no horses. The land they found barren and mountainous; but the ever ardent and hopeful Kino states that they fully expect to find valleys, and rivers, and great tracts of rich lands as soon as they are able to go inland toward the opposite coast. He says, too, that even in the "present dry season there are maize, marrows, melons, and water-melons in profusion, likewise some tamarind trees which we planted some weeks ago and which are coming up beautifully, much to the Indians' admiration.

The Indians, too, are quite to Kino's liking—of fine physi-

cal proportions, and very happy and docile in disposition. The men go stark naked, except for a very decorative head-dress of feathers, but the women wear garments made of skins. They live on fruit, shellfish, rabbits, venison, and birds, of which there are many varieties. Bows and arrows are the chief weapons—the arrows pointed with flint, but without poison. The leathern shields of the soldiers were found to be more than proof against these arms—the arrow shaft always splintering against the shield; whereas a Spanish bullet would pierce three of them at once, much to the amazement of the Indians. The chiefs wore war-pipes of reed around their necks which they sounded only in the thick of battle. So simple was the language, that, but for the want of an interpreter, it could have been learned with very little effort. The letters “s” and “f” were wanting, but the Indians soon learned to make these sounds in such words as “Jesus,” and they eagerly indicated their desire to know the Spanish words for various objects.

But the storm clouds soon gathered—and then broke in thunder, lightning, and death. In spite of the friendliness of the natives the soldiers looked upon them with suspicion. It was rumored that an Indian shot an arrow at a soldier, and it was rumored that a seaman who had wandered away had been murdered by the natives. So, though provisions were low, and though riding animals must be brought by sea from Mexico, the soldiers were afraid to let the ships get out of their sight. There was, too, division and quarreling among the men.

A crisis came on the Day of the Festival of the Holy Ghost, when the Indians a hundred strong advanced upon the camp in two divisions to drive out the Spaniards and take their provisions. Happily on this occasion neither the Indians nor the soldiers discharged their weapons. While the Spanish were waiting to see whether the natives would actually begin hostilities without provocation, one band entered the trench. The soldiers held their guns to the chests of the Indians, but did not fire, the ignorant invaders very likely being unaware of the danger they were in. As in the past, the Indians were given the usual trifles or presents and the incident ended without bloodshed—much to the joy of Kino. He writes, “and thus we were specially favoured by the Holy Ghost in that the peace was not disturbed by the hostilities

which the circumstances seemed to threaten, and that we were spared the risk of forfeiting the success of our whole enterprise."

It was not long, however, before the hopes of the missionaries were dispelled by a dark tragedy. When word came to the Admiral that an Indian had shot an arrow at a soldier, as related above, the offender was taken on board ship as a prisoner. "And as on the 3rd July" [I now quote Kino] "sixteen of the warlike Indians came upon us (principally Chieftains whilst numerous others were stationed in the hills) it was thought they had come to take one of us prisoner or to release their own man whom we held prisoner. They advanced with apparent friendliness and the Admiral ordered that they should be welcomed with offerings of food which they liked best; and whilst they were seated at their repast, as was decided at the hasty Council of War, we fired upon them with our light artillery and killed ten of them, the rest retreating badly wounded. . . ." This is an example of military courtesy and chivalry duplicated many times during the two hundred years that followed. We can only imagine the horror and passionate grief experienced by the tender-hearted Kino at this outcome of his cherished dreams for these Indians toward whom his heart went out strongly.

LA PAZ ABANDONED AND A NEW START MADE

La Paz was now abandoned. August 12, Kino is on shipboard, off the coast of Sinaloa, and October 6, a landing is made on the east coast of Lower California, a considerable distance north of La Paz and a second attempt is made to plant a colony and mission. They find the Indians here very mild and teachable. From this point, too, it is easy to send ships to the mainland for supplies, the round trip requiring less than a week. By late November (the year is still 1683) the Spaniards have made an expedition inland a distance of six leagues; and are much pleased to find water, beautiful land to cultivate, timber and stone for building, and friendly Indians.

The first of December they made a second tour of exploration toward the interior, traveling eight days, and covering

fifty leagues on the round trip. After going about twelve leagues, they came to a mountain so high and steep that men on horseback could not cross it. However, Kino and a number of others went on some twelve leagues, and found villages, lagoons of fresh, fine water, and evidences of a large stream that flowed westward toward the other coast. There were large trees, game, and many good huts, all of which indicated a populous region. They even found the fresh embers of camp-fires left by the Indians who had withdrawn to the high mountains to watch the strangers. After awhile some of them, manifestly in a friendly spirit, came down, led by a chief and invited them to come on as far as the river. The Spaniards could remain only a short time, but they did nothing to offend the natives. The usual gifts were presented to them, and so the way was prepared for later visits.

This new settlement was named San Bruno, and the Province was called San Andrés. Without delay, the missionaries planted melons, pumpkins, vines, quince trees and pomegranates, and by December 15, Kino jubilantly reports that all these things are growing well.

DAY BY DAY INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF KINO

In his diary Kino gives us intimate glimpses of his progress in missionary work after the new start at San Bruno. He tells of a journey across the *Sierra Giganta* to convert Indians. Vincente and Eusebio are two of his native converts "21 December, 1683. . . . There were following after us Vincente and Eusebio and also a raven, that two leagues back had commenced to follow us; though sometimes it followed us and sometimes preceded us, without leaving us except when there was a loud report from our arquebus, and in this manner it came accompanying us.

"23 December. . . . We detained ourselves in conversation with these affable Indians until ten in the morning, which time I marked by a little sun dial, which won the friendship of the Indians, when they saw the movements of the needle, as did a little glass for lighting fire from the sun; they asked me many questions, and begged many articles of me; some asked for the rosary, others for the holy crucifix, others for

my cape; some were contented with hearing and knowing how these things were called, others kept asking what purpose they served, and were satisfied when I told them the cape was to keep out the cold and to sleep in at night; at that we said goodbye with much good will on both sides. . . .

"December 29. Wednesday, at dusk, Pedro Nochi, one of the Indians of Conicari, died after receiving the holy Sacraments. About eight in the evening, when we were about to have supper, many Indians, native Edues and Didius, came, armed with bows and arrows, a matter which, since it had never happened before, nor at such an hour, surprised us; they came asking who had wounded and killed our poor Pedro, whether it was an Edu or a Didio, and it seems that some of the natives had seen him die, and as they understood he died of an arrow (as perhaps most of them are accustomed to die) they had come to avenge his death, that we might have their consolation and they wept to confirm their sympathetic intention; we, though pleased by their courtesy, told them that neither Edu nor Didio had killed him, but that he had died a natural death, and had, as we hoped, gone to heaven, so they departed content and returned to their *ranchería*.

"1684, January 2. . . . After our mass, we undertook again our journey south toward the cove of San Dionisio, the same company as before, with one soldier more, and also a native Indian, called Santiago, whom the Admiral put on horseback and armed with a leather jacket and shield, the same as our other soldiers, and he came showing us the road."

Kino would have the natives leave their boys with him overnight. By having the boys thus under his own roof, he was able without much difficulty to get them to take the first steps in civilized and church life. They were taught to speak Spanish, to wear clothes, to perform very simple household duties, to sing, and to repeat the prayers of the Church. Troops of Indian boys would follow him about, and he would let them ride behind him on his horse.

One day some new children came to stay with him, among them a little fellow two or three years old named Manuel, "and Manuel, at sunset, when his mother came to take him home as the other parents did their children," so the diary runs, "commenced to cry so hard that he succeeded in being

comforted by being allowed to spend the night with us; he prayed very docilely as the others did, and was also learning to sing the *Salve* and the litanies with such teachableness that he was a wonder to everybody."

The natives showed much interest in a map of the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora that Kino was drawing. They kept asking him what it was, and when he explained it to them and showed them the lines and marks that indicated rivers, hills, towns, and the sea, they were pleased to observe what a large number of such rivers and towns there were, and what a great amount of maize and cattle were raised in the lands to the east of them. Indeed, they were so delighted with what they had learned from this map about the geography and resources of Sinaloa and Sonora that those who had seen it first busied themselves showing and explaining it to others who came to examine it, and they succeeded very well in making its meaning plain.

Little three-year-old Manuel, lively, and affectionate, and much beloved by all, begged so hard to go along with the Fathers on one of their journeys that Kino was obliged to take him up in the saddle with him. As they rode along, both going and returning, this boy, as well as the other Indians, pointed out the large number of *pitahaya* blossoms to be seen everywhere. The prospect of such an abundant crop was no small comfort to them; for the fruit of the *pitahaya* is one of their staple articles of food. They promised Kino that they would bring a generous supply of this fruit to the mission.

Kino tells engagingly how one day he got out some pictures of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus to show to the Indians, and, also, drawings of animals and birds. The Indians were delighted. When Manuel saw the picture of the Guardian Angel, painted with a little boy beside him, he said with great enthusiasm,

"That is Manuel!"

Upon seeing any image of one of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, he and the others would point to it and call it "Father Eusebius"; and they would talk to these pictures and ask them questions just as one would in the presence of living people. Kino was pleased, for it gave the

padres a fine opportunity to jot down words of the Indian language for the better instruction both of themselves and the Indians. One day Kino showed the boys a rubber ball, and then gave it to them. It afforded them much amusement. They were astonished "at the jumps it gave," for they had never seen such a thing before.

Nothing pleased the missionary more than the interest the Indian children showed in the church and its various forms of worship, such as the repeating of the prayers, the reciting of the litanies, and the adorning of the crude churches for the feast days. His heart was very much stirred by the story of a little Indian girl who knelt before a picture of the Virgin and begged that she might hold the infant Christ. The very first and simplest acts of church instruction that the *padres* sought to impress upon the natives were the symbolism of the Cross and the rite of baptism. Wherever they went, they were zealous to baptize young infants and the sick or the aged who were about to die. The first step in the Christianizing of a community was to gather the Indians into a pueblo. Next crops were planted for the mission, and stock was brought in. Then followed, "talks and instruction in Christian doctrine and in life somewhat civilized."

In a letter to the Duchess d'Aveiro written October 25, 1684 at San Bruno, Kino tells of the progress that has been made during the past twelve months. "This year a fine fort has been built of stone with bastions complete. The natives at these Camps and around about S. Bruno and S. Isidro and the neighboring encampments of S. Juan, S. Dioniso, and S. Xavier, say their prayers partly in their own native language, partly in Spanish, and they sing the *Salve* every day. In fact, in order to be able to baptize many of them, we only need to master a little more of their two languages, and to have a reassurance from Mexico that our enterprise is to be carried through and that there is no probability of our being requested to retire, as some feared . . .

"Since the return of the Admiral's ship on the 10th August, I have been (during the latter part of that month) to Hiaqui to fetch horses. I also proceeded to the Missions at Hiaqui to obtain a little help for the natives. A Californian of the name of Eusebio wished to accompany me

and came with the utmost pleasure; and as he was the first of his countrymen to make the journey there and back, he had such a great deal to narrate about the missions and all the kindly treatment he had met with everywhere, that the natives were very well impressed by the attitude of the Spaniards and of what we have come to teach. Owing to this, four others have now set out, at their own express wish, when on the 25th September the Admiral's Ship sailed again to fetch more horses; so that we may speedily make an impressive entry and pass on to the farther coast, some fifty leagues across."

Six weeks later Kino is much distressed because he sees signs that the California missions are again to be abandoned. He earnestly beseeches the Duchess to use her influence with the King and Queen of Spain, to continue to support the enterprise. At the same time he sends his associate Father Copart to Mexico to make a like plea there. The following extracts are taken from his letter to the Duchess of December 8, 1684:

"Up to now, in the fourteen months we have been in these straits, we have baptized five natives; three infants and two adults, all *in articulo mortis*, four of whom died a few hours after baptism, the remaining one got well again.

"The harvest is now so ripe, that as soon as the decision is communicated from Mexico that they are going ahead with the enterprise, we shall be able to baptize very many souls. The difficulties that obstruct our progress most when the time for conversion approaches consist in the fact that all this year it has not rained, and, it seems to them to be very barren land; but neither has it rained in Sinaloa, Hiaqui, and Mayo (where this year they lack supplies), but are not uninhabitable lands for this reason. By the way, it has rained farther inland, and with our entry we shall by the Grace of Heaven, find very good lands, even though they be not so good on this coast.

"Another difficulty with which we have to contend is that as in Mexico they await large quantities of pearls to counterbalance the camps' expenses, although there are actually many pearls to be found on this coast, they are not forwarded—at least, only a few, the reason being that we have not set ourselves to fish for pearls but to build fortifications

and houses and study the new languages with all the seriousness and application they demand, particularly when there is not an interpreter."

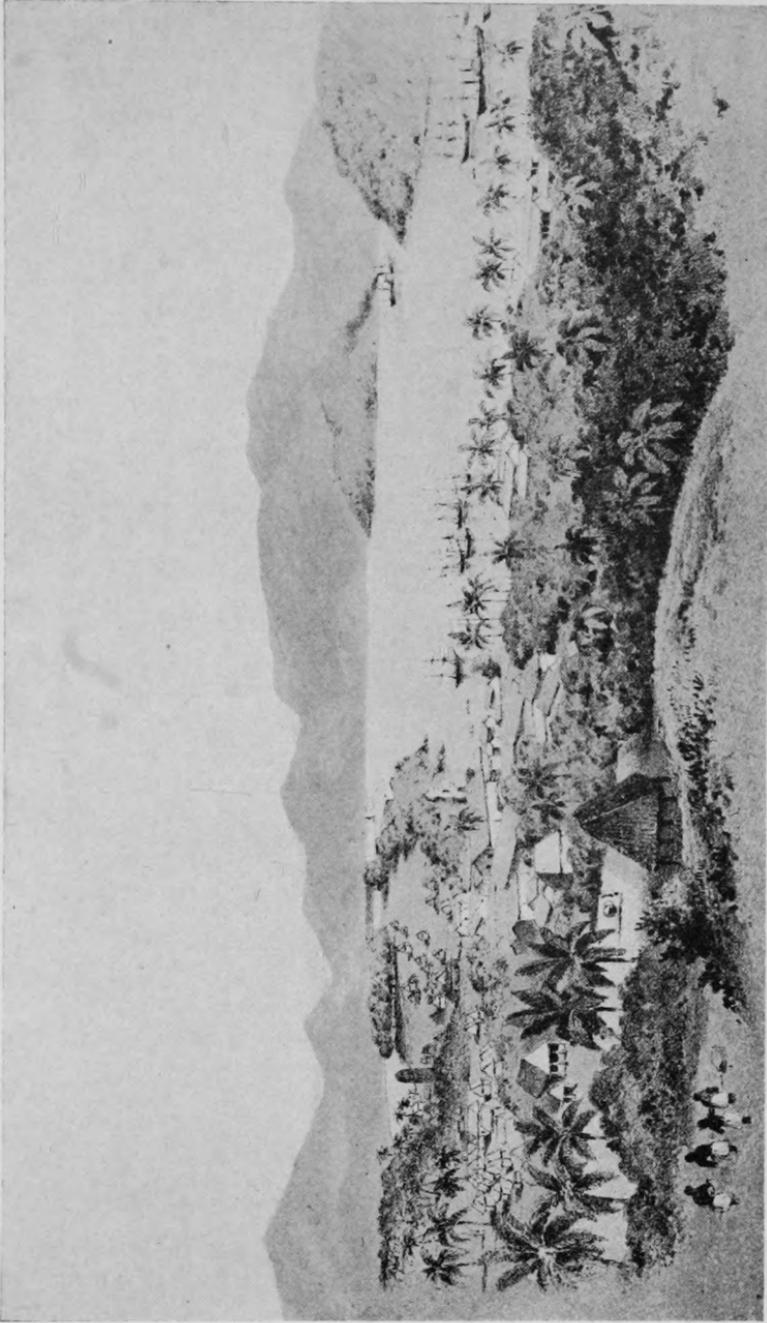
Two months later, in February, 1685, an expedition, including the Lord Admiral, Father Goni, twenty armed soldiers, and many friendly natives, left San Bruno with supplies for twenty-five days to cross over to the port and bay of Santa María Magdalena to see if better lands could be found for crops and colonization. The explorers found that they could not cross the steep and lofty mountains, so they had to proceed along the coast. In their journey of twenty leagues to the south they met many tame and friendly Indians, who gave them plenty of fish and guided them on their way. In return, "two natives received some haberdashery from the Royal charity, and some of our food, some sandals, some glass beads, and they were highly delighted with these presents."

The chief food of these natives was a kind of cactus, fish and oysters. Their huts were better built than any that the missionaries had yet seen. A salt mine was found from which a good supply of salt was carried back to the camp at San Bruno. "Once when there were some clouds in the sky which seemed to indicate rain (because the natives live on fish, it appears that they do not like heavy showers) they begged our people to stop it, considering them, as in the previous expedition, as Gods or Heavenly Visitors."

The expedition came upon many settlements containing from two hundred to four hundred inhabitants each, and found several safe ports, many fine beaches from which to fish, corals, tortoises, and stones for arrows, and good watering places where palm trees grew; "but," says Kino, "the pearls that are most precious in these mountains are the affability, peacefulness, and docility of the Indians, and it is so great, that though a soldier killed one of the natives on this expedition, on the day after his death, the rest of the natives brought us presents of fish."

THE MISSIONARIES ARE WITHDRAWN FROM CALIFORNIA

However, as the months went by, it grew more and more apparent that the missionaries were to be withdrawn from Lower California. The Duchess did all she could, urging



Acapulco, 1852—From John R. Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*.

Courtesy of D. Appleton and Company.

“that the Jesuits be ordered to continue the missions,” and pointing out that “if three or four of them should remain there, they would reap for Heaven a very abundant harvest; and that by giving them the escort of a few picked soldiers the Fathers would be put to little expense, which could be easily arranged—if the Viceroy were agreeably disposed.”

In the early spring of 1686, Kino made a voyage to Mexico to urge in person before the Viceroy and the Vicereine the continuance of the work he had begun in California. We get an account of this visit and its results in letters that he wrote to the Duchess, and we also get glimpses of the dangers and adventures incident to the life of a missionary. While at the port of Mantanshel in New Spain, his ship, together with other ships from California, was ordered to go to the aid of the Philippine galleon and give it warning that pirate ships were lying in wait at the Port of La Navidad. It was the Dutch buccaneers who threatened the rich galleon. These outlaws of the high seas had been doing much damage on the coast of Compostella, in Colima, Petatlan, and other places. Kino writes, “We arrived safely with the galleon at the port of Acapulco scoffing at the four enemy ships.” Later these Dutch pirates were severely punished by Captain Juan Redondo, suffering a loss of more than fifty men in the encounter with him.

Kino writes that on his knees before the Viceroy he prayed that the “docile, sweet and peaceful, and even instructed souls who were begging earnestly for Holy Baptism” might not be denied. “And,” he continues, “on the 14th of March, 1686, an order came that we were to begin the baptisms of these tame, instructed, and docile natives of California.” However almost before the order of the Viceroy had been delivered, it was countermanded by a letter from the King in which he ordered the suspension of the conversion of California. The reason given for this action was that the Kingdom of New Biscay was about to be lost to Spain and must have re-enforcement at once. There was, nevertheless, plenty of money in the Royal treasury, Kino informs us; so “the Viceroy received four new grants for four new missions, two among the Tarau-mare Indians and two others among the Seri and Guaymas Indians, who are within sight of the Californias, and so near

them that the distance is not more than fifteen or sixteen leagues. I have been ordered by my Superiors to found these new missions of the Seris and Guaymas, who are also asking for baptism, and in two days I shall leave the City of Mexico for this purpose."

The above was written November 16, 1686; so at this point we come to a parting of the ways in the fervid and active life of our great missionary. The abandonment of his beloved converts in California was like an arrow in his heart. From the first his solicitude and affection had gone out to these teachable and faithful friends as the heart of a parent yearns for his children in the flesh. He had poured out his very life in arduous service for them; had once before at La Paz, suffered painful defeat just as the way had seemed well paved for success; and now once more, after many months of toil in this sterile land, just as he sees the wheat ready for the sickle and knows that he has fully won the love and confidence of his spiritual children he realizes that he must again, just at the moment that their eyes have been made acquainted with the light, abandon them and let them slip back into darkness. During all the future years of missionary work in the Southwest these California Indians continued to be his first and chief consideration. He never gave up hope that he might return to them and resume once more his labors among them. It was he who, five years later, fired the soul of his friend Salvatierra with the desire and the purpose to renew missionary effort on the California peninsula; and it was through his energy, foresight and generosity that Loreto, the mission founded finally by Salvatierra in almost the exact spot where Kino had made his beginnings at San Bruno, was saved from starvation and extinction.

The regret at being forced to leave the field of his first love and the hope that some time he may be permitted to return there is set forth with admirable feeling and clarity in his letter to the Duchess of November 16, 1686. In his analysis of the situation as there set forth, we have an example of the practical qualities that made him the highly capable leader, statesman, and man of affairs that he was. He writes:

"However, I still keep and hope a favorable determination and resolution for the continuation of the conquest and conversion of California . . . I am very glad that a new Viceroy has come who is very interested in the missions and very devoted to the glorious Apostle, St. Francis Xavier, and in the warrant with which he conceded us the two grants for the two new missions of the Seris and Guaymas, he says, that they should also have to serve and help the continuation of the conversion of the neighboring California."

He proceeds to point out to his friend and patron the three prime difficulties that stand in the way of a continuance of the work in California and tells how these obstacles may be overcome. The first is the heavy expense, the second the arid and sterile condition of the soil, and the third diseases that afflict Europeans who seek to inhabit those shores. As to the first point he has this to say:

"Today it is possible with a couple of light barges, and with a small guard of twenty or twenty-five, and with four or six missionaries costing about twenty thousand pesos, or even less, to continue the desired goal of the conquest and pacification of California, as may be attested by many prudent and experienced men who during the last years took part in the California expedition.

"Again everybody knows what trouble and annoyance arises from a conquest, and what a waste of money is caused by great vessels which have to come more than two hundred leagues journey from Compostella and Guadalajara. These ships must be brought for California. With the delay and detention generally nine or ten months are wasted, but by leaving here with two barques from Sinaloa and Hiaqui it would be possible to send a weekly supply of all necessary provisions."

As to the extreme dryness of the land, he shows that he and his associates, within a year and a half, had been able to overcome this at San Bruno; for, in reality, the soil was fit for sowing and there was good pasture for cattle, as had been proven by their own effort in the production of crops. He adds that the same difficulties that they had had to overcome in this particular were common to all New Spain. In this connection he sets down a passage that is very significant in the light of later events, for it shows that he not

only had knowledge of the more attractive and fertile country to the north that we now know as California, but, also, that the conquest of Alta California has already found lodgement in his mind. I shall later in this book publish a letter, never before printed (except in a local Tucson newspaper) in which he makes known his purpose of extending his missions beyond the Colorado River into the region now known as California.

“However, it is certain from the information given by the natives of the Californias, that farther north there are lands which are more level and fertile, and abounding in water, and there is a Royal letter in existence which says that at an altitude of 36 degrees there are trees for ship masts of any size, and it is certain that we have not seen more than one per cent of California, since it is so big, and that from Cape San Lucas to Cape Mendocino and to Cape Blanco there are more than five hundred leagues in length, according to the log books and relations of Sebastian Biscayno, Francisco Ortega, and Don Pedro Portel Casanate, and of others who have navigated ships and have made various discoveries of the Californias . . .”

As to the third drawback—the diseases that prevail in California in March, April, and May—he affirms that these same diseases are to be found in many parts of New Spain, and that, in order to avoid them, it is necessary only to remove to some other part of the country where the water is good and abundant even in times of continued drought, as he and his associates had already shown by removing their camp to San Isidro, San Nicolás, and other well-watered places.

KINO SETS OUT FOR HIS NEW MISSION FIELD

But, as I have already said, Kino's path for the future leads in another direction. There is left to him now just a quarter of a century of life; and this period, the most fruitful of his career as we shall see, is to be spent in Mexico—particularly upon the extreme northern frontier of Mexico. He left the City of Mexico November 20, 1686, and journeyed to Guadalajara, where he obtained from the Royal High Court the King's order that no Indians converted under his ministry should be forced by the Spaniards to work in the

mines. In this connection it is worth while to quote a passage from Kino's account of this Royal provision, issued by the King May 14, 1686.

"I have agreed to issue the present *cédula*," so the extract runs, "by which I order and command my viceroy of Nueva España and the presidents and judges of my Royal *Audiencias* of Mexico, Guadalajara, and Guatemala, and the governors of Nueva Biscaya, that as soon as they shall receive this my *cédula* they shall exercise very especial care and application to the end that all the tribes of heathen Indians which may be found in the district and jurisdiction comprised in the government of each *audiencia* and government district, may be reduced and converted to our holy Catholic faith, each one providing, in so far as concerns him, that from now on their reduction and conversion be undertaken with the mildest and most effective means that can be employed and contrived, entrusting it to the ecclesiastics most satisfactory to them and of the virtue and spirit required for so very important a matter, giving to them for the purpose the assistance, favor, and aid that may be necessary, and encouraging them in it in the best manner possible, and promising in my name to all new converts that during the first twenty years of their reduction they will not be required to give tribute or to serve on estates or in mines, since this is one of the reasons why they refused to be converted . . ."

Having thus made satisfactory provision for the humane treatment of such converts as he should make in Pimería Alta, Kino departed from Guadalajara, December 16, 1686. Early in 1687 he stopped at Ures long enough to secure interpreters, and then went on to Oposura to take counsel of the father visitor, Father Manuel González. So friendly and zealous was this Father that he rode with Kino the fifty leagues that stretched between Oposura and the Indian village where Kino was to begin his new and greatest conquest. On the way they visited the chief officer of government in Sonora at the important mining town of San Juan and presented to him the Royal provision with respect to Indian converts. He received them graciously and gave due heed to the King's order. They also called on the rector of the Sonora missions; after which they proceeded by the

towns of Opodepe, Tuape, and Cucurpe; this last village being at that time the extreme northern frontier mission station. It was in charge of Father de Aguilar. On March 13 three Fathers, González, de Aguilar, and Kino rode together fifteen miles up the San Miguel river to the Indian village of Cosari and here Kino established himself as rector of the missions of Pimería Alta. At Cosari was planted the mother mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and here the *Padre* made his headquarters for the remainder of his life.

CHAPTER V

FOUNDATION WORK IN PIMERÍA ALTA

This chapter will endeavor to give an account of the beginnings of missionary work in what is now northern Sonora and southern Arizona. And it is well at this point to emphasize the fact that we are now tracing the infant steps of civilized life in the Southwest. When Father Kino came into northern Mexico in March, 1687, all that now constitutes California, Arizona, and northern Sonora was an utter wilderness occupied by benighted Indian tribes, so far as there was human occupation at all, for most of the region was then uninhabited desert. Father Kino's work in Pimería Alta is the story of the founding of all the chief communities in northern Sonora and southern Arizona that now flourish as civilized towns and cities. To those who make their homes in the sunny and prosperous lands that Kino first claimed for civilized man the story of his conquest is, of course, one of absorbing interest.

In 1687, Cucurpe was the extreme outpost of missionary work and Spanish occupation. Cucurpe sounds and looks like "the cow with the crumpled horn." It is a queer, drab, battered village, located on the San Miguel River about one hundred and fifty miles southeast of Tucson. Sun-baked and dilapidated it sleeps away the centuries in squalor and ignorance—a perfect specimen of futile antiquity. However, one striking fragment of a worthy past the traveler may not overlook. I refer to the somewhat extensive, very impressive walls and arches of the church that once crowned the eminence at the upper edge of the town. These ruins are invested with a certain strange architectural dignity; and, when one associates with this the magnificent setting of near-by valleys and distant mountains and the all-encompassing, unclouded, proud blue dome of heaven, nothing is left to be desired so far as historic feeling, and aesthetic effect are concerned. No doubt Kino many times enjoyed the hospitality of this frontier mission, and often reverently drank in the transcendent grandeur of the scene. It was

from this place that he made his start into territory as yet untouched; and from the domestic animals owned by the



Ruins of mission at Cucurpe, Sonora.

Church here he was supplied with sheep, goats, horses and cattle with which to stock the rich ranches he was soon to develop in rapid succession.

PIMERÍA ALTA

At this state of the narrative it is important to acquaint the reader with the district of country called Pimería Alta, for it was here Kino was to work during the remainder of his days. The term Pimería Alta means the land of the upper Pima Indians. The lower Pimas inhabited territory farther to the south. In Kino's time Pimería Alta was the name applied to that portion of what is now northern Sonora and southern Arizona (extending about two hundred and fifty miles from south to north and an equal distance from east to west) that lies between the Altar river and the Gila river and between the San Pedro river on the east and

the Colorado river and the Gulf of California on the west. To indicate more exactly the limits toward the southeast, we should project a line eastward from the main course of the Altar river and a line southward from the source of the San Pedro river until the two lines meet.

FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

On the San Miguel river fifteen miles north of Cucurpe was the Indian *ranchería* Cosari. For a long time the natives there had wanted a Father to come and live among them. So there Kino began his work, visiting the place first on March 13, 1687, in company with the Father Visitor Manuel González and Father Joseph de Aguilar, who ministered at Cucurpe. The next day, March 14, Kino and Aguilar went westward ten leagues and visited the rich valley now called San Ignacio. Then they went north a few miles to Imuris. This place was named San José. Next they traveled eastward eight or ten miles to Remedios. Both Imuris and Remedios were named on March 15.

At Cosari, hereafter to be known as Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Kino began at once the work of baptizing the infants and instructing the adults. Here, too, he began the practice of sending presents and greetings to natives in remote parts of the territory, and invitations to become Christians. The Indians, from the first, were always friendly and responsive. But there was, on the other hand, from the very beginning opposition and misrepresentation on the part of the Spanish; though Kino never makes it clear just who these disaffected people were. It is certain that they were extraordinarily endowed as trouble-makers, whoever they may have been, as Kino was to find from this day until his death. For example, these enemies sent a report to the *Alcalde* of San Juan that upon Kino's arrival the Indians had moved away. In reality one hundred natives from Dolores went with him to Tuape to celebrate Holy Week with him there. It is evident however, that on the whole the Spanish settlers were friendly to his work. Kino gives a pleasant picture of the attention bestowed by the ladies of Opodepe upon the children who had become converts. The *Padre* writes: ". . . the Spanish ladies of the Real de Opodepe were dressing (these Indian children) richly and

adorning (them) with their jewels and most showy apparel as new Christians for the Procession of Glory, to the great rejoicing of all, nor had there been the slightest foundation of fact for the alleged retreat of the natives which had been so perversely reported to Real de San Juan."

SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

Upon returning from Easter worship at Tuape, Kino rode over to San Ignacio and Imuris to teach the people, baptize the children, and begin buildings. All was going well in these towns. But at Los Remedios he found a very different situation. Here the wily enemy had made effective inroads. The Indians were open in their hostility. They said they neither wanted to be Christians nor to have a Father in their midst; and they were prompt in presenting a formidable list of reasons for this. They said they had been told that the missionaries gave orders to have the people killed; that they demanded of the Indians so much work in the fields that there was no time left for them to raise their own crops; that the watering places were drying up because so many cattle were being brought in; that the priests killed the people with holy oils; that they lied to the people and deceived them; for example, that Kino had asserted that he had a royal order from the King, whereas he had no such thing, for he had never shown it to the commanding officer at Bacanuche.

Kino surmised the source of the difficulty, though he never named the malicious individuals who so busily sowed discord among the natives. However, he took prompt steps to check the evil at its source. Taking with him the native officers whom he had appointed at Dolores, he rode to the mining town of Bacanuche, some fifty miles to the northeast, and showed the King's orders to the Lieutenant in command. He was received kindly and was able to nip the trouble in the bud; though certain enemies diligently continued to issue false reports and to interfere with his work.

Meantime, a beginning had been made at Cocóspera, fifteen or twenty miles north of Remedios, and requests had been coming from points a good way to the west and northwest, El Tupo, and Tubutama, asking that Fathers might be sent to these places. When, on January 19, 1689, the Father Visitor Manuel González came to make his first inspection

of Kino's missions he found that very solid progress had been made in things both temporal and spiritual. He declared that never had he seen a new mission in so brief a time achieve so much both in spiritual growth and temporal conveniences as had Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. With the coöperation of the chief civil officers of the region Father González made application to Mexico for four additional Fathers; and his request was granted. These four new missionaries were assigned as follows: "Father Luis María



Photo by J. R. Burns.

San Ignacio.

Pineli to San Ignacio, Santa María, Magdalena, and San Miguel del Tupo; Father Antonio Arras to San Pedro del Tubutama, and San Antonio del Oquitoa; Father Pedro Sandoval to San Lorenzo del Sáric, and to San Ambrosio del Tucubabia; and Father Juan del Castillejo to Santiago de Cocóspera, San Lázaro, and Santa María." Unnamed opponents of the missionaries continued active, however, affirming that, as there were very few natives in the region, there was no need for so many missionaries.

FATHER SALVATIERRA COMES AS VISITOR TO PIMERÍA

Late in the year 1690 Kino was named as rector of the mission of San Francisco Xavier de Sonora and of the Pimería, and at the same time Father Juan María Salvatierra was made visitor. It was a happy and memorable experience in the lives of both of these men when they met at Dolores late in December. Three results came from this meeting: the extension of missionary labor to the west and to the north; ardent conversations about the renewal of missionary effort in California, which resulted later in Salvatierra's successful planting of a mission at Loreto; and a fast friendship between these two very able and devout missionaries that continued as long as they both lived.

Having arrived at Dolores December 24, Salvatierra held Christmas service in the unfinished church that was to become famous as the fruitful mother of a great brood of missions during the next ten years. Between Christmas and New Year's the two Fathers started northward and westward on what was to prove not only an inspection of the new missions, but a tour of discovery, also, that was to result in immediate expansion. They went to Los Remedios, Imuris, San Ignacio, Santa María Magdalena, Tubutama, Sáric, and Tucubabia. At Imuris, Father Pedro de Sandoval was working happily and successfully, as was Father Pineli at Magdalena, and Father Arras at Tubutama. Leading men of the Soba tribe to the westward near the Gulf Coast came to talk with Kino and the Father Visitor here at Tubutama, with the result that plans were made to extend missionary work into their territory. At Sáric and Tucubabia more than seven hundred natives welcomed the Fathers, brought them gifts, and presented infants for baptism. Here, too, came messengers all the way from San Xavier del Bac and Tumacácori to greet them, bearing crosses and earnestly requesting as spokesmen of their people that the missionaries come to their *rancherías*. It had been the intention of the Fathers to return at once to Dolores by way of Cóspera; but Salvatierra was so moved by the appeal of these splendid Indians from the Santa Cruz valley that he could not refuse their petition; so the priests proceeded north-eastward, crossing the Arizona border near modern Nogales,

and going as far as Tumacácori. Headmen of the Sobaipuris tribe from sixty or seventy miles down the river were there to meet them.

It was at this spot, in front of what is now the ruins of Tumacácori Mission that Christian services were first held on Arizona soil. The Indians had erected three arbors for the Fathers to use—one in which Mass could be said, one as a sleeping-room, and the third as a kitchen. It is apparent from this reference to the kitchen that Kino's Indian servants had already grown skillful in the arts of camp life.

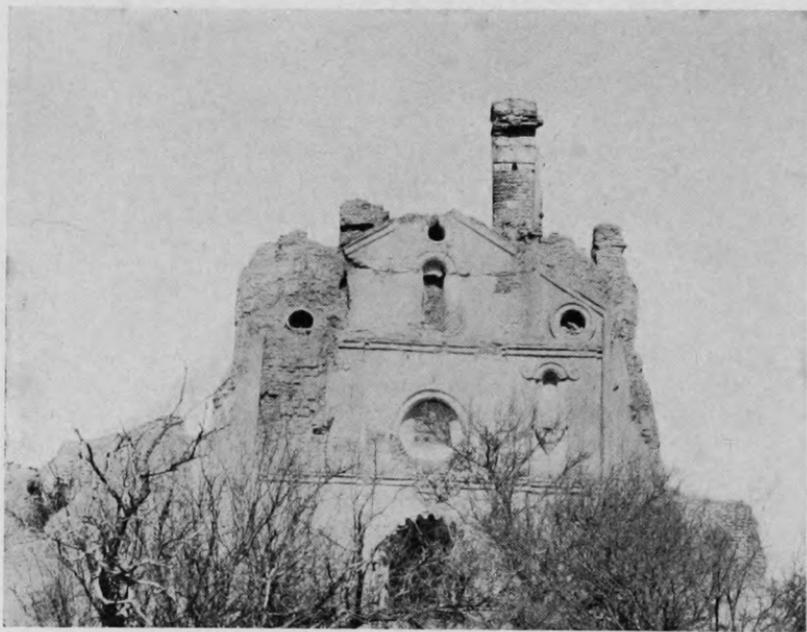


Photo by Laurence McCorkindale.
Cocóspera as it appears today.

So favorably was Salvatierra impressed with the industry and kindness of the many Indians living here, and with the beauty and fertility of the Santa Cruz valley that he remarked to Kino: "Father Rector, not only shall it not be a matter of taking away from this Pimería any of the four fathers granted us, but an additional four shall come, and I with the help of divine grace shall endeavor to be one of them."

The two priests continued their journey to other *rancherías* in the Santa Cruz valley, including Guevavi; and spent five days in baptizing and instructing the docile Indians; after which they went on to Cocóspera where five more days were spent ministering to the people and instructing them, and also in preparing reports of the journey for their Superior. It was during this month's fellowship with Salvatierra that Kino kindled in the heart of the Visitor an unquenchable desire to continue the work among the natives of California toward whom Kino's heart went out in unwavering love. He pointed out to his associate that these fertile valleys of Pimería Alta would be able to support work on the sterile shores of Lower California. Salvatierra made mention of all this in his report, and was himself fired with the purpose to re-open missions in California. He instructed Kino to build a small barque in which to make the passage, and he later secured authority for both of them to go there for the purpose of planting missions. So indispensable was Kino in his present field, however, that in the long run he was not permitted to accompany Salvatierra when in 1697 he carried out the plan.

KINO'S FIRST VISIT TO SAN XAVIER, QUIBURI, AND CABORCA

During the late summer and early autumn of 1692 Kino visited for the first time the populous *rancherías* of the Sobaipuris on the Santa Cruz and San Pedro rivers—at Bac and Quiburi. At Bac—now San Xavier del Bac—he found eight hundred Indians. They welcomed him in the most friendly spirit and he explained the Word of God to them, and by means of a map showed them how Spain and the missionaries were bringing the light of the Gospel to the whole world. He told them what had already been accomplished at his mission Dolores and invited them either to come and see for themselves or ask their relatives, his servants, about it all. They were well pleased with what he said, assured him that they, too, would like to be Christians, and gave him some of their little ones to be baptized. Captain Coro gave him a cordial reception at Quiburi, also; and later this able warrior and the *Padre* became fast friends.

Late in 1693, Kino made his initial trip to the edge of the Gulf, visiting at this time the settlements of the El Soba nation, which numbered about four thousand souls. El Soba, their Chief, was famous in war, and hitherto there had been hostility between his tribe and the Pimas in and around Dolores. It was Kino's good fortune to bring these two warring tribes into friendly relations once more. He was accompanied on this journey, not only by his servants and Father Augustin de Campos, but by an army officer, Captain Sebastián Romero, as well. On this trip Caborca, which was to become a very important mission was visited for the first time, and named.

CAPTAIN MANJE ACCOMPANIES KINO ON VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS

During the following year, 1694, the missionary made three more expeditions to Caborca and the Coast accompanied each time by Captain Juan Mateo Manje. It should be noted that this officer was frequently with Kino as an escort during the next few years; for he kept a diary on these expeditions, which he later published under the title, *Lux de Terra Incognita (Light on Unknown Lands)*; and from his notes we are able to check and supplement Kino's reports. Manje was born in Spain and came to Mexico in 1692. He seems to have had a university education and, in intelligence, was superior to average young officers of his day. He was well read and had some knowledge of science as it was then taught and understood. However, as was the case with nearly all men of that time, he was very credulous. It must be admitted, too, that he was pedantic and opinionated, that he was stubborn in adherence to views when once adopted, and that he wrote in an inflated style. Though not in agreement with Kino in the belief that California is a peninsula, he was sincerely in sympathy with the missionary work that the *Padre* was carrying on. Nor was he equal to Kino in powers of observation, and practical judgment; though he had a good eye for suitable places to found missions; and discerned with admiration and pleasure the gentleness and docility of the Pima Indians. It was his duty to accompany and guard Kino and Campos, and to study and record all matters of military significance.

Kino makes very brief reference to the second trip to Caborca and the Gulf Coast made in early February, 1694, but Manje adds a number of interesting details. He states that they went on horseback, carrying food, articles for the Mass, and a picture of San Xavier, their patron saint; that



Photo by H. L. Shantz.

The Gulf Coast West of Caborca—often explored by Kino.

at Magdalena they were joined by Father Campos, two Spaniards, Nicolás Castriolo and Antonio Mexquita, and twenty Indians; that at Tupo Kino appointed judges, and gave them staves (as badges of office), explained their obligation to the King, and gave them ribbons and other presents. He records, also, that the Father admonished the hundred persons found at El Bosna that they should be good to each other and that they ought to go to Tubutama for instruction. The natives of El Comac he describes as being unclothed, save that the women were scantily clad in rabbit and deer-skins; and he relates that on the return trip they met El Soba, with some forty unarmed and undressed Indians. The women, to be sure, wore little aprons,

but when a gift of *pinole* was offered them they took off their aprons to put the gift in, meantime hiding in the bushes. Manje says that the six hundred souls at Caborca received them with joyous hospitality; that a good many of the men were away hunting deer; and he makes note of the fact that the fertile and extensive fields above Caborca, if cleared with axes and irrigated, could support a population of three thousand.

March 16, 1694, Kino accompanied by Manje started on a second expedition into the territory of El Soba, going as far as Caborca. Salvatierra had requested him to build a small bark in order that communication by water might be established between Pimería Alta and Lower California. Some of the parts for this boat had already been made, it seems, at Dolores. It was the intention to carry all the separate pieces to the coast by pack train and put the boat together there. On this journey Kino and Manje took with them twenty Indian servants and carpenters. They went by Tubutama and Altar and reached Caborca March 20.

On the twenty-first they set about felling a very large cottonwood tree, for in that region there were no trees very suitable for the building of a boat. Desiring to secure as long a section of the trunk as possible they dug around the tree in order to expose the roots to the axe. But after the workmen had cut all the way around, still the tree would not fall; for there was one large root they had failed to uncover fully and as a result it remained unsevered. Manje now climbed the tree and was in the act of fastening ropes to the high branches, so that people below could pull it over, when it fell, bringing him down with it amidst a crash of broken limbs. Fortunately he came through without injury. In closing his account of this dangerous mishap, the Captain writes, "Father Kino went to give thanks to God that no untoward accident had occurred." As it was necessary to wait some time for the timbers to dry, the *Padre* and Manje returned to Dolores reaching there April 4.

June 6, Kino and Manje went toward Caborca again, but on the eighth they separated, Manje traveling northward through Sáric and Busánic to Tucubabia while Kino turned toward Caborca to look after the boat. Manje writes: "*Padre* Kino was waiting for me to return on account of having received from the Father Visitor Juan Muñoz de

Burgos a letter to stop the construction of the boat and although he had a letter from the Reverend Father Provincial to build it, nevertheless, as a humble and obedient religious, subject to his immediate superior, he at once stopped until he should consult anew his provincial superior." Manje, who had become sick from drinking too much water, re-joined Kino at Caborca. While in the neighborhood of Tucubabia he had heard of a large river to the north that flows east and west and has a very large house on its bank. This proved to be the Casa Grande which Kino visited in the month of November.

KINO JOURNEYS TO MEXICO CITY TO ASK FOR MORE MISSIONARIES

April 2, 1695, Father Xavier Saeta was killed by Indians at his mission in Caborca. For a considerable time there was tumult and warfare in Pimería Alta. This, as well as other Indian disturbances that interfered with Kino's work, will be treated more fully in a later chapter. Notwithstanding the sanguinary acts of guilty Indians and bloodthirsty soldiers, the Pimas from far and near were calling for Fathers to settle among them. So, in November, 1695, peace having been restored, Kino departed for the City of Mexico to request more missionaries for this field now over-ripe for the harvest. He took with him on this long journey the son of the Captain General of Pimería Alta. Everyone, ecclesiastic and laymen alike, including the Viceroy and his Lady, was delighted to see a native convert from so wild and remote a region. Kino and his Indian convert were most kindly received, and five additional Fathers were promised.

The *Padre* reached Mexico City, January 8, 1696, and left there exactly a month later. For the security of his person he was required to return in the escort of Captain Cristóbal de León. The Captain was killed by Jocomé Indians near Oputa; but Kino's life was spared by virtue of the fact that he had turned aside from the party temporarily in order to say farewell to two of his fellow priests, Father Carranco and Father Manuel. He reached his mission at Dolores after an absence of six months. Soon there came flocking to him

many leading men from great distances and many parts seeking baptism and Fathers for their *rancherías*. He gave them gifts and fair promises and they went away hopefully.

But there seems to have been no end to the opposition and delays that Father Kino had to suffer. Even the friendly Father Visitor was led to doubt the trustworthiness of Father Kino's Pimas. It was charged that some of them were in alliance with the Jocomes; that they had stolen cattle and horses and were holding them in corrals; and that the Pimas of the interior were cannibals who roasted and ate people. It was published in letters that Kino was asking that soldiers be sent to bring him out from among the turbulent Pimas; the report was sent out that he lived guarded by soldiers, and even that he, and all his people who went with him on a long trip to the northwest in 1698, had been killed. All of this was absolutely false. Kino made it known that he was still living; that he needed no soldiers; and that in all parts he had always been treated with the utmost kindness. Other falsehoods kept on the wing were that El Soba and his tribe were in open hostility; and that not only Father Kino but Fathers Campos and Barillas also were in hourly danger of being killed.

KINO STOCKS HIS RANCHES ON THE SANTA CRUZ AND THE SAN PEDRO

To satisfy his superiors that all was quiet, Kino, during 1696 and 1697, made extended journeys to the northwest and the north, teaching, baptizing, and laying more securely than ever the foundations for permanent missionary work in the valleys of the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz. December 15, 1696, he visited the great *ranchería* of four hundred souls at Quiburi, where his friend Captain Coro lived. Owing to the danger from Apaches, El Coro's people occupied an earthen fortification. Within this fort Kino began a house of adobe for the Father they hoped to secure; and he left a few cattle and mares for the beginnings of a church ranch.

A month later, that is, in January, 1697, he went down the Santa Cruz to San Xavier, taking sheep, goats, cattle, and mares with him to distribute at the various missions on the route. He placed stock at San Luis del Bacoancos,

Tumacácori, and San Xavier. Two months later he again made a round of the missions at Quiburi, Tumacácori, and Bacoancos for spiritual ministrations; and in April once more visited Quiburi, on the same trip placing a new missionary, Father Pedro Contreras, with all necessary supplies, at Cocóspera and Santa María. At Cocóspera a church and a house had already been begun, and at that place there were both abundant crops and great numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats.

So determined were natives living in distant parts of Pimería Alta to secure additional missionaries that a company of them determined to go to Santa María de Baceraca, on the upper Yaqui river, where the Father Visitor lived, to urge their petition before him. Some of these Indians had already trudged two hundred and fifty miles when they arrived at Dolores; so Kino, as they had never before been so far from their own *rancherías*, consented to go with them the additional hundred leagues. The earnest Pimas were given a favorable hearing and as much encouragement as it was possible to offer them. At this time it was suggested, among other things, either by Father Polici or Manje, that a detachment of soldiers be sent as far as Quiburi on the San Pedro to observe and report the exact state of affairs in Pimería Alta.

The proposed military expedition down the San Pedro and the Gila was carried out between November 2, and December 4, 1697; and the story of this expedition makes interesting reading. There are three accounts of this journey—Kino's, Manje's, and Captain Cristóbal Bernal's. The start was made from Dolores, November 2. There were in the company at this time, Kino, Manje, and ten Indian servants. November 3 they slept at Remedios, and here Kino conducted a funeral, and prepared a supply of fresh meat for the journey. On the fourth they went on to Cocóspera; and from there by way of San Lázaro, and Santa María, to Quiburi, which they reached on the ninth. Here Captain Bernal joined them with twenty-two soldiers. Manje gives interesting details of the expedition that Kino omits. He records that they joined Bernal at Santa Cruz on the seventh, and that they stopped a day there to kill two beeves. Bernal and Kino place the meeting at Quiburi on the ninth.

Captain Coro entertained them all day with an Indian dance and festival, the soldiers and officers, including the commander, joining merrily in the dance with the natives. Captain Bernal now desired to continue his observations to the farthest limits of the Sobaipuris nation, but did not think he would care to do this without a force of two hundred men. Though Kino himself had never gone farther north than this on the San Pedro, he assured the Captain that he could go on down the river thirty-five leagues as safely as he could return to Sonora. His reason for saying this was that the principal Chief of that region had come to him only a short time before seeking baptism, and that one of his sons had been named Francisco Eusebio for the *Padre* at the time he was baptized. Kino told Bernal that for a long time these Indians on the lower San Pedro had been asking him in the most friendly spirit to come and visit them.

So the whole party proceeded down the river, and on the fourteenth reached Aravaipa, where they were received most hospitably, being entertained in a house of brush that had been made for them. There were five hundred Indians in the locality. They were dressed in mantles made from cotton which they grew, and wove, and colored themselves. The expedition went on down to the junction of the San Pedro and the Gila, then down the latter stream in military formation for they were now skirting Apache-land. The river had enough water in it to float a good-sized boat; and at several places on both banks of the stream they saw large houses similar to Casa Grande, with walls two feet thick—all of them very old and going to ruin.

On the twentieth of November, still going westward, they met an Indian painted red. He had been to the Colorado river, and he said he had seen white people there. During this journey the Indians provided the soldiers an abundance of food, so they would have suffered no hardship if they had brought no rations with them from the *presidio*. Nor was there any trace of the droves of horses which Kino's enemies claimed these Indians had stolen. Kino and the Spanish captains gave gifts to the people and staves of office to the leading men of the prosperous ranches along the way. On the twenty-second they turned to the southward in the direction of home, and on the twenty-third slept in a

house at San Agustín de Oiaur, a very populous village four miles down the Santa Cruz from modern Tucson. At that time there was considerable water in the stream at this place. The fertile fields of corn, cotton, and beans were irrigated and there was good pasturage all about.

On November twenty-fourth the party moved on to San Xavier, where there were nine hundred people, an adobe house for the priest, and herds of cattle and horses. During all this time Captain Coro and his followers had accompanied the Spaniards. There the Indians and their white friends parted company, Kino making the Chief a present of a horse when they took leave of each other. Priest and soldiers went on south, stopping two days at Remedios to help in the erection of a large church there. Manje, to whom I am indebted for many of the details of this extended trip, writes that during the journey they had seen 4,700 natives and baptized eighty children and nine adults.

COMPLETION OF FOUNDATION WORK IN PIMERÍA ALTA

Before the close of 1698 Kino had visited all parts of his vast field, and at every important point had taken steps looking toward permanent missionary work. At nearly every place he was later to occupy he had made substantial beginnings in sowing, building, and animal husbandry. Already his well-established missions spread fan-wise from Dolores northward and northeastward to Remedios, Cócosperra, San Lázaro, Santa María, Quiburi, San Luis Bacancos, Guevavi, Tumacácori, and San Xavier, and westward and northwestward to Imuris, Magdalena, San Ignacio, Tubutama, Sáric, Busánic, Atil, Oquitoa, Pitiquito, Caborca, and Sonoita. At about this time he became very much absorbed in geography and exploration, for he believed he was on the point of solving the problem of support for his beloved California missions.

CHAPTER VI

QUEST FOR A LAND PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA, AND PROOF THAT CALIFORNIA IS A PENINSULA

When Kino came to Mexico he believed California to be a peninsula. He had been taught this in the university by his distinguished master, Father Adamo Ayentler, author of a finely executed map of the world. Kino carried a copy of this map with him in his missionary journeys and valued it highly. However, while in the City of Mexico, he made a prolonged and intensive study of the geography of the New World, and as a result came to the conclusion that California must be an island. The reasons that led him to this change of opinion were: first, that Don Juan de Oñate stated that in 1604 he went westward from Santa Fe, New Mexico, and reached the sea in latitude 37 degrees; second, because he had seen similar statements made by other explorers; third, because many modern maps made by the best cartographers of Germany, France, Italy and Flanders, represented California as an island; fourth, because he found the north and south currents which he experienced in his frequent voyages in the Gulf of California so strong and continuous that he became convinced that this sea connected with the waters of the ocean at the north, and that California must, therefore, be an island.

It was now to be Kino's good fortune to discover, and then to prove once for all, that California is a peninsula. The story of his success is one of absorbing interest.

KINO WONDERS WHETHER, AFTER ALL, CALIFORNIA MAY NOT BE A PENINSULA

In 1693, from a little peak not far from Caborca, Kino, looking across the Gulf of California—here some eighteen leagues wide—saw about twenty-five leagues of continuous land on the California side of the Gulf. Again, in 1694, being then in the neighborhood of the Gulf, he saw a stretch of California, with some of its larger hills. In the early fall

of 1698 he reconnoitered the whole coast northwest of Caborca for a distance of ninety leagues. He found the port of Santa Clara in thirty-two degrees latitude, with good water and timber, and from the summit of the ancient volcano, Santa Clara, both with a telescope and with his naked eye, he saw where the land of Pimería joined with that of California, at the head of the Gulf. He did not then recognize this as a land passage, but thought that farther to the west the Gulf must continue to a higher latitude where it joined the North Sea, so making of California an island. February 7, 1699, with Father Adamo Gilg, Lieutenant Manje, Indian servants, and a pack-train of more than ninety animals, Kino started on an expedition to the Colorado river. On the Gila, at San Pedro, the Indians gave him presents of beautiful blue shells such as he had seen on the Pacific coast when he was in California in the early eighties. The thought of an overland route to the sea did not then occur to him. Not until he was well on his way home did the idea strike him that these shells came by a land passage, and that the ocean was at no great distance to the west.

A STRING OF TWENTY BLUE SHELLS GIVES THE FINAL CLUE

October 24, 1699, with Father Visitor Leal, Father González, fifty pack animals (sixty-six more were added at San Xavier), Kino set out once again for the north and the northwest. At Cocóspera the next day Father Campos joined the other two *padres*; and at eight o'clock that night Lieutenant Manje and two soldiers overtook the cavalcade. By order of Don Domingo Jironza Petris de Cruzat, military commander of the Province, these three were to accompany the priests as a guard. They went down the Santa Cruz some distance beyond San Xavier, and then west across the desert to San Marcelo. At San Marcelo (Sonoita) they made careful inquiry about a land passage to California, and about the blue shells of the opposite coast.

On the twentieth of March, 1700, while Kino was at Remedios, Pimas from near the Gila river brought him from the Chief of the Cocomaricopas, who lived on the Colorado river, a present of a holy cross and a string of twenty blue

shells. A way by land to California was now as good as discovered, for the *Padre* was more than ever convinced that these shells had been carried inland and overland from the Pacific, where on the western shore of California years before he had himself seen shells like these. He sent the cross and the shells to the Father Visitor, Antonio Leal, and confided to a number of his fellow priests his belief that these shells had been carried to Mexico from the Pacific, overland. Father Kappus, Rector of the College of Matapa, to whom Kino had written, wrote in reply: "God preserve me! and what great and remarkable news is that which those of the north and the northwest bring you and which your Reverence makes known to me, of how the passage to California may be made by land! This information which has been desired for so long and which it has never been possible to secure, will, if verified, be truly of extremely great importance."

Father Adamo Gilg wrote that means should be taken to verify this hypothesis, and the military commander, Don Domingo Jironza sent word to Kino that he was very eager for such discoveries. As Kino already had permission from Tirso González, the Father General in Rome, to occupy himself half of the year in Pimería and the other half in California, and as he desired to visit the newly established missions to the north and northwest, he now decided to make another trip inland to learn everything possible about these matters.

Accordingly, April 21, 1700, he started north, taking the old well-beaten route through Remedios, Cocóspera, San Lázaro, San Luis Bacoancos, Guevavi, and Tumacácori to San Xavier del Bac—the outward limit of this particular expedition. Nearly three thousand Indians had gathered to meet him here in the Santa Cruz valley; and as they were most earnest in their desire to have him remain with them he decided to do so. He at once sent word east, north, and west to leading chiefs of the Yumas, the Sobaipuris, and the Cocomaricopas requesting them to come to him here at San Xavier so that he might make diligent inquiry among them whether the blue shells could have been secured from any other place than the opposite California sea. While he awaited replies to these messages he occupied himself with

teaching, baptizing, and the laying of the foundations of San Xavier Mission. By the twenty-ninth some of the chiefs began to arrive; more came on the thirtieth; and May 1 still other captains, governors, and justices—from places very remote—made their appearance.

There is a solemn charm in Kino's account of his conversations, prolonged far into the night, with his Indian friends there in the starry silence of the desert. "And immediately afterwards and during the night we had long conversations, in the first place about our Holy Faith, and about the peace and quietude and love and joy of the Christians; and they agreed, at our direction, that they would carry these good tidings and teachings to other *rancherías* and nations much farther on, to the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, etc.; and at the same time I made more and more inquiries as to the place from which the blue shells were brought, because everyone declared that there were none of them on all this nearest California sea, but that they came from other, more remote lands.

"We talked with them a great part of the night, as on the previous one, about the eternal salvation of all those numerous nations of the West and the Northwest and also made repeated questions in regard to the blue shells which were brought from the northwest and from the Yumas and Cutganes, which came as a matter of common knowledge from the opposite coast of California and from that sea ten or twelve days' journey beyond this nearer California sea, in which there are shells of mother of pearl and white shells, but none of those blue ones that they gave us among the Yumas and sent to me at Nuestra Señora de los Remedios with the Holy cross."

Kino wrote to Father Kappus, and Father Manuel González, and others, accounts of his talks with the numerous captains and governors who came to San Xavier in response to his invitation. González replied as follows: "I greatly desire that your Reverence carry to completion this very much longed for entry by land into the Californias. We shall erect a rich and famous statue to you if you do this, and, if soon, the statues will be two in number. May God grant your Reverence life, health, and strength for this project, and in addition innumerable other equally good things."

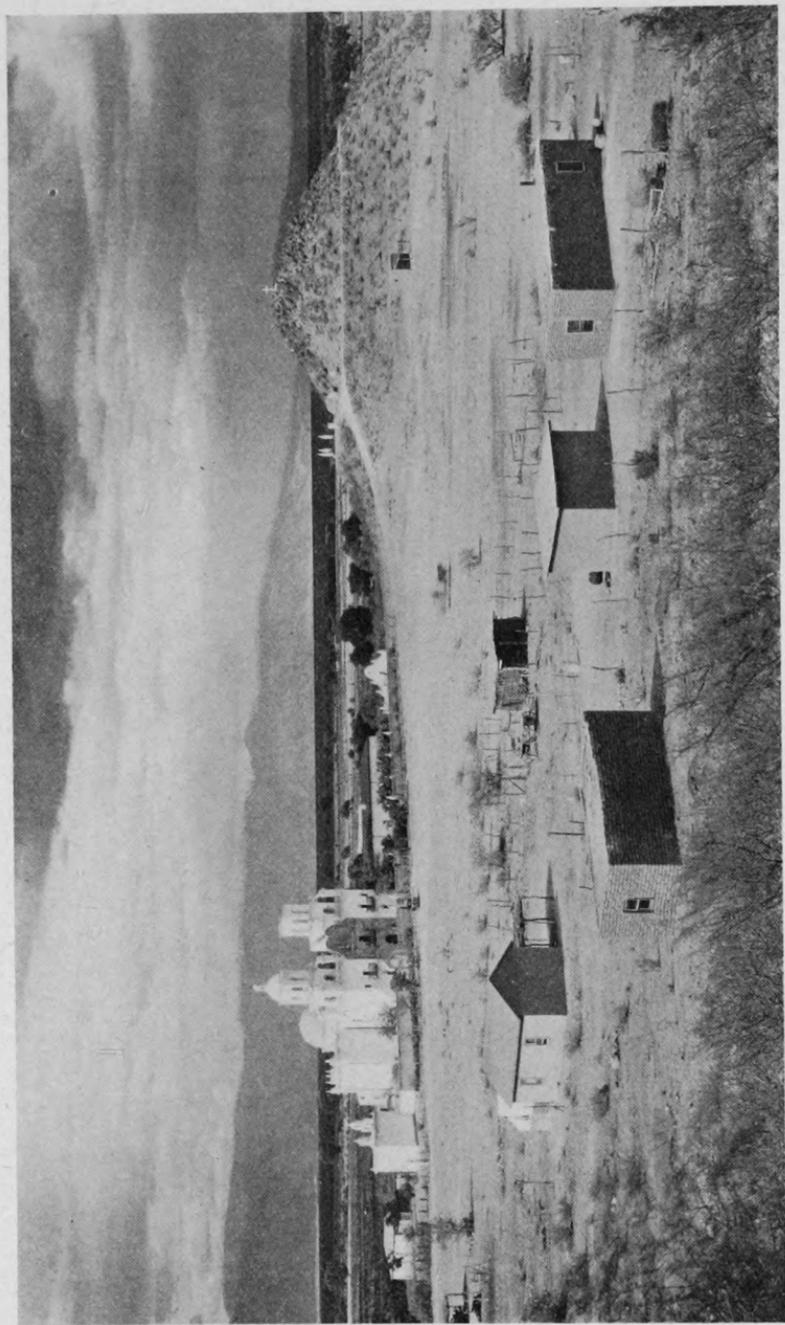


Photo by Norman G. Wallace.

San Xavier Mission as it appears today.

And this letter came from Kappus. "I thank your Reverence for your very kind letter and also for the dispatch of the blue shells, and I shall greatly appreciate news of your discoveries, and I am very much of the opinion that the country in which we live is part of the mainland along with California. May Our Lord grant that there be a way as open as we think and desire and thus the troubles as well as the cares of California will be spared."

KINO VISITS THE YUMAS AND GETS A PLAIN VIEW OF CALIFORNIA

September 24, 1700, the *Padre* left for the Colorado river, with ten Indian servants and sixty pack animals. He got back the twentieth of October. During these four weeks he traveled more than three hundred and eighty leagues and busied himself continually with all manner of work, both spiritual and temporal, as he passed through his various *rancherías* and mission stations. On October 2, he reached the Gila river, where Indians from the Colorado river had come to meet and welcome him. All of the natives were very friendly, continually offering him presents of food. When he had visited this region the previous year, in February, the people were terrified at sight of the horses and mules; for they had never seen such animals before, and were afraid they might be devoured by them; but now they showed no fear, the boys even running along at the sides of the horses and mules, throwing bunches of grass to them. On the fourth of October Kino entered the Yuma nation, and on the sixth reached the place where the blue shells had been given to him the previous year. The Yumas provided the *Padre* and his followers with an abundance of fish, and in other ways showed their friendliness.

On the evening of the sixth, from the top of a hill that rose above the sandy shore of the river, Kino had a plain view of California. The next day, after proceeding four leagues farther down the stream, he ascended a hill where he thought he would be able to see the Gulf; but looking through his telescope toward the south and west, and southwest, all he saw was thirty leagues of level country and the junction of the Gila and the Colorado. "Returning to our camp we ate



Junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. Looking up the Gila—1852. From John R. Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*.
Courtesy of D. Appleton and Company.

dinner, adding some sweets because of the mercy which the Lord had granted us in allowing us to see lands in California with no sea to separate these lands from them."

It was now time for him to return to Dolores. However, as he was about to set out, the Governor of the Yumas came to tell him that his people were begging for a visit from him. Kino's pack-train was already on the move, but he remained in leisurely conversation with the chief, who spoke both the Yuma and the Pima tongues; and during the afternoon and a part of the night he drew from this intelligent Yuma much information concerning the Gulf of California and the surrounding Indian tribes. At last, following his servants, he made camp with them; but at dawn the next morning he went back to see the natives who sought so eagerly a meeting with him. He had gone only a short distance when he met forty of them. They had traveled all night to reach him, fearing he might leave before they got to see him. So insistent were they that he returned with them to the Colorado river, where he was greeted by about fifteen hundred people, many of whom came from the west side of the Colorado. They begged him to stay at least a day or two longer with them, as many from various tribes both up the river and down, were on their way to meet him. However, the branding time was at hand, when he had to collect cattle as alms to send to California for Father Salvatierra, so he could not remain; but he told them he would try to return to them later. Before leaving the region he ascended a high hill, and was able again to see a wide expanse of land in California and to observe, also, that the Gila and the Colorado, after uniting, run about ten leagues to the west, and then southward about twenty leagues, and there empty into the Gulf of California.

Soon after Kino's return from the trip described above, Father Kappus wrote him: "I value the blue shells more than my eyes, especially the large one which is, indeed a rare specimen. Long life to your Reverence. The other day the Father Rector Juan María Salvatierra sent me four shells from the *contracosta*, and they are of exactly the same sort."

SALVATIERRA AND KINO TOGETHER SEEK THE LAND
PASSAGE TO CALIFORNIA

One of the most extended and interesting of Father Kino's many expeditions to the Northwest was made in company with Salvatierra in the early spring of 1701. During the decade 1691-1701, Kino and Salvatierra often exchanged letters concerning missionary work in California. They both lived in constant hope that through Kino's explorations it would become possible to reach the California missions across the Gulf by land; so, when Salvatierra received word from Kino after his return from the Colorado in October, 1700, that he was positive a passage could be made overland he came from Loreto by sea hoping he could return to his mission by the Colorado and the land route. After reaching Mexico, on his way up to Dolores to join Kino, time and again he sent letters ahead in regard to plans for the proposed journey to the Northwest—and so, as he hoped, on home by land. Both men exerted themselves to make every possible provision for a successful outcome.

As he came northward Salvatierra secured from the Fathers at the old well-established missions along the route pack animals, muleteers, servants, and, finally, from Don Domingo Jironza, military commander at the Real de San Juan, ten soldiers, with Captain Manje as commander. With his usual practical skill and attention to detail, Kino did his part—providing servants, pack animals, flour, biscuit, and dried meat. Forty loads of provisions were carried. Kino furnished one-half of this amount, together with eighty horses and mules. Salvatierra carried from Dolores "on the expedition the picture of Our Lady of Loreto, a well-executed piece of work from the brush of Juan Correa. It was a great consolation to us on the whole journey; we placed it on the altar when we said mass; and we two fathers carried it personally, one of us in the morning and the other in the afternoon."

Salvatierra, with his native servants from California, and ten soldiers arrived at Dolores about the twentieth of February. It was a joyous reunion of true friends; and throughout Kino's account of this expedition we catch the thrill of

his excited feelings, enter into his crowded and happy activity, and share with him the glowing sense of comradeship

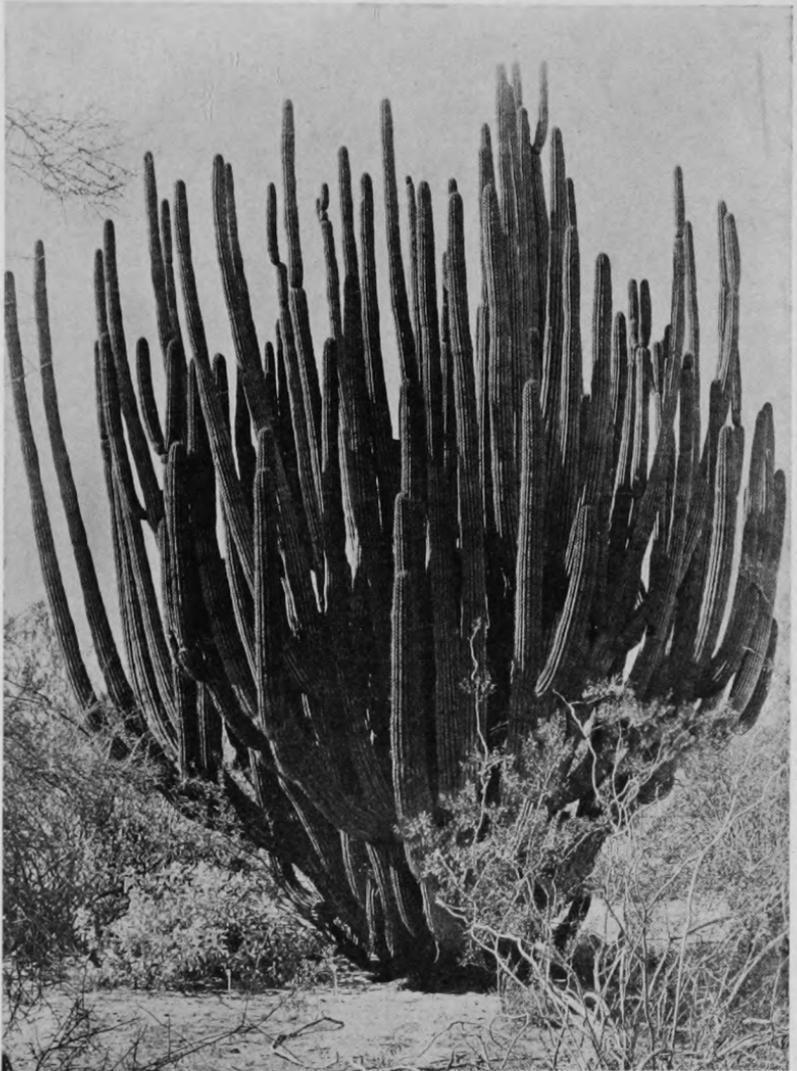


Photo by H. L. Shantz.

Organ pipe cactus—in Pimería Alta.

that he experienced in the company of this dear friend. Both *padres* were Italian by birth, both were born gentlemen and

eminent scholars, both burned with holy zeal for the conversion of the Indians; and to add to their enjoyment, there were not lacking memories of former toils and hardships borne in common.

Father Salvatierra departed for San Ignacio February 25; but on account of anxiety over a recent outbreak of Apaches in that region, Kino was delayed somewhat, going round by way of Remedios and Cocóspera to give orders that these *pueblos* be fortified; for they were outposts on a very dangerous frontier. He left Dolores March 2, but such was his celerity that six days later he overtook Salvatierra and his company at Caborca. On the afternoon of March 9, the pack-train of forty loads was sent on in advance. The Fathers departed from Caborca on the morning of the tenth and overtook the pack-train before night. With music in their hearts and songs upon their lips, the good Fathers jogged happily on their way across the desert. Kino writes:

“At various spots along this road the roses and flowers of different colors were so beautiful and charming that it seemed Nature had put them there as a reception to Our Lady of Loreto. We spent almost the whole day honoring Our Lady with prayers and songs in several languages: Castilian, Latin, and Californian. The six natives of California, four men and two boys, whom the Father Rector Juan María had with him, were so well instructed in everything that they sang the prayers in their own language in the pretty verses into which he had put them.”

Manje seems to have viewed the scene through other, sadder eyes. In his journal he states that, on March 11, they traveled fourteen leagues and then made a dry camp, and adds that there was severe suffering from lack of water, and that in the night nine horses got away. He says, too, that on March 12 they went a quarter of a league farther to a well where they had to water the animals by hand with cups and baskets.

The party passed on by modern Quitovac, and then to well-watered, prosperous San Marcelo (now Sonoita, just at the Arizona border) where Kino had a herd of cattle. Here the *Padre* found awaiting him replies to messages he had sent to the Quiquima Indians at the mouth of the Colorado

some months before. These Indians invited Kino to visit them. It was decided to strike out westward for the Gulf and then travel up the coast to the mouth of the Colorado, and so avoid the long way around by the Gila and the junction of the two rivers. If this plan could be carried out the way would be shortened by about sixty leagues. On the sixteenth they traveled eight leagues down the Sonoita river. Word had been sent to the nearest Indians on the sea shore to come and guide the expedition to the Quiquimas; so during the seventeenth they waited for these Indians to arrive.

The guides came on the eighteenth and informed the Fathers that it would be very difficult to proceed with the pack animals by this direct route, on account of the deep sand and the scarcity of water and grass. There was anxious debate whether to push on over this arid waste of sand and rock to the mouth of the Colorado, or to go the long way around to the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, and so down to the Gulf. The decision was for a straightaway march to the sea. However, matters grew more serious the farther they went. So scarce was the water at the end of their thirteen-league-journey on the eighteenth that the Fathers had to dig with their own hands to help deepen the wells in order that all might drink. They were now in the region of the old Santa Clara volcano (the Pinacate mountains); and the Indians who had come to them from the sea shore told them that in the mountains near by were two large tanks of rain water shut in by rocks. The next day they reached this watering place, and on Palm Sunday, the twentieth, leaving Santa Clara mountain to the north, went on westward over the volcanic slag to another water tank among the rocks.

The Fathers, together with Captain Manje, now ascended a near-by hill, and from this elevation saw California plainly, to the west and southwest. The soldiers also came up and saw it. Salvatierra was now thoroughly convinced as to California's connection with the mainland—as were all the others except Manje. He still doubted. The Fathers argued that the narrowness of the Gulf, the mountain chain in plain sight on the other side, the trade relations existing between the Indians in Pimería and those in California, all went to prove that California is not an island. Manje's reply was that in such matters "What is certain must be set down as certain and what is doubtful set down as such."

As for Kino, with his astrolabe, on March 22, he took the altitude of the sun and found that the head of the Gulf of California was in thirty-one degrees latitude. He writes: "On other expeditions I discovered that this Californian gulf has at its northern extremity very extensive sand dunes which are more than sixty leagues around. This prevented our going ahead, although at about two in the afternoon our attendants arrived with the animals and packs from the last camp. This latter turned out to be so poorly provided with water that on our way back we had to travel until midnight in order to reach San José de Ramos, with the result that many of our mounts were worn out and some packs left on the way."

They now turned back and rested five or six days at El Carrizal. However, on March 21, Kino, Salvatierra, Manje, and six Pima guides, with twenty-one horses and mules, made one more attempt to see California plainly. Going westward from Carrizal thirteen leagues to a hill six leagues north of Santa Clara mountain they "saw clearly California and the great mountain range which is called the Sierra del Mescal and the other one which is called the Sierra Azul and the juncture of this land of New Spain and of California." But Manje still declares that he is in doubt; and so this exploration ends and all turn eastward, first to San Marcelo where the party divides, Salvatierra with his servants and the soldiers going by way of Caborca, Kino, Manje, and the Indian attendants by way of San Xavier and the Santa Cruz Valley. Kino reaches his home mission April 16.

KINO CROSSES THE COLORADO ON A RAFT AND SETS FOOT IN CALIFORNIA

In the late autumn of 1701, Kino once more struck out for the Colorado river, California, and the Indian tribes across the river whom he had never yet visited. This time he resolved to nail with sure evidence the fact that California can be reached by land. He took with him only his servants—all Indians, with the exception of one Spaniard.

The whole trip was planned and carried out with the business-like energy and celerity so characteristic of this great soldier of the Cross. He made the start early on November

3, having sent forward five servants with a relay of horses the previous day. As far as Guevavi he traveled north by the usual route. From there he headed westward for distant San Marcelo, going by Busánic and Ootcam. At Busánic he spent two days in order to prepare dried meat for his hard trip along the coast. At midnight on the eleventh he was in San Marcelo, where friendly messages from the Yumas and the Quiquimas on the Colorado awaited him. There were gifts from these Indians, also—"seven curious

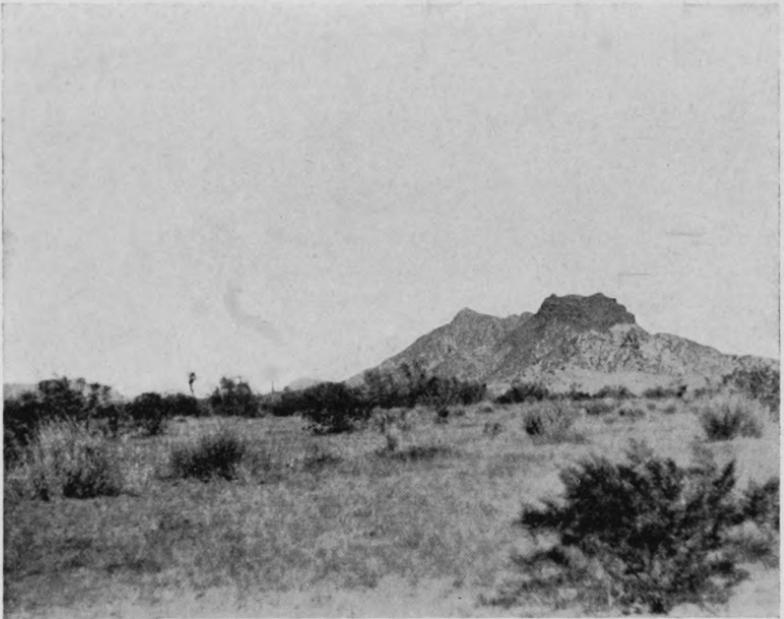


Photo by Mrs. Jeff Milton.
Cabeza Prieta—on the *Camino del Diablo*.

balls, and blue shells from the opposite coast of California." On the morning of the twelfth he dispatched runners to the Yumas and the Quiquimas to tell them he was coming. Now, by rapid marches, he passed over the terrible stretch between Sonoita (San Marcelo) and Yuma—called a century later the *Camino del Diablo*, and so known to this day. At nightfall, November 17, he reached the confluence of the Gila and Colorado, having passed over to the north side of the Gila.

Recrossing the Gila on the eighteenth the *Padre* traveled southwestward over a region he had never before traversed. He found the head of the Gulf of California, leaving it to the south, and then to the east. This day he traveled thirteen leagues toward the Quiquimas, and in the evening sent word to them that he was on the way. Next day at noon he arrived at the first *rancherías* of the Quiquima nation. The natives came out two leagues to meet and welcome him, bringing an abundance of maize, beans, and pumpkins. The Yumas had been very short of such provisions this season, and as it was known that the Quiquimas had raised more than they could use, Kino had suggested to them that they come along with him and barter for food. As a result, three hundred of the Indians from the Gila were following him.

When these friendly Quiquimas came out in such large numbers with gifts to meet Kino, he dismounted and gave them little presents in return. He began, also, to preach the Christian doctrine to them and to explain why he came. When the Spanish servant the *Padre* had brought along with him saw such a host of utterly strange Indians around him he became panic-stricken and fled to the rear. Kino did not miss him until sometime after he had remounted to ride forward. At once he sent two of his trustiest cowboys, on good horses, in pursuit, but they could not catch up with him. The flight of this Spaniard filled Kino with anxiety, for he feared word would be carried back to the settlements that he had been killed, as had been reported on previous occasions when he had been long absent among strange tribes. Accordingly, in order to anticipate the alarming report that might be spread, he at once sent letters back to San Marcelo by shorter roads than the one the fugitive must travel.

The Quiquima country was rich in fields and the grazing was good. Kino made himself an impromptu house, or bower, in a cornfield, and continued his talks on the Christian faith. He writes:

“The natives were very much amazed at many of our things which they had never seen nor heard of. They greatly admired the sacred vestments with which mass is said, with their curious fabric of flowered silk and cunningly woven pattern of various bright-colored flowers, and they

would ask us to leave it on, so that those who were all the time coming to visit us might also have the pleasure of seeing it. They were much surprised also, when they saw our mounts, as they had never seen nor heard of horses and mules; and when they were told by the Yumas and Pimas who were with us that our horses could run faster than the swiftest natives they did not believe it, so it became necessary to prove it to them. Accordingly one of our cowboys from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores saddled a horse, and seven or eight of the fleetest Quiquimas ran against it. At first the cowboy, on purpose, let them get somewhat ahead, and they were much pleased at this, but all at once he left them far behind, and very much astonished and surprised."

On the twentieth, Kino accompanied by five hundred Pimas, Yumas, and Quiquimas, moved on down the river southwesterly, determined to cross over some five leagues below. When he arrived at the place where the Indians usually crossed the natives built a pleasant little shelter for him and brought him loads of provisions. People from the west side of the river swam over, pushing baskets, as if they were small canoes, filled with maize and beans for him. For his convenience they opened straight and direct roads through the dense bottom thickets to the river.

On the twenty-first, the crossing was made in very original and picturesque fashion. That morning the *Padre* and his servants, aided by the captain of the Quiquimas, made a raft of long dry logs that were found close at hand. Solicitous for fear his feet should get wet, the Indians insisted on lashing a large basket onto the logs; and seated thus regally on his watery throne the explorer was wafted across the stream—about five hundred feet wide at this point. He wanted to swim some of his horses across so he could use them on the other side, but when the first one was brought to the brink of the river, he mired down and became so frightened that he refused to take to the water. So no horses were taken over. The only person of his own party who went across with him was the native governor of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores who had accompanied him on this journey. The *Padre* took nothing with him but his breviary, a blanket to sleep on, a pillow made by wrapping his bandana around a bunch of broom, and a few trifles.

On the west side of the Colorado there were continuous cultivated fields and good crops. The people were very pleasant and friendly, and were of a lighter color than the Indians Kino had known hitherto. At the house of the Captain, where he was cared for on the night of the twenty-first, he was visited by many of the Cutgane tribe, from the north, and the west, led by their chief. Among the gifts brought by these newcomers were many blue shells from the opposite coast of California. These Indians were able to tell Kino just where the shells came from, and they assured him that it was only eight or ten days' journey westward to the ocean. They told him that this Gulf of California ended a day's journey to the south of where he was at that time; and that the Colorado river emptied into it there. The *Padre* now inquired whether a road could be found toward the southwest so that a journey might be made to Loreto, about one hundred and twenty-five leagues distant. Not being able to satisfy him on this last point, the captain of the Quiquimas sent for an Indian of the Cocopa tribe, the people to the southward, who, when he came, told all that he could concerning a route to the southward. As usual, Kino sent messages of good will to the nations farther on, with assurances that he would visit them sometime if possible. He was able, also, to cultivate good feeling and a desire for the Christian religion among the five nations that had been brought together during his visit—the Pimas, the Yumas, the Quiquimas, the Cutganes, and the Cocopas.

Kino now felt that he must start homeward; first, because there was urgent need at Dolores for his administrative hand; second, because he feared that the Spanish servant who had run away might spread alarm among the missions; and, third, because he had done what he came to do—had secured proof positive that there is a land route to California, and that the Gulf does not ascend as far as thirty-two degrees latitude. So he now turned back; recrossed the Colorado on his raft, towed by the good Quiquima and Cocopa chiefs and many other Indians; and then by rapid marches and short stops retraced his route to Dolores, reaching the home mission December 8, after an absence of one month and five days, having in that time ridden more than four hundred leagues. Theodore Roosevelt, himself, in his

most strenuous days, could not have exemplified better the iron qualities of a good soldier.

Among the many letters of congratulation that Kino received after his return from his triumphant trip of 1701, was a communication from his very dear friend, Father Manuel González, rector of Oposura. In this letter González wrote that he would like to join Kino in another expedition beyond the Colorado with the purpose if possible, of going all the way to Salvatierra's mission at Loreto far down the peninsula. This desire on the part of Father González was translated into action when, on the last day of January, 1702, with his servants, a long pack-train, and many necessary supplies, he came to Dolores to join his brother priest, who had already been busy with preparations. It will be remembered that González was Father Visitor on this extreme frontier when Kino took up his work there fifteen years before; so it is no wonder that, though he was now an old man and in bad health, he keenly desired to pass through the harvest fields for which he had prepared the soil. It was, indeed, to be his last missionary journey—a fitting close to an heroic and holy life.

The start was made from Dolores, February 5, 1702. In addition to the men, provisions, and equipment brought by González, Kino took twelve servants, eighty horses and mules, and a few extra mule-loads of supplies. They went out by the most direct cross-country route for San Marcelo—always the jumping-off place—and reached that ranch February 15. Here they killed three fat beeves and a sheep for their journey: Over the old, hard well-known desert route they went, and on February 25 arrived at San Pablo on the Gila, where the Yuma Indians received them most kindly, having made careful arrangements for their comfort. In return for such courtesy, Father González distributed among them nearly a tierce of sugar, as well as other welcome gifts.

Moving on toward the confluence of the two rivers, on March 1, they looked with satisfaction upon their broad, quiet waters and rich adjacent fields. As they proceeded toward the southwest they passed on their right the place where Kino had crossed the Colorado a few months before. Many Quiquimas were waiting for them at the *ranchería* Rodesindo with the usual abundance of fish. maize. beans. and

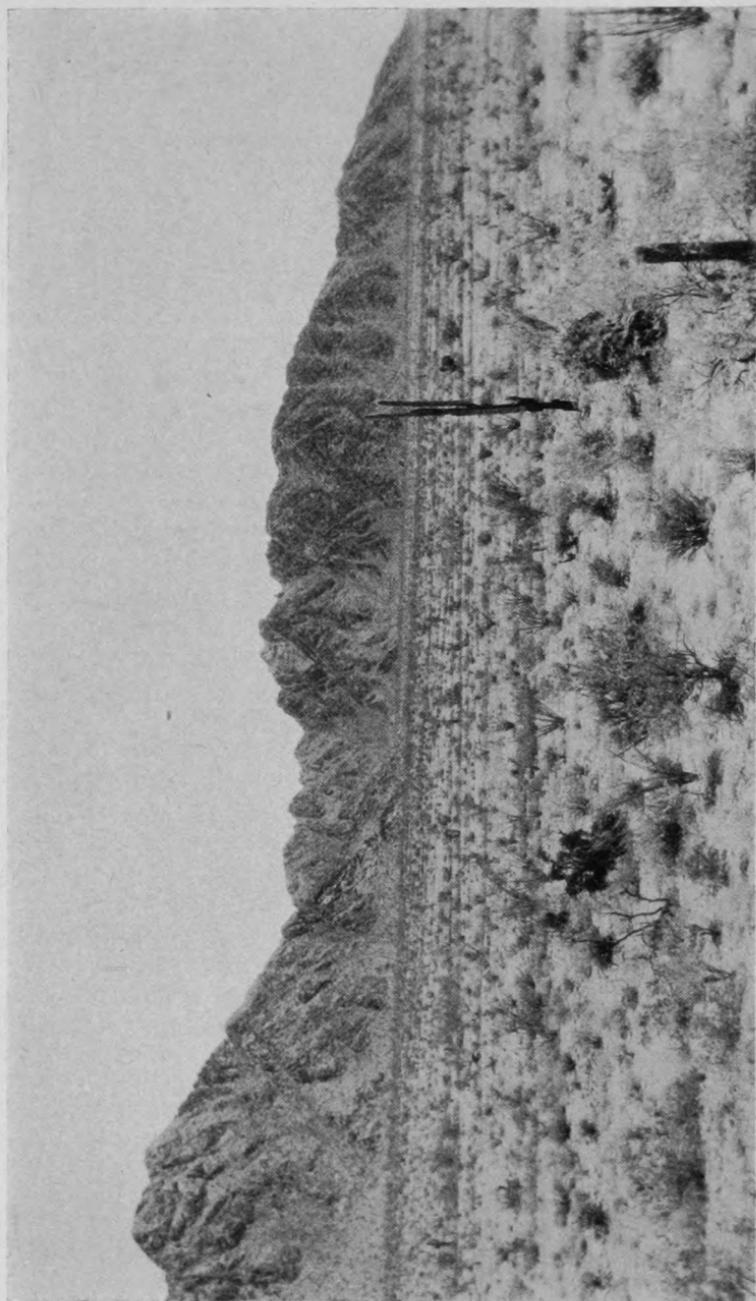


Photo by Wallace.

Desert scene east of Yuma, as it appeared to Kino on his journey to the Colorado River.

pumpkins. The Fathers gave them gifts, also, and preached the Gospel to them. The plan was now to go on down to the very place where the river discharged its waters into the Gulf. One day was given over to preparation for this descent. Many natives continually surrounded the *padres* and not a few mothers brought their babies to Kino and asked that he baptize them. Father González, with over-flowing generosity, gave to these friendly people quantities of chocolate, white handkerchiefs, and even his own shirts, and the very shoes off his feet. At midday on the fourth of March before starting for the head of the Gulf, Kino took the altitude of the sun and found that they were in latitude $31\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.

On the fourth and fifth they went straight southward to the bayous that adjoined the sea. They wanted very much to cross the Colorado here, but the past days had been rainy and as a result the shores were so muddy that they could not pass over. González went to the very mouth of the river on the seventh and communicated with the Indians on the other side. He was now ill with a painful flux; so, though the Indians on the opposite bank were most insistent that they come over, the Fathers were compelled to refuse them and send them away—not, however, without gifts, and promises to come at some later time if possible.

As the natives did not cease to beg them to come over, the Fathers at last decided to make one more attempt. They carried out this purpose on the tenth, making a raft of dry poles on which to cross; but Father González grew worse and the effort had to be given up. The best they could do to console the Indians was to spend the night on the sea-shore near them where the waters of the Gulf almost lapped their beds. On the eleventh Kino saw the sun rise “over the head of the sea of California, proof most evident that we were now in California; and, besides, we saw most plainly more than thirty leagues of continuous land to the south, and as many more to the west, and as many more to the north, without the least sign of any sea except that which lay to the eastward of us.”

After a futile and distressing attempt to return to San Marcelo directly from the mouth of the Colorado, and so save sixty leagues of travel, the party was obliged to give it up and go back by the route they came. Father González was now very ill—almost too weak and exhausted to travel.

From San Marcelo to Tubutama it was necessary for the natives to carry him in a litter, which they did with great patience and gentleness, sending far and wide through the desert country between San Marcelo and Tubutama to get the strongest Indians they could find for this task. He had grown so weak before Tubutama was reached that he was almost unconscious at times; so, in accordance with his request Kino administered to him the last sacrament. Messengers were sent as far as Dolores, Cucurpe, and Oposura to get the best medical aid possible, but about ten days after reaching Tubutama the good priest died.

CHAPTER VII

INDIAN TROUBLES

On April 2, 1695, Kino received the grievous news that Father Francisco Xavier Saeta, who was in charge of the mission at Caborca, had been killed by a band of Pima Indians from Oquitoa. This event grew out of a cruel outrage at Tubutama, committed by Antonio, an Opatá herdsman. Antonio more than once before had abused the Indians of Tubutama in a brutal manner. On March 29, four days previous to the murder of Father Saeta, this ruffian had knocked down the overseer of the farm at Tubutama and severely wounded him by striking his spurs into him while he was prostrate on the ground. The helpless overseer called out to his relatives who were standing about that the Opatá was killing him. Thereupon some of them shot at Antonio with arrows. At this he mounted his horse and fled to the town. The Pimas pursued him and killed him, and, also, two of his Opatá companions, Martín and a boy named Fernando, who were on their way back from Caborca whither Kino had sent all three in charge of some stock he had given to Father Saeta for his ranch at this new mission of La Concepción. Their blood now being up, the Pimas also killed a large number of cattle on the ranch at Tubutama, and burned the house and church of the Father.

By this time the more ill-disposed had completely given way to their savage passions. A few of the ring-leaders went to Oquitoa some twenty miles to the southwest, and, stirring up the Indians of this *ranchería*, planned an attack on the mission at Caborca. About forty strong, these malcontents went to Pitiquito on April 1, and there made their final plans for an assault on Father Saeta, his servants and his property. Manje gives a more vivid account of the tragedy than does Kino. He says that they first fell upon the steward-interpreter and two other servants of the household, and that Father Saeta, hearing the tumult, came out of the house into the plaza to quiet the uproar. But having now finished

killing the servants, they rained arrows and blows upon the missionary. He called the Captain of Caborca but he was intimidated by the armed marauders and did not respond. Seeing now that he was to be killed, Father Saeta kneeled down in the doorway to receive the arrows aimed at him. Several of them took effect, and, fatally wounded, he arose and went to embrace a lovely crucifix that he had brought with him from his native land. Weak, and bleeding he there expired—the first to die the death of a martyr in Pimería Alta.

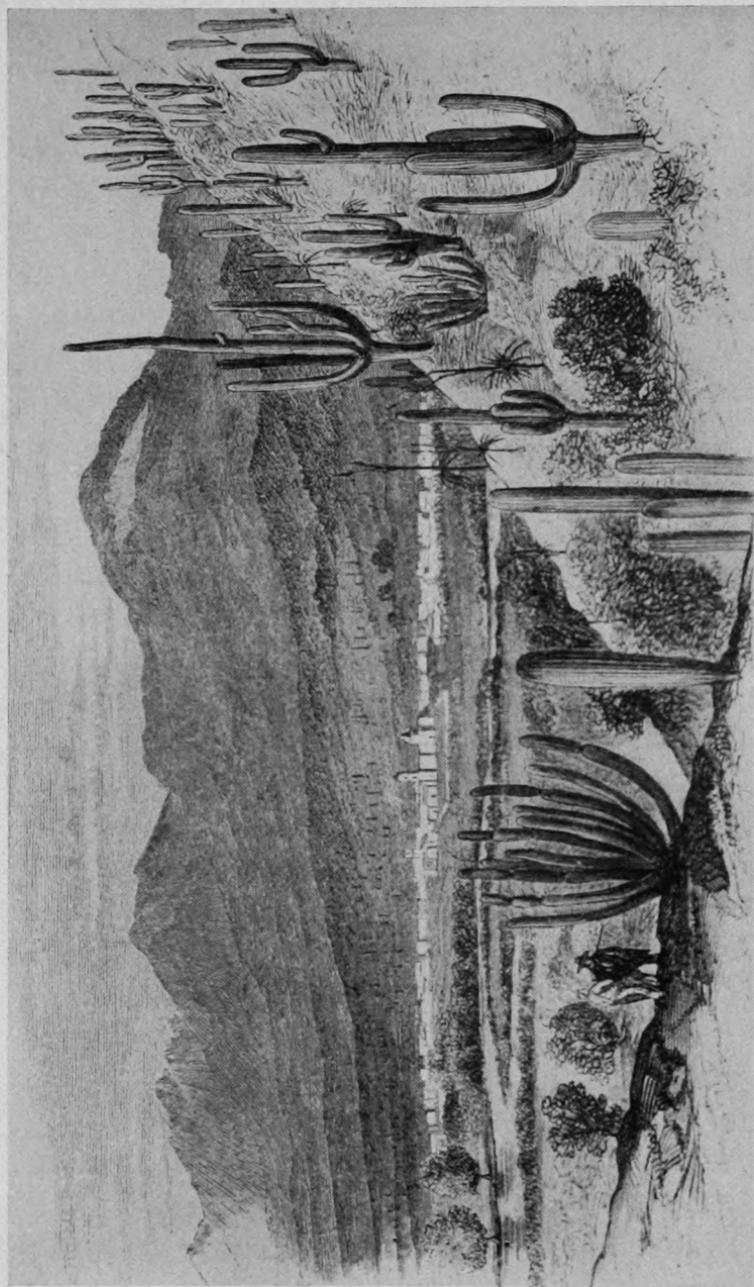
In addition to murdering the priest and the four servants whom he had brought with him when he came to live at La Concepción, the savage band killed or stampeded the stock, consisting of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, that Kino had sent to this new mission, and proceeded to spread havoc on every side. When this distressing news came to Kino, he sent word to the chief of the *ranchería* at El Bosna requesting him to go to La Concepción and report to him what had happened. This the Chief did. He piously disposed of the dead bodies, and finding near the remains of the murdered *Padre* the crucifix referred to above he picked it up, and was on his way back to bring word to Kino when a detail of soldiers from the *presidio* met him and took it away from him.

And so enter the dogs of war, to make confusion worse confounded. It would be hard to depict Kino's grief and disappointment over this whole tragic affair; especially was he pained by the senseless brutality visited upon innocent and guilty alike by the soldiery. Of course he had immediately sent word of the disaster both to his superiors in the Church and to Don Domingo Jironza, the military governor of the province. The soldiers went to La Concepción to bring away the remains of the martyred priest. All along the route the people fled in terror at the sight of the soldiers, though Manje, who was in the party, explains that only a few Indians from the neighborhood of Oquitoa and Tubutama were guilty. The commander of the expedition killed a boy, beat an Indian woman, and took three little children captive; and gathering up the bones and ashes of Father Saeta, together with his papers and books that were found

scattered about, returned to Cucurpe where the good priest was buried with suitable services and great lamentation.

When General Jironza saw how matters stood, realizing that all the natives had fled to a great distance and that only a few were actually guilty of the atrocity, he thought it would be wise to postpone for some time a punitive expedition, and, then, after the Indians had returned to their *rancherías*, to seize and punish only the chief offenders. However, others were for swift and indiscriminate vengeance, and their stupid policy prevailed. The Indians were summoned to make peace and to hand over the chief criminals. All the innocent and well-disposed, and the rulers whom Kino had appointed at Tubutama went out to hunt and bring in the real malefactors; and the general populace came to the Spanish officers unarmed and with crosses as a sign of their faithfulness and submission; but Lieutenant Antonio de Solís, who was in command of the punitive expedition, at Tupo, ordered a general slaughter of the Indians, and more than fifty of them were killed—good and bad alike—among others the loyal governor of El Bosna, who at Kino's request had traveled the long, dangerous way to Caborca in order to hunt the criminals and bring the *Padre* detailed information concerning the tragedy. Both Manje and Kino assert that of the fifty people put to death only five or six were guilty. So now the anger of the Pimas was fired to white heat; and, the soldiers having been withdrawn to take the field against the Apaches, the Pimas spread red ruin throughout the region, burning all the mission buildings at Imuris, Magdalena, San Ignacio, and Caborca, profaning the sacred vessels and symbols, and killing the cattle, sheep, and horses.

A messenger was sent to recall the military; but as they had marched fourteen leagues before the word reached them they were not able to get back in time to stop the destruction. From San Ignacio, Father Augustín, with a guard of four soldiers, was able to make his escape to Cucurpe. Meantime, Kino and Manje with three armed ranchers, were awaiting the outcome at Dolores, in hourly expectation that the angry flood would sweep down upon them. They could see from their high station that San Ignacio was in flames; so Manje hastened to Cucurpe in order to muster a relief



Magdalena, 1851—from John Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*.
Courtesy of D. Appleton and Company.

party for the rescue of Father Campos. But when he reached Cucurpe he found that the Father had already made his escape. Returning to Dolores, Manje found Father Kino alone, the ranchers having deserted him to look after the safety of their own families. Secretly, by night, Kino and Manje hid the mission books, vessels, and sacred emblems in a cave some three miles distant.

Manje writes: "Only the villages of the mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores escaped the conspiracy and conflagration (if not the fright), and it was attributed to the fervent and continuous prayers and the virtue of the *Padre* Eusebio Kino, the first missionary of the aforementioned revolting tribe; for, as he had always been their spiritual father and their comfort in need, affliction, and sorrow, perhaps they had enough pity on him not to burn and destroy his mission; with its capacious church, well-painted and adorned."

Fortunately one military mind—that of General Juan Fernández de la Fuente, commander of the *presidio* of Janos—retained a spark of humanity and common sense. After pursuing for weeks the frightened and fleeing Pimas, he realized that they were not in revolt nor ever had been, but only panic struck and in dread of punishment; so he offered terms of peace, the stipulation being that the Indians in authority should yield up for punishment the real criminals who murdered Father Saeta. The Pima captains and governors gladly agreed to do this. Kino was appointed to draw up the terms of the truce. A pacific meeting of Indian captains and governors and Spanish generals was arranged by Kino at Tupo, August 30, 1695, and satisfactory peace agreements were entered into. The principal malefactors in due time were handed over to the Spanish; and it is pleasant to record that, after these repentant evil-doers had been prepared for death in accordance with the rites of the Church, they were pardoned.

This is the only serious difficulty that ever arose between the Pimas and the Spanish during Kino's lifetime; and there is little doubt that if he instead of the military, at the first, had been called on to settle the disturbance there would have been no further bloodshed after the death of the saintly Father Saeta. The outbreak left a deep scar in the heart of Father Kino, and for several months brought waste and dis-

turbance, terror and anguish to Pimería Alta; but the evil effects were not lasting, and in a remarkably short time peace and mutual confidence were restored between the natives and the missionaries.

THE APACHE SCOURGE

It was said of Kino that his influence in preserving order in the province of Sonora was equal to that of a well-organized *presidio*. We can gain some idea of the appropriateness of this remark if we trace his part in the efforts of the Spanish to control the ever-destructive and malicious doings of the Apache Indians—and of their kinsmen, the Janos, the Jocomes, and the Sumas. These nomadic tribes were a continual thorn in the flesh of soldier, civilian, and missionary. From 1583 down they had been a terror and a scourge to the Spanish outposts in the north and northeast. They continually raided the settlements, burning, robbing, and killing. Kino was never free from anxiety in connection with these tribes, as his mission stations were among the most exposed Spanish outposts. Fortunately the Pimas were valiant fighters as well as docile and industrious farmers. The Apaches were the foes of the Pimas and the Spanish alike; so there was hearty coöperation between the Pimas and the Spaniards, both in offensive and defensive dealings with the Apaches. Kino served as a natural link between Pima Indian and Spanish settler in this grim, unending struggle with the Apaches. The soldiers, too, more than once found his well-stocked ranches, far in advance of *presidio* or settlement, a very substantial aid in prosecuting their dangerous campaigns.

In one exposed region Kino was particularly useful to the Spanish government. I refer to his friendly contact with Captain Coro, a very courageous Pima warrior of the Sobai-puris tribe, who lived at Quiburi, on the San Pedro river, on the very edge of turbulent Apache-land. The *Padre* first became acquainted with this redoubtable character when he made his earliest trip to the San Pedro in September, 1692. Chief Coro received him kindly at that time, though Kino admits that he and his people were not quite so tame and teachable as the Pimas he had met farther west. He visited Quiburi again December 15, 1696, and at that time the

friendship between the Pima chief and the daring *Padre* was renewed and deepened; El Coro even bringing his little boy to Kino to have him baptized. Again, in March, 1697, Kino met El Coro. In November of this same year we find him at Quiburi in company with the military officers, Manje and Bernal. On this occasion El Coro entertained the priest and the two soldiers in an adobe house that the *Padre* had previously erected within the earth-walled fort that El Coro had built as a defense against the Apaches; and afterward the chief accompanied the expedition down the San Pedro and the Gila.

It was in the spring of 1698, however, that the results of Kino's friendship with Captain Coro became most apparent. The Apaches and the hostile tribes allied with them, late in February 1698, when nearly all the men were away on a trading trip to the northward, descended three hundred strong upon Cocóspera, and robbed the town, burned down the Church and the house of the Father, and killed two native women. The few men who had remained at home pursued the enemy, but they were ambushed and nine of them were killed. As soon as possible Don Domingo Jironza made arrangements for an expedition against these cruel foes and to Kino was entrusted the responsibility of persuading El Coro and other Pimas to the north to join with the soldiers in an attack upon the enemy. A month after the sacking of Cocóspera, flushed with that victory, the Apaches and their fellow marauders raided Santa Cruz (modern Fairbank), a *ranchería* three miles above Quiburi. They killed the chief and two or three others and drove the rest into an adobe house that had been erected at Kino's request some time before. It was built with embrasures and surrounded by a corral. The enemy drove the inhabitants into the house, killed three Sobaipuris, then mounted the roof and burned the building. With an arquebus they had taken in battle, they killed another man, slaughtered a number of horses and cattle that Kino had here, set fire to the corral and buildings, and took whatever they could lay hands on. Thinking they had won a complete victory they now fell to feasting on the animals they had killed, and the maize and beans they had stolen.

They had failed to take account of the valiant El Coro, whose *ranchería* was three miles down the river. When word

was brought to him that the Apaches had raided Santa Cruz, he started out with his braves and many other Pimas who had come from San Xavier del Bac for purposes of trade, and came to the relief of his tribesmen. El Capotcari was the name of the Apache who had led the assault. Upon the arrival of El Coro and his warriors a parley was held between these two captains, and the insolent Capotcari taunted El Coro and his followers, saying that they were not men but women, and that the Spaniards with whom the *padres* had persuaded them to join forces were cowards. He boasted that he had killed many of them, both Pima warriors and Spanish soldiers, and wound up by proposing that, instead of engaging in a general battle, ten men be selected from each side as champions, and that these twenty men fight it out. El Coro agreed to this plan. Ten brave Pimas were chosen; El Capotcari matched ten of his best warriors against them. The Jocomes, Janos, and the Apaches were good with arrow and spear, but not skillful in warding off the missiles of the enemy; whereas the Pimas were equally good in offensive and defensive combat; and the result was that five of the Apaches and four of their allies were soon disabled. Capotcari himself was so skillful that he could catch with his hand the arrows that were shot at him, but, seeing this, his antagonist came to grips with him, threw him to the ground, and beat him to death with a stone.

Their champions now all being out of the fighting, the rest of the enemy were soon routed. As they sought escape in the woods and mountains they were hotly pursued by El Coro's warriors and many fell dead along the way; many more were wounded with poisoned arrows and died later on the trail. Kino states that more than three hundred of the attacking tribes were killed, and that after this crushing defeat, about the same number went to the neighboring *pre-sidios* to ask for peace.

El Coro at once sent Kino news of this remarkable victory, and the priest, in turn, hurried a messenger off to the military commander at the Real de San Juan. There was great rejoicing all through northern Sonora, and the Pimas were acclaimed heroes and benefactors. Kino received letters of congratulation from every side. The Father Visitor wrote that he was offering a thousand thanks for the very happy

outcome. The Father Rector of Matapa, dedicated a mass and solemn festival to the Most Holy Trinity in Commemoration of this splendid victory. The Lieutenant of the Real of San Juan said: "I highly congratulate your reverence and the whole province on such a happy victory won by its sons. We thank God and Our Lady and are pealing the bells on account of it." Don Pedro García de Almazán offered thanks on his own behalf and on that of the gentlemen of the neighborhood of the Real of San Juan and of the Real of Nacozari, and presented gifts to the Pimas. The Father Rector of Matapa, Father Juan Muñoz de Burgos, and Captain Francisco de Escarsega likewise made them presents.

Determined that the malicious fault-finders who were forever throwing slurs at the Pimas should have no ground of abuse or suspicion left to stand on, Kino not only went in himself to observe and record the details of the encounter, but he also sent word to the Señor Lieutenant requesting him to come and investigate the results of the battle and then draw up a legal certificate attesting the facts. With the soldiers he viewed and counted the dead bodies of the Apaches. They saw fifty-four of the enemy dead. Various trophies were presented to the Spanish by the natives to carry back with them—buffalo and deer skins, bows and arrows, powder and balls, an arquebus, and a leathern jacket. Manje and Escalante were the officers who went to make a report of the results of the battle. They were accompanied by twenty soldiers. Manje writes that in a distance of seven leagues they counted the bodies of sixty of the enemy along the line of flight and that one hundred and sixty-eight more were believed to have died from the effects of poisoned arrows.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SERI INDIANS

Next to the Apaches, the Seri Indians, who inhabited the island of Tiburón and the Gulf Coast southwest of Caborca, were, perhaps the most uncivilized and warlike. These Seris, late in 1699, were threatening Magdalena, Tuape, and Cucurpe, so Father Bartiromo who was the priest in charge of these missions, requested military aid from Don Domingo Jironza. Escalante, in January, 1700, was sent with fifteen

soldiers in response to this request. For three or four months he diligently pursued recalcitrant Indians— chiefly of the Seri tribe—going to Tepocas and Nuestra Señora del Popolo, far to the southwest, chasing the troublesome Seris clear to the Gulf Coast. It was only by crossing over to the island of Tiburón that they made their escape.



Photo by H. L. Shantz.

Seri Indians of today in southwestern Sonora, near Tiburón Island.

Escalante came back to Magdalena and, descending upon the Tepocas by a different route, captured one hundred and twenty of them and turned them over to Father Bartiromo. He went against the Seris again late in the spring and captured some of them, though he had to cross over to the islands in order to do this. Father Campos, of San Ignacio, called upon him at about the same time to bring in some

delinquent Indians in that region. He went after them, chasing them northward, and captured more than a hundred whom he gave into the hands of Campos. On this last expedition he got as far north as Sáric and Busánic, and from the last named pueblo, April 26, 1700, wrote a letter to Kino stating that he was much pleased to find so many quiet and teachable people as were gathered here at this mission and *ranchería* of Busánic—and in Sáric as well. He reports to Kino that at Busánic he killed a bull from the ranch in order to supply his men with beef, and asks Kino to approve this act.

A year later, April 13, 1701, this same officer, in pursuit of Apaches, with a small squadron of Spanish soldiers and more than three hundred Pimas from Cócóspera and the upper Santa Cruz Valley, wrote another letter to Kino from Fronteras. He states that when the Pimas joined him in his expedition against the Apaches they had to leave on such short notice that they were able to take with them only such provisions as they could carry in their bags; that the same was true of his own soldiers, since they departed from the *presidio* in such haste that they could provide themselves with no rations except a few *tortillas* that they stuffed into their saddlebags; that after gaining a victory over the Apaches both soldiers and Pimas were without provisions so that at San Luis Bacoancos and Guevavi he was obliged to kill several sheep from Father Kino's flocks; and, finally, that he had instructed Captain Coro, who was with him on this campaign, to kill eight beeves for soldiers and Pimas who had been ordered to rendezvous at Sonoita (near modern Nogales). He explains that he goes into so much detail in order that the *Padre* may determine what remuneration shall be made for the stock. He says he is not only willing to pay whatever is right, but that he is also very grateful for the foresight the missionary has displayed in having so many ranches along the frontier as a means of assistance to the soldiers in such emergencies.

APACHE HOSTILITIES RENEWED

Don Domingo Jironza was too optimistic when he said, in 1698, that the victory of El Coro at Santa Cruz "would serve for the complete relief of the entire province" from

the deadly attacks of the Apaches; for it was not long before the hostile tribes renewed their depredations, and once more succeeded in keeping all the northern frontier in commotion. The soldiers were worse than worthless in the face of these attacks, and a good many of the officers were no better. As commander of the Flying Company of Sonora, Don Domingo Jironza was very satisfactory to the exposed missionaries, but, in 1701, he was removed from office, and after that the Apaches almost had their own way. Kino declared, in 1703, that the stealing of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, and, also, the killing both of converted Indians and Spanish citizens was constantly growing worse. Though he rarely made complaints, in this crisis he sternly condemns the cruel and cowardly soldiers who are supposed to afford them protection; declaring that, though the King supports two *presidios* of fifty soldiers each in the province, they do nothing to stop the ever-increasing robberies and murders.

There is no doubt that Kino was justified in thus arraigning the military; for one or two of the officers themselves—loyal and efficient men—made similar and even more serious charges. Captain Cristóbal de Salazar, of Bacanuche, a neighboring Real to the eastward, in February, 1703, writes as follows: "May our Lord grant that the Pimas achieve success in their expedition, since, apparently, but little help is to be expected of the Captains, some of whom waste their time and the King's money in idleness, others in wrangling."

Writing again on February 28, the same officer says: "The Captain of the *Presidio* remains idle, and the ensign is a prisoner, etc. And as these things also were reported to the Chief Magistrate, he answered as follows: 'Señor Corporal Granillo de Salazar. My dear Sir: I have just received your letter with the unhappy news of the enemy's having killed the Chinapa Indian. This and the inactivity of the soldiers of the *Presidio* of this Province, who do not take the field nor bestir themselves in the least, pain me greatly I consider it useless to call on the Captain of the *Presidio* since it all results in evasions and arguments, without his taking any action or fulfilling the duties of his office.' "

Kino's brave and active friend Captain Juan Manje, now *Alcalde* (Mayor) of Sonora, writes that he is sore beset on

account of Apache raids. He says that the people have suffered many disasters; that he himself is kept continually in the saddle, so that his horses are crippled and worn out from constantly climbing over rough sierras; and that he fears he will himself meet death at the hand of the enemy, since he is all the time exposed on the highway. He emphasizes, too, what others have said, that the soldiers will neither go out after the marauders, nor do anything else. He says that it was necessary for him to import the few soldiers who are now with him and that he achieved this only by dint of effort.

In January, 1703, the Apaches made a raid as far south as San Ignacio and stole a herd of horses from the missionary of that district. Upon receiving this bad news from Father Campos, Kino sent word to Captain Coro and other Pimas of the north requesting that they intercept and punish the hostile Apaches in the territory they were accustomed to ravage. It was this expedition that Salazar referred to when he wrote that he hoped the Pimas would have good success in their expedition. They did win a victory over the Apaches, and as a result the Apaches in future were held somewhat in check. The hardest thing Kino had to bear was the fact that the worthless fellows who refused to raise a finger to protect the missions and the settlers were all the time circulating rumors to the effect that El Soba and other Pimas of the West were preparing to attack the Christian villages and *rancherías* near Dolores. They also had the effrontery to repeat their accusations that the robberies and murders by which the exposed Spanish settlements were afflicted were the work of the Pimas.

THE LASTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN KINO AND EL CORO

The firm friendship existing between Father Kino and El Coro the Sobaipuris Chief at Quiburi lasted as long as they both lived. In the spring of 1703, Captain Coro and his people from the San Pedro, together with many other Pimas from the north and west, came to Cocóspera and Remedios to aid in the building of the new churches there. These faithful Indians came with their families distances of fifty leagues or more, and remained for weeks giving friendly assistance to the *Padre* in his building program.

In 1705, a certain crooked military officer, who had recently secured the office of Captain-lieutenant of the Pimería, came to Santa María to barter with the Indians for corn (for his own private enrichment). His treatment of the orderly and well-behaved Pimas was so overbearing and dishonest that El Coro rebuked him, telling him that by thus abusing the Indians he ran a great risk of causing them to withdraw into the mountains, or to unite with the Apaches in warfare against the settlements. This greatly enraged the corrupt Lieutenant and before the chief officers of the province he accused Captain Coro and Francisco Pacheco, governor of Cocóspera, declaring that they were in revolt, and that they were coming with disaffected Pimas from all parts of the Pimería to make war in Sonora. This false and vicious charge spread consternation all along the frontier. General Juan de Retana and the Father Visitor, Antonio Leal, were so foolish as to believe the lying Lieutenant, and, in a panic, they ordered Kino to withdraw from the missions in the Pimería and to bring away with him so far as possible all the valuable property and furnishings of the churches. General Terán wrote to Kino that he had received word (from the same false Lieutenant) that El Coro was at the great ranch of El Siboda killing cattle and horses, and threatening to murder the Fathers and do all sorts of outrageous deeds. These reports were all pure lies; but to refute them and counter-act the terrific shock that resulted all through the Province required all of Kino's tact and patience, and resulted in the disruption of the work of the missions for weeks.

Kino asked El Coro to come to Cocóspera, and there, before the very eyes of the excited military officers who had come to suppress a revolt that had never existed even in the minds of the faithful and maligned chieftains, he was able to present El Coro and his people, all friendly and quiet, at the Easter services. The infamous Lieutenant was discharged. Kino at once sent the two accused Pima chiefs to General Juan de Retana bearing a letter from him. The General entertained the two Pima captains most generously and took prompt steps to make amends to them. They were sent back loaded with gifts, and all was harmonious once more in Pimería Alta. Irretrievable injury was done to the cause of Christianity, however; for the excitement that

had been aroused and the falsehoods that had gone abroad resulted as usual in preventing the arrival of the additional missionaries so long promised and so much needed.

That two strong men of different races can sustain through long years and trying circumstances a true and staunch friendship is shown by references that Kino makes to Captain Coro only a year before the *Padre's* death. In 1710, he drew up and dedicated to the King a long and statesman-like report concerning the location, condition, and resources of the Indian communities that he had brought under Spanish sway during his twenty-three years of missionary service in Mexico. Among other advanced steps that he recommended in the conquest and conversion of Pimería Alta and vast adjoining territory to the north and northwest was the founding and fortification of a great settlement and mission at Quiburi, Captain Coro's *ranchería*. Twice in his report he urges that this be done, presenting as cogent reasons for such a step the fact that Coro had become famous as a fighter against the hostile and defiant enemies of the Spanish, and the certainty that with such a fortified Spanish settlement as a base of operations he would in future more effectively than ever pursue, punish, and subdue these savage Apaches, Janos, and Jocomes, and so afford relief to the whole province of Sonora.

Ever since the year 1706, among leading soldiers, citizens, and churchmen, there had been expressed the definite desire and policy of establishing somewhere on the frontier of the territory that Kino had brought into friendly relations with Spain and the Catholic Church a great town or *villa* that should serve as a center and rallying point for the conquest of the region north and northwest of the present Arizona line. The term always used in reference to this proposed settlement was "*villa*" rather than "*presidio*." All the leading officials, about the beginning of 1707, seemed to be in favor of planting such a town though it seems that no definite location was ever mentioned—unless we consider these advices of Kino's urging a settlement on the San Pedro as such concrete suggestion. Manje, in a letter to Kino dated September 15, 1706, seems to favor the founding of a *villa* somewhere on the Colorado among the Yumas. General Juan de La Fuente, Father Visitor Picolo, and Father Bartiromo all commend the project, but do not make

any suggestion as to the location of the town. The current of events in Arizona history might have run in very different channels from those in which it has actually flowed had the Spanish built such a settlement at Quiburi as Kino recommended. Who knows but that El Coro rather than General Crook might have brought the Apaches under control? And who can say whether Quiburi instead of Tucson might not have been the most ancient and honorable *pueblo* of the far Southwest?

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT KINO PLANNED FOR CALIFORNIA

We have seen in Kino's letter to the Duchess d'Aveiro dated November 16, 1686, that, even this early, he had knowledge of the great extent and fertility of the California that lay to the north of what we now term Lower California and that the idea of Christianizing this Upper California had already entered his mind. Recently there came into my possession two hitherto unpublished letters written by Kino in Spanish to the Father General of the Jesuit Society at Rome.* They were both written from the mission at Dolores. The first one, dated October 18, 1701, is here reproduced. The *Padre* clearly reveals in this letter his aspirations and plans for the conversion and colonization of Upper California.

Our Very Reverend Father General, Tyrso González

The Peace of Christ

Three years ago I discovered, though with some doubt, the head of the California Sea. Two years ago I made out more clearly this passage by land to the aforesaid California, and one year ago I discovered it very distinctly; and the Day of St. Dionysius, the ninth of October, I said mass at the junction of the two great-volumed rivers, the Río Colorado and the Río Grande* one thousand five hundred and fifty souls coming to see me at the place we named St. Dionysius (see this imperfect map). I informed the Reverend Father Juan María Salvatierra, and his Reverence came in March of this year and saw it with his own eyes. I am at the present time preparing to enter, with the grace of God, this month of October and November, very far into California until I catch sight of or reach the Southern Sea itself, or the opposite sea of California as it is called. And I am preparing, also, to go as far toward the south as I can and towards the missions of Loreto Concho which the Reverend Father Salvatierra serves with the two Fathers Picoli and Ugarte.

Now it occurs to me to beg your Reverence that it be granted me that we begin the conquest and conversion of California above the latitude of 32 degrees where there is

*These letters were sent to me by Rev. Felix A. Rossetti, S. J., then of Brophy College, Phoenix. He secured them from college archives in Germany.

*He means the River Gila.

this very fine entrance to California over the mainland. I make this proposal because in all these intermediate lands, in latitudes 29, 30, and 31 degrees, there is available for such an undertaking abundant material means and also because there reside in this region numerous very gentle, friendly, and tractable nations whom it is possible to reach, meet, and deal with. It would please me very much, too, if for that purpose Fathers be designated to come from Europe, for there is here such opportunity in material resources that, to the four new Fathers who during these months have come to this Pimeria, I have given, and shall continue to give these two or three months, about seven hundred head of cattle, etc., and the other Fathers of this Rectorship and Province of Sonora are sending them much more. I have provided for this purpose, also, a new ranch with more than two thousand head of cattle, many small animals, and many horses and mules, and droves of mares, and fields with much wheat and corn, etc. And, although some vexations continue in this place, our Lord's business goes on prosperously and with good progress. May His Divine Majesty grant that Your Reverence send us many missionary Fathers with the Father Procurators who have gone to Rome.

I am somewhat troubled about the thousand pesos which we have promised for the Holy Sepulchre of our Holy Father; for, although we have remitted to Mexico for these two years ninety-seven marks of silver for this purpose, and on other occasions other sums, there are generally difficulties in Mexico in the transmission of said silver to Rome. If, perchance, there should be in Europe any pious persons who might be willing to give a thousand pesos as alms for the new conversions and missions of California and this region, I should be glad if Your Reverence would take there those thousand pesos, and I, here, in their place should give, not only an equal amount, but even one thousand five hundred or two thousand in the goods of these new districts for the said new conquests and new conversions and missions in this North and Northwest as the beneficent persons of Europe might command and your Reverence, whose life may the Divine Majesty keep as I desire and as is our need. And I commend this business to the most Holy Sacrifices of your Reverence a whole thousand and one times.

A very humble and insignificant subject of your Reverence Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, 18, Oct. 1701, Eusebio Francisco Kino.

Two weeks after the above letter was penned, Kino started once more for the Northwest on the expedition that resulted in assuring him once for all that Upper California was accessible by land. On that journey as we have seen he actually crossed the Colorado River and stood on California soil. He was back on his home ranch, December 8, and, seven weeks later, he wrote this second letter to Rome.

Our Very Reverend Father General, Tyrso González

The Peace of Christ

I have written several letters to your Reverence which I hope have reached your hands. In one was the new map of the overland passage to the Californias, at a latitude of 32 degrees, at a distance of one hundred seventy leagues from this mission and district Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Now I send you together with this a copy of the letter I wrote to the Father Visitor of these Missions of Sonora concerning the said overland route which I discovered on my latest trip in this past month of November. On the next trip, thanks to the grace of God, I am to have Father Manuel González, who is much devoted to these new conversions in this extensive Pimería, as well as the Californians, for he wrote me last week that he is coming to this mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores from his mission or district of Oposura with the spirit and determination, by God's grace, that we two in February and March make another expedition, going much farther in than I have gone up to now, and, with the favor of Heaven, that we try to reach the place where the three Fathers, Salvatierra, and Ugarte, and Picoli are.

On the last trip I sent messages, rings, and some little gifts to those Nations which are farther ahead and those on the way. May his Divine Majesty grant what best befits his Holy Service, and we shall try to secure Judicial Certificates from the Royal Justices for everything for his Excellency; and with God's grace we shall give your Reverence an account of everything in order to secure the necessary priests for such extensive and rich missions of souls as there are in this until now unknown North America.

For the temporal support of these new conversions I have prepared a ranch with a thousand head of cattle, and seven droves of mares, and with quite a number of horses and mules, and with sheep and goats for the new missions that may be founded; since, thanks to the Lord, four new missionary Fathers have come recently to take charge of four new missions in this Pimería and I have given to their Reverences about seven hundred head of cattle, without touching the one thousand mentioned above. I have other lots, larger and smaller, at little ranches on the road from here overland to the Californias—a circumstance that always makes the journey to the Californias much easier for us. And before long, with the favor of Heaven, we shall send cattle by land and have ranches in California itself; and already there is on this side a ranch in the neighborhood of the route, namely, at San Marcelo, with live stock and horses, and fields of wheat and corn, etc., and with a decent church; and, with the grace of God, since the site is agreeable and well located for the journey to California and to the Quiquimas which is the first nation, we shall soon start to build in this Pimería a church and a large house.

The Father Visitor of these missions and I and others are of the opinion that this recently discovered California adjacent to the new overland route can be called Upper

California, as the prior one, where the three Fathers are, can be called Lower California as far as 30 degrees of latitude.

Now if your Reverence give me permission and the Lord his divine grace, it is my intention to make a map of Upper California and Lower California, and for each one its treatise or book in Latin. The treatise on Lower California, entitled *New Carolina* (because the conquest was begun with the very catholic expenditures of Don Carlos II) is already written. It only remains to add to this the best part, which is the present stability and perseverance, thanks to the Lord, of this conquest, and its new conversions and missions.

The other treatise, or book on the new or recently discovered Upper California, can be called *New Philipina* (or Upper California from 30 degrees latitude to 40 or more); if your Reverence and his Majesty, may God guard him, give us priests and missionaries everything will go on in time until we reach China, perhaps, or even near Japan; and, perhaps, to the north of these new lands, we shall be able to find a shorter way to Europe—partly by these new lands and partly by the sea of the North. May our Lord order what is best.

I am pained at not knowing whether the thousand pesos which these my Pimas and I have promised to the Holy Sepulchre of our Saint and Father Ignatius have been forwarded to Rome. Although we have sent to Mexico several lots of silver for this purpose—on one occasion seventy-seven marks, which amounts to more than seven hundred pesos—I have not had notice that they have been sent on to you; and much of these amounts they have sent us in Mexican goods without our having ordered them. For which reason (leaving out of account the better and the best) it occurs to me to beg your Reverence that you use it in Europe if there be some charitable person or persons who may be willing to give those thousand pesos to these new conversions and new Spiritual and Temporal Conquests of these regions; for the said thousand pesos can be applied there for the Holy Sepulchre of our Holy Father for the worship of that Holy Patriarch; and I, here, will give two thousand in their place (to the Father or Fathers who may bring the draft) in goods of these rich districts; since, in addition to the cattle above mentioned, I have here in this district of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and in its neighborhood more than two thousand additional head of cattle, many small domestic animals, and horses, wheat, corn, etc. And I shall not die content without first having paid this pledge which is of such consolation to me; *et promissum cadit in debitum*.*

I commend all this a thousand and one times to the attention of your Reverence; and may the Lord keep you as I desire and as is our need.

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, February 2, 1702

Your Reverence's very humble servant

Eusebio Francisco Kino.

*And a promise becomes an obligation.

KINO RECEIVES ENCOURAGING LETTERS FROM MEN
IN AUTHORITY

From this time on Kino devoted much thought to the conquest and conversion of Upper California. He is still unremitting in his efforts to secure more Fathers for the ripe harvests too long neglected, but is able to make little progress. A few workers were sent but so few that he was barely able to care for the missions already founded. For the most part, his hopes turned out as usual to be mirages, and the promises of his superiors in both Church and State mere ropes of sand. In the summer and autumn of 1705, he received very friendly letters from three men in authority, all giving him high praise for his unflagging zeal in his remote field of labor, and all assuring him that they were in full sympathy with his request for more workers and that they were exerting themselves to help him secure the needed Fathers. One of these, Fray Nicholas Bernardo de Ramos, Knight-commander of the Convent of Teocoaltichi, had this to say:

"I received (your letter) with the appreciation I owed, and I am glad of your good health, which may our Lord guard for many years. May you bring comfort to all your children in that mission, and increase of Christianity in those scattered districts and nations, in which it has been a great consolation to see the wish which they manifest—according to your report—of receiving holy baptism and the necessity there is for laborers for the rich harvest. May our Lord move the hearts of the Superiors so that they will make provision in a matter of so great importance; I, unworthy as I am, shall cry out to His Divine Majesty to grant this, and the Fathers of this convent will do the same—would that God might hear us, that we may be of assistance to your Reverence in your pious wishes."

The captain, advocate, and licentiate, Don Miguel de Turizes y Cano, whom the Viceroy had sent as envoy into the Province of Sonora, wrote as follows: "Before entering this Real and for many leagues on the way, I noticed how very much your Reverence has accomplished, and is now accomplishing in gathering souls for the Lord, and the good which your pious and Christian zeal is performing, and I hope that God will grant you a long life that you may see

all these poor folk brought into our holy Catholic faith. No more than a hint, would be necessary, I might tell you, to get me to do whatever service, in so far as I am able, your Reverence might ask me. Thus, if your Reverence permits, I shall soon inform your Superiors in Mexico, and particularly his Excellency, who I believe will heed me, of your Reverence, and he will be greatly pleased at the docility of these poor creatures, and that they cry out for holy baptism. Your Reverence can be without worry that the letters which have been written were not delivered, or failed to reach the attention of his Excellency, since His Royal Majesty, by repeated laws has decreed the propagation of our holy faith among the infidels, no doubt he would already have responded with the remedy so besought and desired by your Reverence. But I trust to God that he will grant it very soon and with the particularity which the occasion requires, I shall inform his Excellency, even if it were necessary to show him the letter of your Reverence."

The Father Provincial, Juan María Salvatierra wrote: "The Fathers of that place (Loreto) who look upon your Reverence as their benefactor and appointed representative in their untiring labors, salute your Reverence. I have already set out for Mexico, where, according to whatever disposition I shall find in the Viceroy, I shall negotiate for the promotion of all those new conversions, because with these wars and suspension of news from Spain you are accustomed to having your difficulties. I wish for nothing so much as the progress of these new missions with noble and profitable despatch."

KINO DISCOVERS THE ISLAND OF SANTA INÉS, AND CAPE SAN VICENTE

At the same time energetic steps were being taken to plant missions on the Colorado River, an effort was also on foot to unite the struggling missions in Lower California with the thriving ones in Pimería Alta. In January 1706, Kino was appointed procurator of the new missions in Pimería Alta. On his way to Caborca, accompanied by Father Domingo Crescoli, who had recently been assigned to that mission, Kino passed by Tubutama where he was joined

by Father Minutili—that *Padre* desiring to go with him on an expedition into the newest and neediest field in Sonora, the region southwest of Caborca bordering the Gulf as far as modern Kino Bay. Leaving Father Crescoli at Caborca to enter upon his work there, Kino and Minutili proceeded toward the Gulf. They were well received by the natives, and, as the land in this section was sterile, the Indians were urged to go and live in the fertile lands near Caborca, since there was now a missionary to care for them. Some of them had already been as far as Caborca, upon the invitation of the head Pimas at that place, to help with planting, sowing, and building, and now they promised that they would gradually go and settle there.

The most important outcome of this missionary journey, however, was the discovery, in latitude 31 degrees, of the Island of Santa Inés, now called Tiburón Island. They also descried, about three leagues northwest of this island a point of land extending into the Gulf which they named Cape San Vicente. Concerning these discoveries Kino writes: "All those who behold with good disposition these new conquests and conversions, of Pimería as of California, have considered it an extremely great advantage that such a large territory as this Cape of San Vicente and the Island of Santa Inés, in the very favorable parallel of 31 degrees, exists for perfecting communication, with God's help, which can be effected in California between the Fathers who at present live in the Real and the Missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto Concho, at the parallel of 26 and 27 degrees, and the Fathers, who with Divine grace, live along the land-pass to California and in the very populous missions which there will be on the thickly-settled and very lively River Colorado."

PLANS FOR A SPANISH CITY ON THE COLORADO RIVER

By 1706, not only Kino and his fellow priests but the leading civil and military leaders as well were eager to plant a strong Spanish settlement on the Colorado River as an outpost and center of operations from which the Church could make advances into the north and northwest and from which Spain could extend its rule into this hitherto unconquered region.

In July 1706, General Juan Fernández de la Fuente wrote to Kino congratulating him upon his expeditions among the Indian tribes on, and beyond, the Colorado River, his success in winning their friendship and arousing in them the desire to become Christians, and the discovery of the land route to California as well as the short way by sea to Cape San Vincente. He declares that the *Padre's* charitable dealings with these Indians is doing much more to draw them into the Christian fold and submission to Spanish authority than could possibly have been done if the entry had been made with soldiers. He says he feels confident that, since the way is now opened to California by both land and sea, many will go to the Californias; and he expresses the hope that Fathers may soon be secured to bring to these friendly nations baptism and salvation.

September 7, of this same year, 1706, Captain Juan Díaz de Terán, the chief officer of the Crown in the Valley of Opodepe endorsed Kino's request for more missionaries for the Colorado River region with this strong statement: "And they brought to Father Kino pledges and earnestness of friendliness, crosses and bluish shells of the outer coast of California, besides other things of use from their settlements, by which means they seek the friendship and protection of the Spaniards and the peace of their souls, beseeching with persistence holy baptism and missionary Fathers to minister to them. Just at this time there has arrived here in the *pueblo* of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores a chief of San Marcelo who came a distance of ninety leagues with his wife and children asking the same thing as the others—Fathers to minister to them, etc. And I, having been present when these requests were addressed to Father Kino, certify and give true and faithful testimony to having seen and spoken, through an interpreter to the aforementioned chiefs and rulers of the nations referred to, and they also said that the Yuma and the Quiquima nations to the northwest also appeal to Father Kino with the same object of being Christianized."

As a grim bit of additional evidence that these Quiquimas earnestly desired Christianity I append the following incident that happened in March, 1706. While Kino was at Busánic helping with the erection of a church there an Indian scalp was brought to him as a gift from the chief

of the Quiquimas. The messenger explained that this was the scalp of the leading man of the nation on the west side of the Colorado immediately adjoining the Quiquimas, and that this chief had been killed because he was the only one opposed to the coming of the Christians into that region.

September 15, 1706, Kino's friend Manje, now a general, writes to the *Padre* the encouraging news that the Viceroy has assigned thirty additional soldiers for service in the Pimería and on the Colorado River. He says, further, that he is recommending to the Viceroy not only this re-enforcement of soldiers and more missionary Fathers, but also the founding of a *villa* on the Colorado to serve as a stronghold and rallying point for the reduction of the Moquis and the Apaches and other nations as far as the South Sea (Pacific Ocean). In his letter to the Viceroy, so he informs Kino, he also states that there is a good prospect of minerals in that region, and points out that if this *villa* were established it would serve as a refuge for the sailors from China when they touch the California shores.

UNREALIZED DREAMS

After 1706, Kino seems to have lost hope of ever securing the needed missionaries for the extension of his work into the northwest. He therefore ceased to record in his memoirs his activities in detail during the years 1707, 1708, and 1709; but in 1710, a year before his death, he wrote a long report to the King in which he summed up the results of missionary labor in California and Pimería Alta and set forth with fervor and clarity the advantages to be gained by the conquest and conversion of Upper California and contiguous parts of North America hitherto unknown. He thought there should be established in this great unknown area a new kingdom which he desired to have named "New Navarre."

As an evidence of the intense desire of these distant nations to have the Fathers come and baptize their people, Kino mentions that on a single occasion twenty native captains and governors visited Dolores from great distances asking for Fathers, some of them coming one hundred leagues. He tells of going along eighty leagues of the California coast among these tribes where the face of a white

man had never before been seen and relates that in a single great *ranchería* more than four hundred infants were brought to him for baptism. He declares that during twenty-one years of service in this region more than thirty thousand natives had shown their friendly interest in Christianity, and that he had himself baptised above four thousand and would have been able to convert and bring into the Church three or four times as many had it not been for lack of priests to instruct and catechise the people.

He assures the King that if the work of conversion in Pimería Alta were properly supported advances could be made to the north into the province of the Moquis, and that the powerful Apache nation could be brought into obedience to the Spanish rule. He points out that, as a result of these new conquests, it would be possible to reach the *villa* of Sante Fe in New Mexico and enter into trade relations with the inhabitants of that region. He argues, further, that by promoting these new conversions in lands he himself has already visited it would be possible to push on west through Upper California, in latitude 34, 35, or 36 degrees, and reach Monterey on the Pacific Ocean. His imagination is fired with the thought that by thus pressing on into the northwest a shorter route might be found to China and Japan; and he glows with the dream of crossing from the Colorado River to the Pacific Ocean and establishing there a port where the China ships may put in for trade and for the purpose of giving relief to sick sailors suffering from scurvy after their long voyage without fresh fruit or vegetables. He suggests that this port of call might be located at San Diego.

He proceeds to point out how this proposed kingdom of New Navarre will add to the glory of the Spanish Crown as well as to the honor and growth of the Catholic Church—and this with almost no expense, since the natives are already so Christianized and domesticated that they need no soldiers, both ruling themselves in orderly fashion and inflicting punishment upon evildoers. As a final argument he suggests that by continuing the work of conversion in these lands of the northwest correct maps may be made of these unknown regions.

Kino concludes his eloquent and comprehensive report with an account of the material resources of the region:

in climate "good and pleasant" with "neither too great heat nor too great cold"; rich in domestic animals of almost every kind and in fields of wheat and corn, gardens, orchards, vineyards, mineral resources, and abundant salt-beds. As for the natives, they are industrious and well-disposed, but at the same time brave in their own defense if attacked by rival tribes. And not only can they sow and harvest and raise stock, and catch fish; they also fabricate beautiful and useful articles from cotton and wool, make baskets, large and small, ornaments of bright-colored feathers, and garments and robes from rabbit, deer, and buffalo skins.

In the light of later events, one can but marvel at Kino's vision as well as his practical energy, and regret that he was not afforded the means to carry out his noble and practicable plans. His proposals as summarized in the preceding paragraphs would have anticipated by two generations the opening of ports at San Diego and Monterey, and the establishing of a regular land route from Sonora to the Pacific ports. A city would have been planted where Yuma now stands one hundred and forty years before it came to be, Serra would have achieved fame in some other field than California, and Garcés and his companion priests would not have suffered martyrdom on the Colorado. All that was done between 1769 and 1776, two generations later in the colonization and Christianization of California might have been accomplished two generations earlier—and, very possibly, with even greater glory for the Spanish nation and the Catholic Church. Truly Kino's genius was in advance of the age.

CHAPTER IX

PERSONALITY AND CHARACTER

Kino's life affords an example of perfect unity and singleness of purpose. His motto might well have been the passionate words of Paul: "this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." We can but marvel at the intensity and steadfastness of such men as Paul, and Kino, and John Wesley. Whence comes the initial force that propels them undeviatingly along a pre-conceived path of self-abnegating action toward the flaming goal of their desire? We are led to ask with Browning,

"The goodness—how did he acquire it!"

Was it self-gained, did God inspire it?"

And for answer we must reply that Kino, like other religious geniuses, was God-inspired and divinely endowed for the high purpose to which he consecrated all of his remarkable powers.

As with other religious heroes—Moses, Paul, and Wesley, for example,—his preparation was long and severe, and was carried on in the regular schools of learning of his time and country. In mental endowment he was the peer of the best minds of seventeenth century Europe. Few scholars of that age had a wider range of learning. At the time he so persistently begged to be sent to some missionary field the most distant and dangerous he was eminently fitted to shine in any University center in Europe. He chose deliberately to dedicate his great powers of intellect and his accumulated learning to the lowliest and the neediest of God's children in the out-of-the-way places of the world. The young Sir Philip Sidney declared that if there were any good wars he should attend them; and Thomas Paine affirmed, "Where liberty is not, there is my home": a still higher chivalry prompted Eusebio Francisco Kino to say in effect. "Where spiritual darkness broods deepest, there shall I make my camp, there set up the banners of Christianity and civilization."

In Kino was joined a steady, resolute will with an acute and trained intellect. Patient and unyielding he moved toward a given end. He was not lacking in suavity and enlightened diplomacy; but in all his dealings with his fellow men—whether friend or foe, Christian or pagan—we are able to sense a steel-like strength of purpose that gives assurance of ultimate victory. He was never lacking in humility; he ever yielded respectful obedience to his superiors; these qualities were thoroughly ingrained during his long discipline in the Jesuit Society; but, on the other hand, he never allowed a cherished aim or a well-conceived policy to die of inanition. We see examples of this in his persistent purpose, through eight years of discouragement, to be sent on an Indian mission; in his tenacious adherence to missionary activity in Lower California; and in the inflexible resolution with which he pressed his explorations into the northwest in order to establish once for all the peninsularity of California.

An intellect of very high order and a power of will not inferior to that of a Washington or a Wellington were reinforced by a quiet fearlessness that enabled him to enter unflinchingly upon very perilous undertakings, and to face with complete composure any danger whatsoever. From the first, he seems to have accepted the possibility of Christian martyrdom, not only with serenity and staunchness of spirit, but as a consummation much to be desired—as an achievement rather than a calamity. Dispensed thus from temporary, and ever-recurring feelings of fear or anxiety, he could move forward with an eye single to his high purpose. Foes might lie in wait by land and sea, the ocean might bellow, the heathen rage—it mattered not to him, for all eternity was his security. In blistering heat and blighting cold, on wide seas and waste deserts, among naked savages and cruel white men, over-endowed with power, he could pass unterrified with calm confidence, for he felt himself to be God's own ambassador; and, as for credentials, he had the assurance in his own soul of love, and compassion, and the desire to serve all men, God having "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

Kino gives no intimation that he recognized or responded to beauty as such. There is no evidence that he felt the lack

of aesthetic surroundings. If he does give expression to a sense of pleasure in the presence of beauty it is in connection with an arch, a transept, an altar, in one of his churches, or a picture of the Virgin. It may be doubted whether the splendor and sublimity of Nature spread out before him day by day and night by night in that sub-tropical blue-vaulted region that was his home for a quarter of a century ever stirred his emotions with a rapturous sense of natural beauty. One would think that at least once as he walked in the patio of his mission garden, or paced the cool cloisters, he would have breathed such sensations of joy from the surrounding scene, that he would set down in his diary some expression of his sensuous delight in the mere beauty of the world. If he lacked words of his own, he well knew where to turn for suitable imagery to interpret such a mood:

"Thou makest the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice. Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water: thou preparest them corn, when thou hast so provided for it. Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: thou settlest the furrows thereof: thou makest it soft with showers: thou blessest the springing thereof. Thou crownest the year with thy goodness; and thy paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness; and the little hills rejoice on every side. The pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing."

And how could he have failed on some one night of the many that he spent under the desert sky, stretched out on his sweat blanket with his saddle for pillow, gazing into the deep vault of heaven as the resplendent constellations wheeled by in majestic procession—thrilled with the spectacle—how could he fail to turn to the light of his campfire in order to give expression on paper to his sense of joy in the beauty and glory of God's handiwork! Surely familiar phrases from the Hebrew poets would have passed through his mind. Surely under such circumstances he must often have repeated to himself David's lovely song of the night: "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.

Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world. In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun." Kino may have felt all this, but we find no expression of it in emotional language.

As he and Salvatierra jog along on a bright spring day, it is not the fresh loveliness of the scene that has first place in Kino's heart, but the picture of Our Lady of Loreto. "At various spots along this road the roses and other flowers of various colors were so beautiful and charming that it seemed Nature had put them there as a reception to Our Lady of Loreto." Sometimes on gruelling journeys across the desert he would break camp between starlight and dawn in order to reach a distant watering place before the noon-day heat came on; but as he watched the miraculous transformations taking place in the eastern sky he seems to have had no stirrings of sensuous delight. He simply makes the entry in his journal that, at the rising of the morning star, he set out in order, betimes, to make the next waterhole thirty-five miles distant.

He had little opportunity to practice the social amenities—and little taste for them—apparently. Relaxations and pursuits that alleviate "life's sore spell of toil" were alien to his character or, at least, to his way of life. Domestic comforts, the love of woman, the joys of parenthood were of course denied him by his priestly vows. It does seem strange, though, that, in such records as we have from his own pen, there are no references to happy boyhood memories, no allusions to home delights and parental affection. He seems to have known nothing of the sweet and cherishing influence of woman. There grew up no doubt a deep and true friendship between the priest and the pious Duchess d'Aveiro, as is plainly seen from the long series of letters that he wrote to her between 1680 and 1687; but they never met, nor were their relations warmed by any glow of romantic sentiment. The sole tie of interest that united them was a burning zeal to find and convert darkest heathendom.

Kino was honored and loved by the companions with whom he labored, and there is no doubt that he was capable of cordial friendship. Yet we have no reason to suppose, lonely and remote even as was his condition, that there grew up between him and anyone of his fellow priests any such passionate attachment as drew David and Jonathan

together, or even such a closeness and warmth of comradeship and communion as that enjoyed by Junipero Serra and Fray Francisco Palóu. No doubt Salvatierra came nearer occupying the throne in Kino's affection than any other man; but they saw little of each other, and then only at long intervals; and their ardent friendship was kept alive chiefly by their mutual and passionate zeal for the conversion and welfare of their spiritual children, the California Indians.

As was said at the beginning of the chapter, the fact is, Kino's being was dominated by a single motive—the conversion, the care, and the eternal welfare of the Indians who came under his guidance as a missionary. Every thought was for them. His heart went out to them in genuine affection; he was convinced that they would be lost in time and eternity unless brought into the light of Christ's redemptive love. These ignorant savages, he believed, were God's children; they were his brothers; and he was responsible for their salvation. Kino respected and trusted the Indians. He writes about them in the same tenor, with the same seriousness and dignity of expression, that he would employ in commenting upon an European, or a fellow townsman. In reading some of his entries concerning the captains, governors and justices in this or that Indian pueblo, one is puzzled to know whether these leading men are Spaniards or Indians. No doubt the reason that they responded so remarkably to his teaching and his friendly overtures, and were transformed so rapidly from savages into civilized beings, was that he led them to honor themselves, to realize their capabilities for a higher life, and to recognize their responsibility to others.

KINO AS A PRACTICAL MAN OF AFFAIRS

As a man of action, an executive, a masterful doer of things worth doing, Kino stands out preëminent in the pioneer life of America. We can scarcely praise too highly his saintliness of character and his zeal as a missionary; but we must not overlook the fact that his greatness is immensely augmented when we come to study him as a forceful and resourceful man of affairs. His practical energy and efficiency was everywhere apparent; and solid evidence of his

constructive genius remains to this day throughout the Southwest.

Kino was almost single in power and responsibility throughout a vast region. The wide extent of the territory that he took under his care, its wildness and aridity, its forbidding fauna and flora, its exposure to continual assault from bloody and cruel tribes—all these things were enough to appall any but the most resolute and heroic. His missionary undertakings alone, extending as they did to the religious supervision of tens of thousands of natives whom he sought zealously to convert and train, would have been enough to tax the energies of a very able man; but, in addition to his innumerable duties as a priest, were those of a purely practical and administrative nature: planting and harvesting, building, stock-raising, exploration, the protection and active defense of his missions against Apache raids, note-taking, map-making, and correspondence with superiors and associates, both in Church and State. He was dealing with absolutely raw material so far as civilized ways are concerned. His helpers all had to be instructed in their unaccustomed tasks. He had to train his own Indian cooks, carpenters, farmers, stockmen, cowboys, and packers; and then was obliged to supervise both them and his inexperienced fellow priests. On the one hand, he was constantly exerting himself as a peacemaker among adjoining but hostile tribes and nations, and on the other hand, he was virtually assigned by the Spanish as minister of war in the Pimería Alta in the unending struggle between the Apaches and the white settlers.

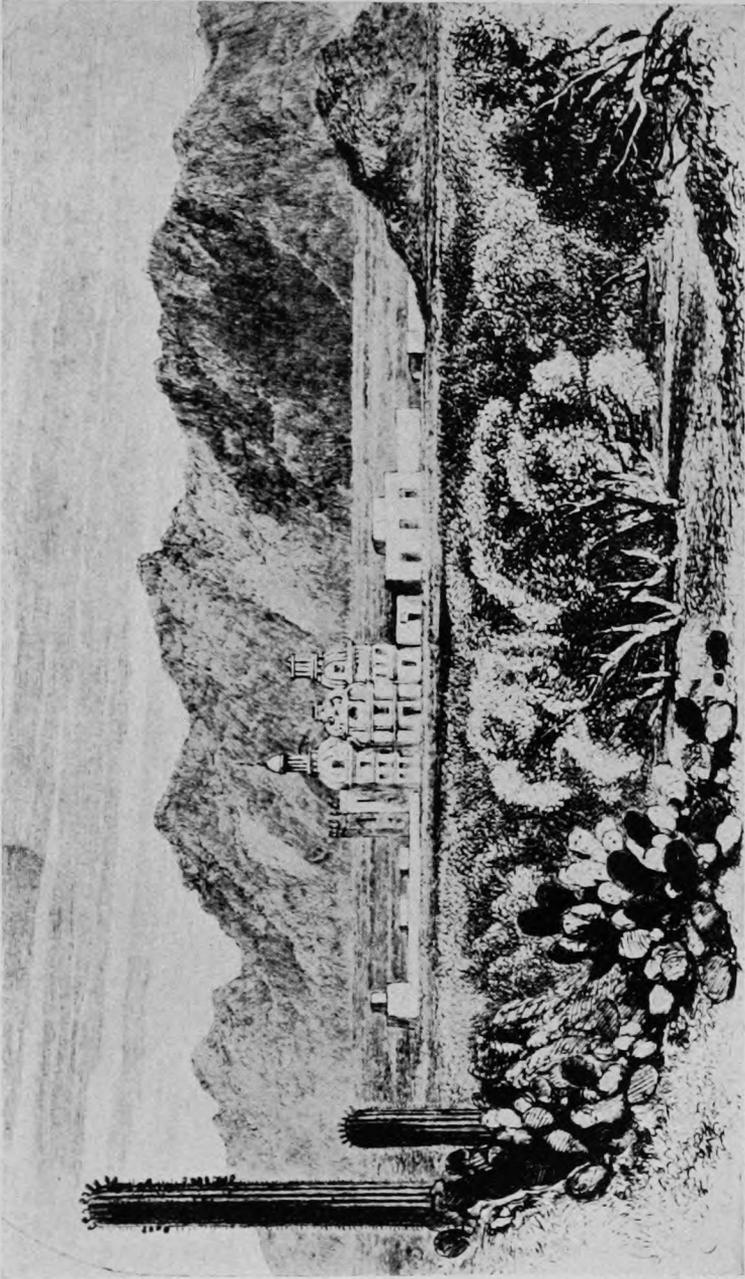
Moreover, Kino established and managed more than a dozen great ranches; built or supervised the building of scores of houses, and many churches; looked after the barter of ranch and farm products for supplies and store goods from neighboring Spanish towns; made provision on his prosperous ranches both for the sustenance of his settled converts, the extension of missionary work into new and remote regions, and the provisioning in times of need of military detachments on emergency frontier duty. The *Padre* had a very strong bent for exploration—prompted primarily, of course, by his missionary zeal—and his achievements in this field, supplemented as they were by valuable maps and geographical notes, added much both to his labors

and his fame. Besides, he carried on a continuous and heavy correspondence with many prominent people; nor was he freed from such burdens when he was absent from home on long expeditions into remote parts. Often while he was on the trail fast runners came to him from Dolores with urgent letters—just as they do to a general in the midst of a campaign—and these communications had to be answered at once.

Only a man of extraordinary energy, resourcefulness, and power of decision—to say nothing of mental poise and bodily endurance—could have met successfully through a long series of years these burdensome and insistent demands. Kino's qualities of initiative, endurance, foresight, decision, practical judgment, cool courage, and ability to supervise great undertakings are illustrated frequently in the record of his activities set down in his letters and diaries.

As an example of what has been written above, I summarize here Kino's varied activities on a particular expedition between April 21 and May 6, 1700. This is a period of just fifteen days. He spent four days covering the one hundred and forty miles between Dolores and San Xavier. He baptized six children and a sick woman enroute; at Remedios gave orders to the Indians concerning the building of the new church; conferred with his converts at Cocóspera, surveyed the new building they were erecting, and left instructions for the roofing of the church; at San Luis Bacoancos had a conference with the local justices as well as with five others who had come from Guevavi to meet him; took note of the progress being made in crops and buildings at Guevavi and San Cayetano; and then completed the trip on the twenty-fifth with a ride of fifty miles, arriving at San Xavier after dark.

At San Xavier he heard the news that a military expedition had been sent against the Soba Indians near the Gulf. On the morning of the twenty-sixth, he sent messengers to the San Pedro River on the east, the Gila on the north, and to the Colorado far in the northwest, inviting justices, captains, and governors from these remote parts of the Pimeria to meet him at San Xavier for the purpose of talking with him about the blue shells, so that he might determine with all certainty exactly where they came from and find out all he could about a land passage to California. It took a week



Deserted Mission of San Xavier del Bac. Reproduced by permission of The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery from *Notes on an Overland Journey*—London, Richard Bentley, 1859.—by Julius Froebel.

for the chief men to come in. During this time, Kino was busy each day, both morning and afternoon, in catechizing and instructing the people who gathered about him to the number of three thousand. He had three beeves killed for food, and directed the planting of a large field of corn for the church. In addition to other activities, he baptized five children on the twenty-seventh; and on the twenty-eighth began the foundations of the large church of San Xavier, supervising in person the crowd of laborers—some of whom he set to digging the foundations, others to hauling stones, and still others to mixing mortar and laying the foundation walls. April 29 he went on with the work of building and met and talked with various captains and justices who were already arriving from the San Pedro and the Gila. At sunrise on the thirtieth, a courier brought him letters from Dolores, having covered the distance of one hundred and forty miles in a day and a half and two nights. This same day the *Padre* made a journey to the north through San Cosme to San Agustín, to see whether there were any infants or sick people to baptize. At San Cosme he administered the rite of baptism to six children and one adult, and, at San Agustín, to three infants. Returning to San Xavier at nightfall, after his ride of ten leagues, he met many new chiefs who had arrived for the conference. They talked far into the night.

May 1, letters came to the *Padre* from a detachment of Spanish soldiers, then at Busánic a hundred miles to the southwest. On this same day, also, in the afternoon and evening, many more officials arrived, and again Kino spent most of the night in conversation with his Indian friends from all parts. May 2, having baptized three persons and solemnized two marriages, Kino began his return journey to Dolores, and reached San Cayetano, fifty miles distant, that night. The next morning he was up at sunrise to say mass.

There are few examples of Kino's celerity and endurance to match the activities of these first three days of May. Let it be remembered that he had been up very late on the nights of both April 30 and May 1, and that on May 2 had ridden fifty miles. Tired as he must have been from the strenuous labors of the past few days, he was now, at sunrise on May 3, called to meet an emergency that taxed

every power of his iron frame and resolute will. The summons was in the form of a letter from Father Campos, his fellow priest at San Ignacio. The letter stated that an unfortunate runaway Indian had been captured by the soldiers and was to be beaten to death on the morning of May 4. Campos urged Kino to come at once to help save the life of the delinquent.

Kino calmly proceeded with the morning mass, took time to reply to a letter received two days before, and then mounting his horse rode sixty-two miles to Imuris, which he reached just before midnight. Very early the next morning he said mass in San Ignacio, and then with the aid of Campos saved the Indian's life. Kino had ridden seventy miles between sunrise and sunrise, after a journey of fifty miles on the previous day. Any hardened sheriff in the wildest days of the Southwest might have been proud of such an exploit.

On May 6, the *Padre* was home again at Dolores.

A NOTABLE EXPEDITION TO THE COLORADO RIVER

It was on his exploring trips that Kino gave the most remarkable examples of energy, hardihood, celerity, and resourcefulness. I always read with amazement his account of an entry from Dolores to the Colorado River, September 24 to October 20, 1700. He seems always to have been at his best when he had with him only his own Indian officers, packers, and cowboys. I suspect that his customary speed was too great for his fellow *padres* and attendant soldiers when they accompanied him.

On this expedition to the Colorado in the early autumn of 1700, Kino traveled more than seven hundred miles in twenty-six days. During that time he baptized forty-two individuals at various points along the way, on several occasions met large companies of Indians who had come many leagues to consult him, arranged by messengers for conferences on his return journey with Indians at distant *rancherías*, everywhere preached to throngs of natives, said mass, surveyed his various ranches, gave instructions concerning the building, appointed new governors and justices, sent messages and presents to remote tribes he could not visit, exerted himself to bring about peace agreements between

the Cocomaricopas and Yumas—in short, confounded the devil in general. Often his sermons and conversations with the Indians extended far into the night, and nearly all the time when he was not on the march he was surrounded by crowds of friendly, but strange and inquisitive Indians.

His prime object on this trip was to satisfy himself that there was a passage by land to California, so he made the most minute observations. Three times he made detours in order to ascend high hills from which he could view wide stretches along the river, at the head of the Gulf, and beyond far into California. He was able, also, to draw from a well-informed chief of the Yumas full information about the Indian nations on both sides of the Colorado; and he met and addressed a thousand of the natives who had come together from various places along the river, some of them even swimming across from the western shore to see him, and, if possible persuade him to visit them.

He made greater daily marches than ever on the return journey. October 12, he rose two hours before dawn and traveled that day fifty-four miles. In his entry for the thirteenth he writes that he rested at San Marcelo. His rest consisted, according to the account, of catechizing the Indians, baptizing eight people, counting the cattle on the ranch there, killing a beef, and making plans with the chief officers of San Marcelo to accompany him on his return journey to Dolores. October 14 he rode thirty miles and preached at night; the next day he traveled fifty miles and at the end of the journey met and talked with twelve hundred natives from various places; the sixteenth he made forty miles; and the seventeenth he preached and baptized infants before setting out for Tubutama, his next stopping place, and then traveled fifty-four miles, arriving at his destination by moonlight.

FATHER LUIS VELARDE'S ACCOUNT OF KINO'S DEATH

Since no portrait of Kino has ever come to light, it is fortunate that a friend who knew him long and well should have told us in an intimate way what manner of man he was, and the simple circumstances of his death. This Rev. Father Luis Velarde, Kino's successor in the Rectorship of Pimería Alta, has done. The account appears in

Chapter IX of Captain Juan Mateo Manje's *Light on Unknown Lands*. No serious study of the life and character of Kino could omit this passage. As the language and structure are somewhat rough and confused in the original, and even in the best translations that I have seen, I take some liberties in rendering the passage.

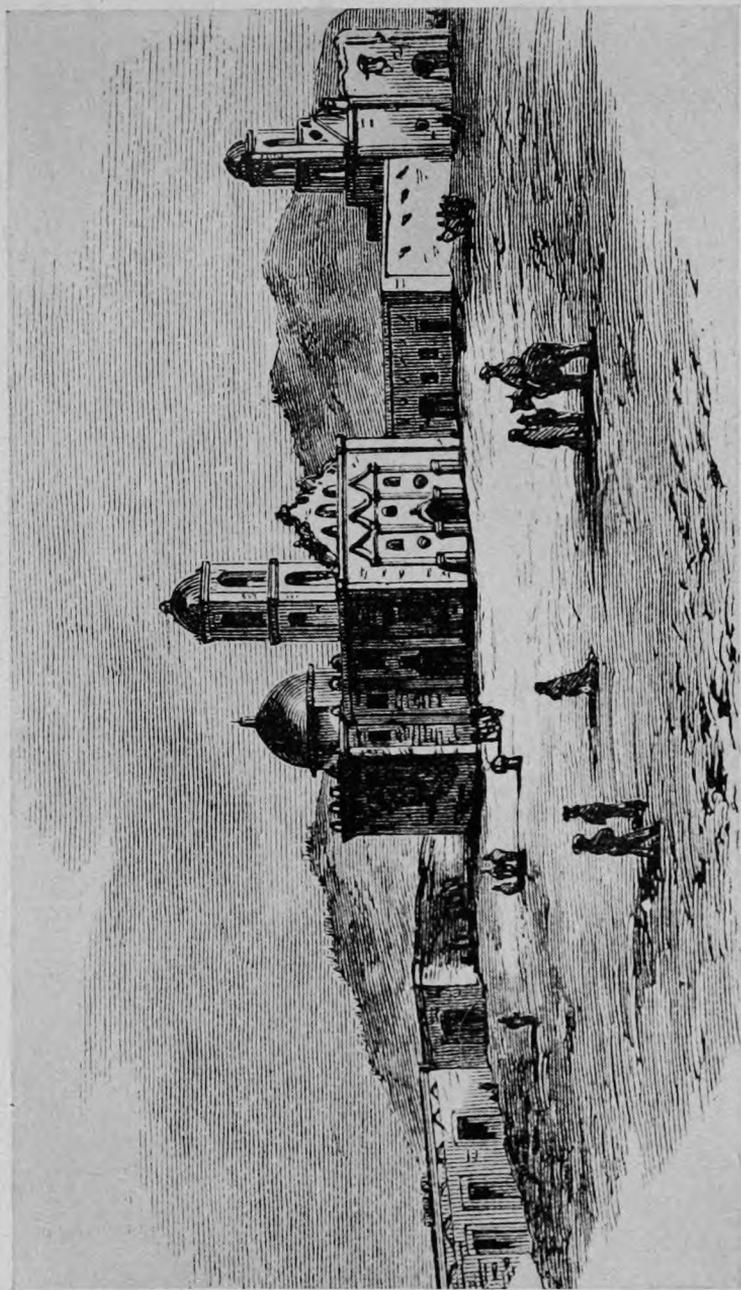
“. . . (The Jesuit missionaries) have held on in this Pimería and extended the Faith. Credit for this is due chiefly (making allowance for the intercession of Divine Providence) to the zeal and efforts of Fathers Eusebio Francisco Kino and Agustín de Campos; for though at times there have been other fathers, these two have almost always carried on the work alone.

“Father Kino, mentioned above, died in 1711, having spent twenty-four years in glorious hardships in this Pimería which he explored as thoroughly in the forty trips that he made as two or three fervent workers could have done. He was almost seventy* at the time of his death, and he died, as he had lived, in the greatest humility and poverty, not even undressing during his last illness and having for his bed—as he had always had—two sheep skins for a mattress, and two small blankets of the sort that the Indians use for cover, and for his pillow a pack-saddle. Father Agustín's urgings could not persuade him to any other thing.

“He died in the Father's house, where he had gone to dedicate a rare chapel that he had finished a short time before in his church of Santa Magdalena, consecrated to San Francisco Xavier, deceased, whose whole body was represented with admirable workmanship on its gilded casket. While singing the dedication mass, he became sick; and it seems that this Holy Apostle (to whom he was always very devoted) called him, so that, being interred in his chapel, he might keep the inanimate effigy company; and even, as we believe, since he had imitated the original in apostolic labors, might accompany him in glory.

“Let me be permitted to add what I observed during the eight years that I was with him. His conversation had to do chiefly with the sweet names of Jesus and Mary, and the conversion of the gentiles, for whom he always offered prayers to God; and in the devotions of the breviary he wept

*He was not yet sixty-six.



Church at Magdalena, 1865—Father Kino was buried in the Chapel at the right. From *Adventures in the Apache Country*, by J. Ross Browne.

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and found edification for himself in the lives of the saints whose virtues he preached to us. When he reproved such as had publicly sinned, I came to realize that by nature he was hot-tempered; but, if someone slighted him personally, he restrained his temper to such an extent as to praise habitually the one who ill-treated him with insults or curses in words, or writing, or in deed, using such superlatives as 'most agreeable,' 'most esteemed,' and other expressions of courtesy and gratitude; and if it was to his face, he went and embraced the one who gave the insult saying: 'Your grace is and must be my most beloved master, whether you wish it or not.' Then, perhaps, he went and laid the slights before Our Saviour and his Mother of Sorrows, whose temple he entered a hundred times a day to pray. And after supper when we were all in bed he would go into the church; and, even though I sat up half the night reading, I never saw him come out to get his sleep, which was very scant.

"At one o'clock one night, by chance, he was seen lashing himself cruelly and excessively. His food was always taken without salt, and was mixed with herbs to make it more disagreeable; and no one saw in him any vice with which to charge him. To discover lands, and win souls, and to be much in prayer were the virtues of *Padre Kino*, so he was free from suspicion of sensual indulgence. He neither smoked, nor took snuff, nor drank wine, nor took his ease in bed; indeed, so true was this that he used wine only when he celebrated the mass, nor did he have any other couch than the saddle blankets of his horse and two light coverlets. He never took snuff, nor smoked, nor used white linen, except two coarse shirts, because he gave everything away to the Indians as alms. He was charitable to all, but to himself cruel in subduing his body. In the fierce fevers that attacked him, he ate nothing for six days. He would arise only to celebrate the mass, and then lie down again; so, worn out and exhausted nature had its way."

