

THE CONTRIBUTION OF EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO, S.J.  
TO THE EXPLORATION AND CIVILIZATION OF THE  
AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

by

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14287

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## Preface

Viewed in the light of permanent achievement the Spanish Jesuits made more important contributions to American civilization than did their French brothers. It is erroneously believed that the labors of the Jesuits in North America were confined to the northern and eastern parts of the United States and Canada. Perhaps this is due to the fact that historians have dwelt on their accomplishments in these sections. Francis Parkman in his history, The Jesuits in North America, has completely omitted the heroes of New Spain and has put the emphasis solely on those of New France.

The part played by the Jesuits in our Southwest has been neglected. Only of late Herbert Bolton, Frank Lockwood and others have been influential in bringing this phase of our history into prominence. It is time that this should be done for as Bolton has said:

"In one respect the Indian policies of the Latin countries differed essentially from those of the Saxons. The Latins considered the Indian worth civilizing and his soul worth saving. This was due largely to the influence of the Church. So in Brazil, Spanish America, and New France the missionary played a conspicuous role. There Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and others labored on every border, and founded Indian missions and Indian schools. The brilliant Parkman made widely known the heroic work of the Jesuits in New France. Less famous in Saxon circles is the equally heroic and vastly more extensive work of the Jesuits in Spanish and Portuguese America. In colonial Mexico alone there were probably ten times as many Jesuits as in New France." (1)



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1. Herbert Bolton, "The Epic of America", American Historical Review, April, 1933, 38: 452-453.
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Many of the manuscripts in existence in Madrid, Havana and Mexico City give us the details of the labors which the pioneers in this field experienced. However, we find there is a scarcity of works published in English on the subject available in our own libraries.

Within the last two decades there has been a movement on foot to bring into a place of due emphasis those characters of the southwestern pioneer days who contributed to beginnings there. Biographies have appeared and praises sung of Father Junipero Serra, Francisco Garces and Juan Maria Salvatierra, but until recently few attempts have been made at a biography of Padre Kino, one of the most admirable but long obscure figures among our pioneers.

Several causes contributed to the oblivion into which Kino's works fell. Written records done in Kino's own handwriting were lacking. At first his Relaciones were in manuscript form and were accessible only to writers in the Company of Jesus. Then they were buried and forgotten in the archives of Mexico. Venegas, historiographer of California knew about this work and he cites it on two occasions, once as the History of the Mission of Sonora and again as the History of Sonora.

Jose Ortega, the author of Apostolicos Afanes knew about Kino's work, also, and his Libro II is no more than an extract from it, although Ortega does not mention this. (2)

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2. Publicaciones del Archivo General de la nacion, VIII: 12-13.

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Clavigero and Alegre, historians of the second half of the eighteenth century knew nothing of the Relaciones as by that time they had been lost.

Then, after a century and a half of oblivion, in the twentieth century Herbert Eugene Bolton discovered Kino's written account of his missions and became the official biographer of this character. To him history owes a debt of no small size for his untiring efforts not only in opening up invaluable source material and unearthing original documents but also in covering the actual itinerary of Kino and his companions.

Kino's manuscript which he calls Favores Celestiales gives the best account we shall ever possess of the beginnings of California, Arizona and Sonora from 1683 to 1711.

The writer of the present thesis feels that there is still matter to be discussed in regard to Father Kino. Bolton has pictured the 'Apostle to the Pimas', who was inspirer of Salvatierra, trail breaker for Anza, untiring missionary to the Indians, and unfolded his life story as a fascinating drama, scene after scene - perils, adventures, hardships, dramatic episodes, mighty undertakings, hidden virtues - all embraced because the priest had learned the meaning of Christ's words: "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whold world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" Still it seems to the writer that there is room left for her to present evidence and develop proof of the value of Kino's works in the Southwest in

a more emphatic way than has yet been done. The writer intends to give not merely a biography of Kino but rather to bring together those points which prove with the aid of source material that he made an important contribution to the civilization of the South west.

Bolton's translation entitled Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta has been used constantly in the preparation of this thesis. The work of Frank Lockwood of the University of Arizona has also been drawn upon. He is an ardent student of Arizona pioneers, and of Kino in particular. Through his efforts a committee is now endeavoring to erect a suitable Kino Memorial either at Tucson or at San Xavier.

Since this paper was begun notice has been received that Hollywood has caught the spirit of true romance, not the romance commonly termed sentimental, but the true romance of adventure. Under the title "Father Kino, a Saga of the Southwest," Universal Pictures has produced an interesting short subject covering the trail of this famous Jesuit who journeyed on foot and by horseback over the Southwest to bring the light of Christ to the Indians. Perhaps the picture will lead people to ask the question: "What did Father Kino really do?" This paper is written in an attempt to answer that question.

### Acknowledgments

The writer of this thesis wishes to express publicly her indebtedness and sincere appreciation to all the professors of the Marquette University Graduate School under whom she has been privileged to pursue courses of study. She wishes to express no small debt of gratitude to the Reverend Raphael H. Hamilton, S.J., Dean of the Graduate School and professor of history, whose classes have been the source of stimulation and inspiration which led to the choosing of the particular topic treated in this thesis. The writer is also grateful for the suggestions and liberal help received from Father Hamilton in the preparation of the thesis.

She wishes also to acknowledge the courteous treatment and help received from the librarians of the University Library and the Milwaukee Public Library and also of the Newberry Library in Chicago, where works relating to the achievements of Father Kino are contained in the Ayer Collection.

## Chapter I

### Introduction

To obtain a true appreciation of Kino's influence it is essential to begin by visualizing the stage-set on which he appeared toward the latter part of the seventeenth century.

In the beginning the most striking Spanish motive for exploration of the new world was threefold: "gold, glory and gospel." The entire sixteenth century is filled with tales and deeds of the Spanish conquistadores whose work consisted in leading expeditions to the New World for the purpose of making permanent conquests for the crown and of bringing back knowledge of the peoples and territories conquered and of the riches found. In North America adventurers sought the Fountain of Youth, the Seven Cities of Cibola, the Island of the Amazons, Quivira and other places of wealth. Though these were never found, quest for them lured the explorers into remote corners.

And from the earliest Spanish days, on every expedition, whether of exploration, conquest or colonization, the religious accompanied the military. The Cross was constantly in the front rank with the sword. Thus religion played a large part in civilization.

Early in this pageant of Spanish conquest Spaniards made their approach toward Californian conquest both by land and by sea. When Cortes, in 1521, conquered Mexico, Lower California was veiled with mystery. Many attempts were made to explore it, and finally in 1535 Cortes himself, accompanied by Ulloa entered the Bay of La Paz and called the land Santa Cruz. Thus



to him goes the credit of discovering California.

In 1540 Alarcon, commissioned by Viceroy Mendoza sailed up the Gulf and well into the Colorado River without realizing that California was a peninsula.

A sensational advance was made in 1542 when Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, sent by Mendoza to explore the outer coast of California, touched at La Paz and then sailed along the west coast of California as far as present day San Diego Bay. On January 3, 1543, Cabrillo met with accidental death but his expedition continued under Ferrelo reaching 42 degrees, the boundary of present day California.

A half century then passed with no significant voyages, until in 1596, Phillip II ordered the viceroy to send out voyages of exploration to colonize in California.

The English sea-dogs appearing in the Pacific were a threat and Spain realized she now must colonize California or lose her position on the west coast of America.

As a result Sebastian Vizcaino, accompanied by four Franciscans set sail. A landing was made at Santa Cruz and the first attempt at a mission in Lower California was undertaken. Lack of supplies, however, forced Vizcaino to return to Mexico. In 1602 he made a subsequent voyage on which he explored the Californian coast as far as the fortieth parallel. (1)

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1. Herbert Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands, Chapter IV relates the journeys of Coronado, Cabrillo, and Vizcaino.

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With the death of Phillip II came a change. Spanish power waned. Private enterprise began to develop and individuals



sought wealth from the pearl industry on the coast of Lower California. Colonization remained at a standstill, and as for the Indian - he was exploited and alienated instead of converted.

While the activities cited were being carried on by sea, others were undertaken by land. Following Cortes came Nuno de Guzman. From 1529 to 1531 he reduced the country to the northwest of Mexico City as far as Sinaloa. In February 1540, Coronado, accompanied by Fray Marcos de Niza, in an expedition planned on a grand scale set out, passed through Sonora and turned toward New Mexico probably reaching Kansas. (2)

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## 2. Ibid., 101

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About a half century later Onate appeared on the scene as Royal Governor of New Mexico. On one of his expeditions which covered a period from 1595 to 1605 he descended the Colorado and in 1601 reached the vicinity where his successor, Peralta, founded Santa Fe in 1609. About this same period mission settlements were attempted among the Hopi Indians by Father Martinez and his band of Franciscans. They were received coldly by these Indians and the missions enjoyed very little success. Other attempts at exploration and colonization were made in this region up to 1680 but no permanent settlements were established. (3)

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## 3. Ibid., 170-177

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Disaster came in August, 1680 under the name of the Pueblo Revolt which was a disastrous and bloody revolt among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, and which put an end to the work of the padres. Almost every trace of Catholic occupancy was obliterated at the time and the Spanish were expelled from the territory.

The Revolt was led by the Indian Medicine Man known as El Pope who was a member of the Tejua tribe. Cleverly planned and executed it was directed against the Spaniards who were attempting to utilize the Indian labor in the mines. El Pope had convinced the Indians of all the pueblos that the priests and governors meant to enslave them. The Medicine Man sent messengers to all the pueblos. The massacre was planned for concerted action. The toll was great, over four hundred whites were murdered including eighteen padres. El Pope then set himself up as ruler of the pueblos. (4)

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#### 4. Ibid., 179

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After the Pueblo Revolt no further attempts were made at permanent settlement in Arizona until the coming of Father Kino. (5)

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#### 5. Rufus Wyllys, Pioneer Padre, 70

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A quotation from Forrest gives us a panoramic view of the vast field over which the early explorers and padres travelled as civilizing and christianizing agents.

"Winding north from the City of Mexico across two thousand miles of wild, rugged mountains and sun-blistering desert, where men go mad for a drink of water, is a trail which dates back to the ancient civilization of America; a trail marked by the bones of Spanish priests and the ruins of missions they built to save the souls of the heathen Indians of the Southwest. Such is the "Trail of the Padres", the most historic, the most romantic, the most pathetic in all the world; christened long years ago in the life-blood of those Spanish fathers of old as they carried the word of God into the unknown desert lands.

Those in quest of ancient and unusual places have overlooked this 'trail', and know little of it except in a vague, mythical way. Yet white men had followed it for many years before the pilgrim fathers landed at Plymouth; and for nearly two centuries before the Declaration of Independence was signed it was the only route from old Mexico to what is now New Mexico and Arizona.

This trail of the Padres is like an octopus with a thousand tentacles. It begins at the City of Mexico, but it had no end. Its many branches penetrate to every corner of the old Southwest, where ancient churches and ruins stand silent and lonely far out on the desert, monuments of an historic past. Those crumbling walls were ruins long years before the California missions were built. Each had its romance, its tale of suffering and martyrdom.

The history of this trail is the greatest romance of all time." (6)

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6. Earle Forrest, Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest, 25-26.
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## Chapter II

Coming of Padre Kino

In writing of the missionaries who assumed the responsibility of bringing Christianity to the natives of the Southwest Bolton says:

"Only with extreme difficulty can we of this twentieth century age comprehend the ideal which inspired the missionary pioneers of our Southwest. We can understand why man should struggle to conquer a wilderness for the wealth which it will yield; tunnel mountains to bring forth gold from their interior; build roads of steel, through, or under them to develop and transport their treasure; construct great irrigation works to cause the desert to bloom; or apply science to the art of agriculture in order to make two blades grow where formerly there was but one. All of these kinds of efforts to exploit the wealth of an undeveloped country and make it habitable by civilized man we can understand and we approve. But almost uncomprehensible to us is the sixteenth century ideal which brought to the Southwest its first pioneers of European civilization - the brown-mantled Franciscan and the black-robed Jesuit missionaries." (1)

1. Herbert Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 15-16

Foremost among these heroic figures was Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, whom Lockwood describes as one of the greatest characters in American history and the most eminent figure in the Southwest. This great contemporary of Marquette and La Salle was born in the village of Segno which is located in the Province of Trent, Italy. There has been much controversy regarding Kino's nationality and also the spelling of his name. Bancroft calls him Eusebius Kuhns and refers to him as a German; Bolton in his earlier writings locates Kino's



birthplace in the Austrian Tyrol; however, in later works he has come to agreement with the Jesuit biographer, Father Campbell and with Lockwood and Wyllys who have done more recent research in this matter, giving definite credit to Italy as the fatherland of this great Apostle. (2)

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## 2. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom

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The Reverend F.G. Holweck, editor of the St. Louis Pastoralblatt wrote to Reverend Simon Weber at Trent and learned that Kino was born in Segno where the family still carries the Italian name of Chini. Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., bibliographer of the Society of Jesus, obtained like information. He proves that Bancroft was wrong since the pioneer was never known as Kuhn. However, the mistake may have arisen due to the fact that since 951 the homeland of Kino had been a German fief, since the Bishop of Trent was a German prince and voted in the German Diet. Then too, Father Kino spoke German more than Italian since he was educated in lands under the dominion of the Hapsburg Emperors.

Bolton says of Kino; "Repeatedly he called himself a German, and he would have taken it as an insult of the gravest kind, had anyone doubted his loyalty to his Emperor." (3)

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## 3. Herbert Bolton, "Was Father Francis Eusebius Kinus an Italian?", Catholic Historical Review, 1922, New Series 2: 275-7

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Due to the efforts of Lockwood we can now trace fully the ancestry of this pioneer. This information has come to light through a correspondence carried on between Mr. Benedetto Chini,

of the same lineage as Kino, now living in Rovereto, Italy and Lockwood. Hearing of the movement in Arizona to honor Father Kino's memory by the erection of a suitable memorial, Mr. Chini set himself to the task of removing obscurities as to Kino's name and birthplace. One of the most valuable results of this correspondence has been the discovery of six letters written in Latin by Father Kino. These, now in Lockwood's possession are published for the first time in English and are quoted later in this chapter. (4)

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4. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 22-23

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A marble tablet commemorating Father Kino's birth has been erected in Segno and placed in front of St. Mary's Church there. The inscription chiselled there reads as follows:

"Among these walls of the ancient boundary was born on the 10th of August, 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; undunting explorer, committed, in learned volumes, precious documents concerning these unexplored lands to future generations." (5)

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5. Ibid., 15

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Benedetto Chini has also erased obscurity in regard to Kino's cognomen. He says:

"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 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." (6)

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6. Ibid., 17-18.

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Bolton gives two explanations for the missionary's change in the spelling of his own name. He says:

"While in New Spain the Jesuit usually wrote his name Kino, and Spaniards sometimes spelled it Quino, to preserve the hard sound of the ch, no doubt." (7)

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7. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, 28.

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The second explanation is from an entirely different view.

"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. But this did not end the trouble. Kino is pronounced the same as Keno, the well-known gambling game, today popular on transatlantic ocean liners. And now Kino is the German word for cinematograph, or 'movie'. Hence the recent appeal from Italy by a member of the missionary's family that I write the name Chini, 'because Kino smacks too much of Hollywood.' But the missionary himself determined the spelling of his name in America, and I shall respect his preference." (8)

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8. Herbert Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 20.

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Kino's name and origin were Italian but his education showed strong German influence. Of his early years we know little due to lack of records obtainable. He attended the Jesuit college at Innsbruck and that at Trent, where from

his childhood he showed an interest and aptitude in the studies of geography and mathematics. When a youth of eighteen he entered the University of Freiberg and it was during his studies here that he decided to dedicate his life to religion. His decision was made upon his recovery by a narrow margin from a very serious illness. He gave the credit for the restoration of his health to St. Francis Xavier and as a proof of his gratitude he determined to devote his life to the conversion of the heathen. Accordingly, we find him entering the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus on November 10, 1665 and henceforth adding Fransisco to his name. Years later, when in America, Kino wrote;

"To the most glorious and the most pious thaumaturgus and apostle of the Indies, San Fransisco Xavier, we all owe very much. I owe him first my life, of which I was caused to despair by the physicians of the city of Hala, of Tiroel, in the year 1663; second, my entrance into the Society of Jesus; third, my coming to these missions. And because I know that I owe and do not know whether or not I pay, I beg and entreat all the celestial court and all the earthly universe to aid me in giving him due thanks for so many celestial favors bestowed upon the most unworthy of all the earth." (9)

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9. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir, 97-98

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The next record we have of Kino shows him in 1667 beginning his philosophical studies at the University of Ingolstadt. In 1670, when he was about to complete his studies here he wrote a letter to the Father General which shows how keen was his wish to administer to the Indian. We read in his letters his patience, humility and determination.

"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 most 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 sacrifice of the Mass of Your Reverence, and 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." (10)

10. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on The Trail, 22-23.

As it happened again and again Kino's petition was left ungranted at that time. Instead he was sent to Innsbruck to be an instructor in letters at the College of Ala. Here he remained until 1673, meanwhile, however, renewing his efforts in behalf of his missionary work. On January 31, 1672, he wrote again 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 these 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 Amryn 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 in 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." (11)

11. Ibid., 23-24

After a second denial Kino addressed a third petition begging for a mission assignment.

"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 to 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 Sacrifice 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." (12)

12. Ibid., 24

But the time had not yet come for Kino to give up his studies so he returned to Ingolstadt in 1673 to follow his four year course in Theology. From that city, on February 25, 1675, he wrote his fourth appeal. In it he refers to his interest in mathematics which was to influence his career at various points.

"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 this 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 the 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 a 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 sacrifice 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." (13)

13. Ibid., 25-26

Instead of being sent to the missions when he had finished his course of studies Kino was next employed as an instructor of mathematics at Ingolstadt because of special talent in the field. Here in 1676 he entered into a mathematical discussion with the Duke of Bavaria who had come on a visit with his father, the Elector. So impressed with his ability were they that they wanted him to accept a professional chair, a high honor indeed for a scholar not yet thirty years of age. Kino preferred, however, to become a missionary to foreign lands, and so from Oettingen, Bavaria

where he had gone for his third and final probation he again addressed the Father General as follows:

"The Very Reverend Father in Christ

The Peace of Christ

With such great joy of soul have I learned within the last few days that the Indian Missionaries are being enrolled that I cannot do otherwise that, 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 instruction 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 Sacrifice of the Mass of Your Reverence.

March 17, 1678 at Old Settling  
Of Your Most Reverend Paternity  
The servant in Christ  
Eusebius Chinus, S.J." (14)

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14. Ibid., 26

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This fifth letter brought immediate accession to Kino's fond desire. From Genoa he wrote the last of his six letters

to the Father General to thank him for giving assent to his prayers.

"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 most 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 Trenton 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 God, at all times safe, at all times unharmed; especially were we everywhere 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 within two days. There is, however, at present no opportunity for going by sea to Cadix; 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  
Sacrifice 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."  
(15)

15. Ibid., 27-28

And so in April, 1678 Father Kino set out to realize at last the fulfillment of a long prayed for mission. He reached Genoa and sailed thence on June 12 for Cadiz. The journey was slow and hazardous due to warlike times, pirates, and dangerous seas. Another disappointment tried his patience further. The ship arrived in Cadiz just too late to catch the flota for Vera Cruz. This resulted in a delay of two years during which Kino, as well as his companions made good use of his time, studying the Spanish language, mathematics and astronomy and devoting time to the subject of navigation, the compass and the sun-clock.

It was also during this delay in Seville that Kino began a correspondence with a famous lady, the Duchess d' Aveiro Y de Maqueda. This noble woman was a patron of the missions and was especially interested in China. Kino appealed to her for influence in being sent to the Orient. His letters to the Duchess now deposited in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California, constitute an important source of information concerning Kino's movements during 1680 and 1681. In speaking of the letters Bolton says:



"Little did the young Jesuit dream that one day in the twentieth century these letters to a lady whom he had never seen would be sold to an American library at the rate of \$235.00 a page. I have heard of a higher price being paid for letters to a lady, but not letters by a missionary." (16)

16. Herbert Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 26

Finally on May 3, 1681, Kino arrived in Vera Cruz after a voyage of ninety-six days. From there journeying by mule he reached Mexico City in June.

Almost immediately upon his arrival Kino was brought into the limelight through a discussion with a learned creole, Siguenza y Gongora concerning the comet of 1680. These two men clashed sharply on their opinion. As a result of the discussion Kino published a dissertation entitled "Exposicion Astronomica de la Cometa, que el Ano de 1680 por los meses de Noviembre y Diciembre, y este Ano de 1681, por los meses de Enero y Febrero, se ha visto en toda el mundo, y le ha observada en la Ciudad de Cadiz, El P. Eusebio Fransisco Kino de la Compania de Jesus." (17)

17. Hubert Bancroft, North Mexican States and Texas, 251

Father Kino sent one hundred copies of this thirty page pamphlet to the Duchess for distribution in Europe. Kino believed Siguenza's Manifiesto published previously had been an attack upon the doctrine of the Church. Siguenza had not meant it as such.

Siguenza published a reply but Kino had left Mexico City and undoubtedly never heard of the reply as he was busy ever after with more important duties. However, the discussion had an important affect in that it brought Kino to the attention of the viceroy.

This was Padre Kino's introduction to the New World.



## Chapter III

The Indians Encountered

The Indians were ever Padre Kino's first concern and his entire life in the New World was subservient to their welfare and spiritual salvation. Again, like Xavier, his guiding motto seemed to be, "Give souls, only souls, only souls, give to me." Inspired as were men like Beethoven and Giotto to make men see the beautiful in art and music, so was Kino to bring Christianity to the Indians. Bolton summarizes the padre's concern for them in these words:

"Kino regarded the poor natives as his personal wards. He loved them with a real affection, and ever stood ready to minister to their bodily wants or to defend them against false charges or harsh treatment. He dwelt with pleasure on all evidence of friendship shown by the Indians, and recorded every indication of their intelligence. He took sincere delight in instructing them and in satisfying their childish curiosity regarding such things as the compass, the sun dial, the lens with which he started fires, and the meaning of the symbols used in his maps." (1)

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1. Herbert Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 38-39

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The missionary's method of approach to his charges followed a definite plan, and it was a plan used almost universally in converting the red man in Spanish America. First of all, the confidence of the native was gained with bribes of food such as maize, pozole, which was a kind of a porridge prepared from boiled beans and barley, and pinole, a corn-meal dough. Often trivial gifts were distributed. Their fears dispelled, the Indians would crowd about the missionary, curious about his

crucifix, his rosary, his sun dial, and his clothing. Often the Indians would leave their boys overnight with the padres and thus the process of teaching was put underway. The natives were taught the Spanish language, while the priest learned new Indian dialects. They were taught the use of clothing, the art of singing, the simple elements of Faith and the recitation of prayers.

Kino was more than repaid when he experienced interest in Christianity in the Indians.

"He dwells at length and with evident delight on the story of a little native girl who knelt before the picture of the Virgin and begged permission to hold the Christ Child; on the progress made by his charges in repeating the prayers, singing the Salve, and reciting the litanies; and on their zeal in helping to decorate the crude church for the celebration of the feast days." (2)

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2. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, I 44-45

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One of the difficulties encountered by Kino was in learning enough of the Indian vocabulary to explain the mysteries of the Faith to the natives. Alegre relates how he taught the meaning of the Resurrection by placing half-drowned flies in the sunlight and sprinkling them with dust. When the flies showed signs of life the Indians in their astonishment shouted: "Ibimu huegite! Ibimu huegite! giving Kino the native word for Resurrection.

Time and again Kino's ingenuity was called into play in this manner in his endeavors to teach the Indians the Christian Doctrine.

In his work in the Southwest, Kino came into contact with

a large number of different tribes, each with its own language, characteristics and customs. His primary observations were always their interest in the Faith. He showed little interest in their tribal customs as did so many missionaries. (3)

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3. Herbert Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 40

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The first Indians among whom he labored were those of the peninsula at La Paz and San Bruno. Two tribes are mentioned as inhabiting this place, the Edues and the Didius.

"The natives, though among the lowest in intelligence and morality of any tribes in America, were unwarlike and tractable on the whole." (4)

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4. H.E. Bolton, Spanish Borderlands, 192

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Later, on his journeys from Pimeria Alta to the Gulf and into California he found other tribes. He spent considerable time among the Yuman Tribes, a physically fine people, superior to most in this respect. These Indians were brave and not unwarlike, but nevertheless they were not a nomadic race. They practised a rude sort of agriculture, raised corn, beans, pumpkins and melons, but without the aid of irrigation. In the main this tribe occupied the country along the lower Colorado River.

The Cocopas were another of the tribes visited by Kino. Their home was also along the Colorado and extended into the mountains of Lower California. These Indians may have been a branch of the Yumas as no doubt were the Cocomaricopas and the Quiquimas. At any rate they all spoke a language very

similar to that of the Yumas.

Manje travelled with Kino among the Yumas and in his diary he portrays them:

"The Yumas, or as they called themselves, the Cuchans, were nearly all fishermen of considerable skill. They possessed nets and quite elaborate tackle, which they used profitably all the year to eke out their supply of frijoles, maize, melons and mesquite beans.

They were a dignified and stout people, the women were handsome and much paler in color than those of any of the Indian nations known in the New World. They seldom painted or disfigured themselves as did many other nations, but were adorned with necklaces and ear ornaments of sea snails and coral and blue and red shells. The men wielded long darts and powerful slings and bow and arrows." (5)

#### 5. Rufus Wyllys, Pioneer Padre, 139

In Pimeria Alta Kino found various divisions of the Pima nation. Traditionally the Pimas were confined to the Salt River Valley but later they extended to the Valley of the Gila. Legend relates that a deluge came and after it one single survivor remained. This chief was named Ciko and is the progenitor of the present tribe. One of his survivors, Sivano built Casa Grande and other pueblos in the Gila and the Salt valleys. The tribe finally became so numerous that emigration became necessary. Part of them settled in the valleys of the Altar, Magdalena and Sonora Rivers. These were known as the Pima Bajos or Nevome and Opatas of whom the Eudeve, mentioned by Kino, were a division. The Pimas have always been a peaceable tribe but when attacked by their chief enemy, the Apaches, they have always shown great courage. (6)



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6. Herbert Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 71

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They practised irrigation in connection with their agricultural pursuits. Hodge describes their methods:

"Each community owned an irrigation canal often several miles in length, the waters of the rivers being diverted into them by means of rude dams; they planted with a dibble and later plowed their fields with crooked sticks drawn by oxen." (7)

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7. F.W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 252.

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As to crafts, the Pimas had little skill. Their pottery was crudely made and undecorated. They had a knowledge of basket making but this, too, was primitive. Their domestic animals consisted of half-wild dogs which they used more as a food supply.

The Pimas built their huts of a kind of sun-dried brick, circular in shape with no door but merely a blanket covered opening.

Their religion was one of Sun-worship, but in addition they had certain animal gods. Religious ceremonies were confined to the rain dance. The Pimas put much faith in dreams and signs. They had their medicine-men who were both religious and medical advisors, yet none of their beliefs seemed very deeprooted. Consequently, their attitude was very receptive toward the missionary.

In commenting on the religious aspect of this tribe which today occupies the Pima Reservation, Hodge says:



"How much of the present religious belief of the Pima is their own is not known though it is not improbable that the teachings of Kino and other missionaries in the seventeenth centuries influenced more or less their primitive beliefs." (8)

8. Ibid., 252

The second division of the Pimas, the Sabaipuris, inhabited the valleys of the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz Rivers, between longitude 110 and 111 and extended along the Rio Gila between the mouth of the San Pedro and the ruins of the Casa Grande. It was among these Indians that Kino established the missions of Guevavi, Suanco and San Xavier del Bac, with many visitas.

This branch is now practically extinct due to the depredations of the Apache and the consequent absorption by the Papagos who later occupied San Xavier del Bac.

The Papagos or Papabotes as they were sometimes called were the third division. The original home of these people was south of Tucson in the main valley of the Rio Santa Cruz and extending into Sonora. They were a frugal and peaceable people who were greatly oppressed by the Apaches. They were less inclined to village life than either the Pimas or Sabaipuris, yet they carried on agriculture and were found practising irrigation by means of ditches.

Such were the Indians to whom Father Kino taught Christianity and among whom he carried on activities which have left their cultural influence on the Southwest.

## Chapter IV

The Mission System

In the early days of Spanish conquest and colonization in the New World, the control of the Indians was placed under the institution known as the Encomienda, or, as it is sometimes called, Repartimento. Under this system, which had its beginning in the New World in 1497, the natives were divided among the Spanish colonists known as encomenderos who, in return for the Indian's services and labors were intrusted with their protection, civilization, and conversion. It was a semifeudal institution which had been in use in the mother country but was on the wane in the sixteenth century.

With the title of Encomendero went certain responsibilities. This official was duty bound to provide and maintain schools for the Indian. He was to gather the Indians into pueblos patterned after Spanish towns, give them Christian training and educate them. The Encomendero was to provide priests and teachers to carry out this plan.

But as has happened in all like systems, such concessions gave rise to abuses among unscrupulous men. To them the plan was an excellent one whereby they might enrich themselves, while the condition of the natives became one of practical slavery. When mistreatment of the Indians occurred the encomenderos excused themselves by explaining that the savage was an inferior and should therefore be a slave and treated as such. (1)

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1. Herbert Bolton and Thomas Marshall, Colonization of North America, 50

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Reform movements against the Encomienda sprang up, one of the principal ones led by Padre Las Casas in his works The Destruction of the Indies and Twenty Reasons. However Las Casas is himself often criticized for his proposal that negroes be imported and used in place of Indian labor. Sir Arthur Helps defends Las Casas in this matter. He says:

"The Negro could bear the labors in the mines much better than the Indians; and any man who perceived that a race, of whose Christian virtues and capabilities he thought highly, were fading away by reason of being subjected to labour, which their natures were incompetent to endure, and which they were most unjustly condemned to, might prefer the misery of a smaller number of another race treated with equal injustice, but more capable of enduring it." (2)

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2. Sir Arthur Helps, Life of Las Casas, 71-72

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Gradually, however, as the frontiers grew the Encomienda system vanished. It was replaced by the mission system and the work of the encomendero was taken over by the missionary, who received assistance in some instances from the soldiers. The hierarchy, in addition to the missionary included rector, visitador, provincial and general. (3)

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3. Herbert Bolton and Thomas Marshall, op.cit., 55

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Commenting on the position of the missionary, Bolton says:

"These missionaries became a veritable corps of Indian agents, serving both Church and State. The double capacity in which they served was made easier and more natural

by the close union between Church and State in Spanish America, where the king exercised the real patronato, and where the viceroys were sometimes archbishops as well." (4)

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4. Herbert Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution", American Historical Review, 23:45
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In all of the Spanish colonies including that of the Southwest the mission was an almost universal institution. Spain used it as her primary agency in promoting the extension of her frontier.

As a preliminary step to conquest and settlement, expeditions were usually taken into new territory. The first entrance into a region was called an entrada. On their entradas military escorts and groups of already converted Indians from neighboring missions accompanied the missionaries. Reports were made of the condition of the territory and of any natives encountered. When a territory was occupied a presidio was set up containing from thirty to fifty soldiers, and was located at not too great a distance from the mission.

In setting up the mission the first step was to gather the natives into a pueblo where the Indian could be instructed in the essentials of civilized living. The ideal of each missionary was to set up his own mission and to make it so attractive that the Indian would come of his own volition to live at the mission. A well built mission usually consisted of a chapel, the padre's house and several buildings of stone or adobe connected by walls. These were built around a courtyard or patio. Nearby was the pueblo of the converted Indians



sometimes brought from a neighboring mission to be used as a nucleus in building a new mission. Fields for cultivation of crops to provide a permanent source of food for the converts and enclosures for horses and cattle were adjacent. Often outer walls were built, enclosing all very much as a fort in enclosed.

If possible, two padres were assigned to a mission but in many cases one missionary had to do the work. Also two or three soldiers were usually stationed at a mission until the presidial garrison might be set up.

"Hence it is that in the Spanish system the essence of the mission was the discipline, religious, moral and social and industrial which it afforded. The very physical arrangement of the mission was determined with a view to discipline. The central feature of every successful mission was the Indian village, or pueblo. The settled tribes such as the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, or the Pimas of Arizona, could be instructed in their native towns, but wandering and scattered tribes must be assembled and established in pueblos, and kept there, by force, if necessary. Thus the pueblo was essential to the mission, as it had been to the encomienda." (5)

5. Ibid., 23:53

The mission also served as a frontier defense against hostile tribes. This was evidenced in the instance of the Apache attacks when the military leaders requested Father Kino to enlist the aid of his Pimas against the attacking savages.

Thus, under the mission system the padre's task was a complex one. He was the agent for the spread of the Faith. He was the defender of the frontier. He was an explorer.



He was the Indian's teacher. He was the civil authority. He was the agricultural scientist. He was protector of the Indian. Dr. Bolton contrasts this picture of the Indian's status on the Spanish frontier with that of his brothers' on the Anglo frontier.

"In the English colonies the only good Indians were dead Indians. In the Spanish colonies it was thought worth while to improve the native for this life as well as for the next. Perhaps the missions did not, in every respect, represent a twentieth century ideal. Sometimes, and to some degree, they failed, as has every human institution. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the millions of half-castes living south of us, the grandparents in a large proportion of cases, at some generation removed on one side or the other, were once mission Indians, and as such learned the elements of Spanish civilization. For these reasons, as well as for unfeigned religious motives, the missions received the royal support. They were a conspicuous feature of Spain's frontiering genius." (6)

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6. Ibid., 23-61

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In the mission proper masses were held daily and attendance at these was obligatory on the part of the Indian. In return for his maintenance the men were required to perform such works as caring for the flocks, tilling the soil, harvesting crops, while the women were instructed in spinning and weaving. Strict discipline was observed and punishments meted out to the offenders. Often, for this reason, Indians tried to escape but they were usually captured and brought back. Chapman labels the system benevolent despotism.

"All in all, the institution of the Spanish mission was one of the most interesting examples of benevolent despotism which human history records." (7)

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7. Charles E. Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America, 100

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As a rule each mission had what might be called its dependencies. These were pueblos located at a distance of one or two days journey from the mission proper. They were called visitas and to them the missionary travelled at intervals to perform religious services. Often an Indian representative of the missionary was in charge. These Indians in the visitas did not relinquish their independence but neither did they receive any of the material benefits of the mission proper such as gifts of tobacco, food and clothing.

By law the mission rule was to last for ten years. This was not carried out, some missions lasted indefinitely. At the end of ten years the mission was to be taken over by the civilian whites. As a matter of fact the transfer from mission rule to civilian rule very often caused the Indian to revert back to his primitive state.

However secularization was urgently advocated by the government since the latter desired the income from the tribute which was a tax money paid by the Indians who were not under the control of the mission.

In commenting on the value of the missionary in the expansion and protection of the frontier, Priestly says:

"The zeal of the great missionary orders for converting Indians must always be recognized as one of the most important forces of expansion, and the use of the

mission by the crown as an active but subsidiary agent of subjugation is one of the outstanding features of the colonial system. Those scores of fathers of the church, like Eusebio Kino, the Jesuit, and Francisco Garces, the Franciscan, who became notable frontiersmen, were also thoroughly imbued with the passion for empire." (8)

8. Herbert Priestly, The Coming of the White Man, 31-32

The missionaries have been accused of perpetrating cruelties on the Indians in their efforts to punish runaway neophytes. We have no definite proof that this was true but if on rare occasion this treatment did occur it must be remembered that the missionary was dealing with absolutely raw material so far as civilized ways are concerned and perhaps this sort of punishment was, in the phraseology of modern progressive education, a 'felt-need'.

Then, too, envy on the part of the Spanish population because men like Kino enjoyed success among the Indians led to exaggerated reports of cruelty and exploitation. William Robertson, in reviewing the state of the Spanish colonies in America brings strong accusations against the missionaries. He accuses them in these words:

"Secure of impunity, some regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce, and are so rapaciously eager in amassing wealth, that they become the most grievous oppressors of the Indians whom it was their duty to have protected." (9)

9. William Robertson, The History of America, 3:120

We accept Robertson's criticism, however, with reservation, since he shows a decided prejudice against the monastic orders throughout his writings. He accuses the missionaries, further, of baptizing and admitting the Indians into the Church without instructing them in its doctrines. (10)

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10. Ibid., 123

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But again and again we find in Kino's own writings, to which Robertson had no access, references to the fact that baptisms were delayed or even withheld because of a lack of fathers to administer to the natives. (11)

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11. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 55

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## Chapter V

Labors in California

In New France it was the fur trader and the missionary, in California it was the pearl-hunter and the padre who travelled together. The Spanish monarchs had hoped that pearl fishing rights granted to private enterprise would assure the responsibility of and finance the discoveries, settlement and civilization of the Californias. Many contracts had been issued to private companies and individuals, but from the time of Cortes to that of Atenda all attempts had resulted in failure. (1)

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1. H.E. Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 31 mentions specific instances proving this statement.
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By 1678 the Spanish government came to the realization that if California was to be occupied as a defensive measure it would have to be done at expense to the crown. A new type of contract was consequently made for Christianizing California. Governor Don Isidro Atenda y Antillon of Sinaloa was invested with the title of Admiral of the kingdom of the Californias. He was to found a colony at government expense and was given the right to hunt pearls. Provision was made for the spiritual conquest which was placed in the hands of the Jesuits. By the terms of this cedula of 1679 the following agreements were to be observed.

"Don Isidro agreed to lead a colony to the peninsula, fortify himself, explore the interior, pacify the Indians, promote their conversion, and make Spanish



settlements if water and suitable lands could be found. Two of the five years would be spent in preparations, and Atonda pledged himself to remain in California at least a year in order to give the project a fair trial. Private ventures into the Peninsula had often been tried and they had failed. So Atonda's expedition was equipped at royal expense." (2)

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2. H.E. Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 68

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Thus in May of 1681 shortly after his arrival from Spain, Eusebio Kino was assigned to the California missions in a double capacity. The Father Provincial appointed him as missionary, and because of his mathematical knowledge the viceroy named him royal cosmographer of the expedition. To prepare himself he remained in Mexico City, while Atondo was completing his plans, studying maps and the known geography of California. Many of the maps he copied. Meanwhile Atonda had proceeded to Pueblo de Rio to build the ships for the expedition.

It was in January, 1683 after two years of preparation that the expedition finally set sail, and after a difficult voyage reached La Paz on April first. Before disembarking Atondo issued a proclamation making clear to all the principle object of the enterprise, and taking possession of the land in the name of Carlos II.

"The document recited that the king had spent much money for the expedition, for the building of the fleet, equipping it with provisions, and the purchase of clothing for the Indians, for the sole purpose of reducing them to the Holy Faith and obedience to his Majesty. All this had been done by the king without hope of other return - unless of their own

accord and out of gratitude the Indians might freely give gold, silver, pearls, amber and other valuable things. Such a contingency was provided for. In that case these free gifts must be put in the royal chest brought for the purpose, locked with three keys, and kept securely for his Majesty, to reimburse him for his outlay.

To the same purpose the scribe, continuing to read the bando, proclaimed that nobody should presume to vex the Indians under pain of death. Nor might they trade with them. Experience had shown, he recited, that disputes over small matters of property had often led to rebellions. The Tepehuanes, for example, had revolted because of being defrauded of a chicken. The California Indians had rebelled against Vizcaino, and had killed eighteen of the Spaniards, for the sole reason that one of them snatched a single paltry pearl from a native damsel. To prevent such misunderstandings, nobody must ever dare to enter an Indian house or hut without the owner's permission, - this, too, under pain of death." (3)

### 3. Ibid., 103

The Indians who were to be benefitted by this undertaking kept out of sight at first. On the sixth day they suddenly appeared on the scene and although they appeared belligerent, the padres succeeded in pacifying them with gifts of maize, beads and other ornaments until they finally became very friendly and would come into the settlement to watch the white men at work building the fort, the chapel and huts. Padre Kino immediately began the study of the native tongue and was soon at work converting. In a letter to Father Martinez on April 20, Kino tells of his first days in California and of his first sight of the Indians who were his chief interest in that country. Kino was now a real missionary. He says:

"On Tuesday morning, at the time when nearly all the men were clearing the brush from a little elevation and cutting timber for our buildings, they heard some whoops of Indians who were coming toward this harbor. Immediately all the soldiers stood by their arms. The Indians arrived shouting loudly, armed with bows and arrows, painted with a sign of war, at least defensive, and making signs that we should leave their lands. - We tried to make them understand that we came in peace and begged them to lay their weapons down on the ground, promising that we would do likewise, but they refused. Father Gony and I then went up to them, gave them maize biscuits and glass beads, which they refused to take from our hands, asking us to lay them down on the ground; but afterward they began to take them directly from our hands." (4)

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4. Ibid., 106-107

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Kino's letter to Father Martinez states further:

"We showed them a crucifix, and next day a statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe, but they gave no signs of ever having had either of these things or anything else relating to the Catholic Faith." (5)

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5. Ibid., 107

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Before long trouble darkened their first mission. The soldiers had looked upon the natives with suspicion even from the beginning. Soon a rumor was current that an Indian shot an arrow at a soldier and that another soldier had been murdered. Quarreling arose among the soldiers, too. The crisis came when a large band of Indians descended upon the fort. Happily they were bribed with the usual presents, and no tragedy occurred but it was soon evident that La Paz must be abandoned.

The second attempt to colonize and plant a mission was made at a point about fifty miles north of La Paz at a place called San Bruno. The preparations for this settlement were very carefully made. From San Bruno it was easy to send ships to the mainland for supplies, since it took but a week for the round trip. Kino, with Atondo's aid, brought domestic animals including goats, horses and mules. The missionaries planted melons, pumpkins, quince and pomegranate trees and the first mission was established.

As for the Indians, the padres found them friendly and teachable. Commenting on the Indians, Chapman says:

"Occasionally they would desert, following punishment inflicted upon some of their number but, as Bancroft puts it, they always returned to prayers and pozole." (6)

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6. Charles E. Chapman, A History of California: the Spanish Period, 169

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San Bruno prospered for two years, during which time Kino and Atondo made repeated explorations into the interior. Kino was not content to settle down but kept his mind on the prospect of new lands and new heathens for conversion. On one of these trips the Springs of San Isidro were discovered a few miles inland from San Bruno. Springs of good water were rare in this arid country so it is not surprising that the padres established a new mission here.

As has been stated before, Kino's role in connection with the Atondo enterprise was a double one. In addition to his spiritual duty he was given that of astronomer, surveyor and mapmaker. By 1683 he had started his series of charts. He wrote to the Duchess in August of that year.



"I am sending herewith a little map of a part of California, the Puerto de Guadalupe and its vicinity. Your Excellency must pardon its small size. Perhaps through the help and intercession of the Holy Virgin Maria de Guadalupe His Divine Majesty will show me such grace that in time I may be able to send other and better and larger maps." (7)

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7. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 123-124

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Kino's next map of California bears the date December 21, 1683. This map, the original of which is still preserved shows the colonies of La Paz and San Bruno.

Thus Kino made a beginning of what is today considered one of his important contributions to the cultural development of the Southwest. He made other contributions in the field of cartography as time went on.

Writing to the Duchess d'Aveiro in October, 1684, Father Kino reviews the spiritual accomplishments of the preceding year.

"This year a fine fort has been built of stone with bastions complete. The natives at these Camps and around S. Bruno and San 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." (8)

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8. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 55

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Perhaps the most outstanding entrada and also the last of importance setting out from San Bruno was over the Sierra



Giganta. This expedition was undertaken in December, 1684. After crossing the mountains they continued down across the sterile western plains until they reached the Pacific coast. Thus to Kino and Atenda goes the credit of being the first Europeans to cross Baja California anywhere. Here it was that Kino observed some blue shells on the beach which were later to form an important clue to the discovery that California is a peninsula.

Returning to San Bruno after this arduous voyage the Admiral and the Missionary reviewed what they had found. The Admiral's report painted a hopeless picture, the missionary's view was one of an optimist. Atende reported rough and sterile land, no mines, poor water and unhealthy climate. Kino reported:

"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, 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 the expedition, on the day after his death, the rest of the natives brought us presents of fish." (9)

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9. Ibid., 57

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But Kino's optimism had too many opponents to battle. Atende's dark outlook coupled with complaints from the discontented soldiers, who were not made of the stuff of the old conquistadores, and the extreme drought of that year outweighed Kino's favorable view. Added to this, pearl

fishing at San Bruno had not been very profitable and the Mexican government for this reason was not disposed to send further aid to the colony.

Kino went to Mexico and in person pleaded the cause of the Indian conversions in California. However, although the viceroy seemed favorably disposed and was on the verge of issuing an order for their continuance, a letter arrived from the King ordering suspension of the California conversions and giving as a reason the need of funds elsewhere. Spain was occupied at this time in wars with France and needed her pesos at home.

Bancroft alleges that prior to the Royal order for suspension of conversions, the Viceroy had offered the Society of Jesus an annual subsidy of 40,000 pesos for Californian conquest and civilization which the Jesuits refused giving as a reason that the contract involved temporal activity foreign to the purpose of the Company. Bancroft doubted the sincerity of this excuse. He says:

"They did not regard California as a very desirable field for missionary operations; or perhaps they hoped for more favorable terms at a later date." (10)

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10. Hubert Bancroft, North Mexican States, 277

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Thus the California project lay dormant until ten years later it was undertaken by Salvatierra, inspired by Kino, who never forgot California and aided by Kino from Pimeria Alta which was to be his next mission field.

Thus Bolton describes the Atondo-Kino episode in California as a success since it pointed the way to a better plan.

"Moreover, Kino was a distinct personal link between his period and the next. He never lost interest in the people whom he left behind at San Bruno; he kept alive the project for re-establishing the California missions; and it was directly and personally from him that Salvatierra got his inspiration for his remarkable achievement. Finally, California had been for Kino himself a school of experience which prepared him to accomplish similarly remarkable things." (11)

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11. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 228

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## Chapter VI

Labors in Pimeria Alta

Upon the suspension of the Californian mission Padre Kino sought permission to minister to the Guaymas and Seris, two tribes he had visited on the western coast of Sonora when he was on his way to San Bruno. However a more promising field awaited him. It was Pimeria Alta. This region included present day northern Sonora and Southern Arizona, extending between the Altar and the Gila and between the San Pedro and the Colorado Rivers and the Gulf of California.

Kino left Mexico City in November, 1686 and went to Guadalajara where he obtained the Royal Cedula which had just arrived from Spain and which set forth the rights of the Indians in the areas where they were being converted. This new Cedula was very favorable to the new conversions. The following extract is taken from it.

"I have agreed to issue the present cedula, by which I order and command my viceroy of Nueva Espana and the presidents and judges of my Royal Audiencias of Mexico, Guadalajara and Guatemala, and the governors of Nueva Viscaya, that as soon as they shall receive this my cedula they shall exercise very special care and application to the end that all 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." (1)

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1. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, 1:108-109
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Thus equipped Kino arrived in Cosari a little Indian village on the San Miguel River about fifteen miles north of Cucurpe which was the extreme northern frontier mission. He was accompanied by Father Aguilar and the father visitor, Father Manuel Gonzales.

Here at Cosari Kino set up his first mission, Nuestra Senora de los Dolores. This was to be the mother mission and Kino's headquarters for the next quarter of a century. In his enthusiasm for spreading the Faith, Kino lost no time. The day after his arrival at Cosari he completed his first saddle trip in Pimeria covering about seventy-five miles and visiting the four towns which were to form the base of his vast realm. He describes the welcome given him by the Indians and also his practice of sending out invitations to neighboring tribes to become Christians:

"In all places they received with love the word of God for the sake of their eternal salvation. We returned, thanks to the Lord, safe and rejoicing, to Nuestra Senora de los Dolores. Father Aguilar went on to Cucurpe, and I began to catechize the people and baptize children. The governor Nuestra Senora de los Dolores came from inland and by him and others I sent to



various and even remote parts of this Pimeria divers messages and friendly invitations, requesting that they should endeavor likewise to become Christians, saying that for them would be the good and the advantage, for I had come to aid them in order that they might be eternally saved." (2)

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2. Ibid., 1:112

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The site chosen for Nuestra Senora de los Dolores is often described as one of unusual beauty. It was built on a promontory with a magnificent view of the valley below and hemmed in on three sides by lofty Sierras. From here Kino set out to establish missions in the surrounding country.

As Nuestra Senora was not equipped due to lack of time, Kino went to a village nearby called Taupe where there was a large church, to celebrate Easter. With him went about one hundred Indians from Dolores, a fact which disproved the reports circulated that the natives had moved away upon Kino's coming. Propaganda of this nature was circulated occasionally by enemies of the Padre some of whom were Spaniards who resented the presence of the missionaries who protected the Indians against civilian exploitation. There were others, too, adventurers who sought license to conquer with a view toward the profits from pearl-fishing or mining. These men were envious of Kino's success among the Indians. This was one of the obstacles which the padres had to surmount. Yet we cannot entirely blame these men since the mission did take lands and labor from the settler and the miner.

Other seeds of opposition against the conversions were sown at Remedios. Upon his return from Taupe Father Kino travelled to the visitas. He was well pleased with his reception in all but Remedios where the Indians frankly told him they cared not for Christianity.

"On asking them why, they answered me, first, because they had heard it said that the fathers ordered the people hanged and killed; second, because they required so much labor and sowing for their churches that no opportunity was left the Indians to sow for themselves; third, because they pastured so many cattle that the watering places were drying up; fourth, because they killed the people with holy oils; fifth, because they deceived the Indians with false promises and words, and because I had falsely said that I had a letter or royal cedula of the king our Sovereign, whereas I had no such letter, for if I had I would have shown it to the Senor lieutenant of Bacanuche." (3)

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3. Ibid., 1:114

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Malicious reports were also sent to Mexico which attempted to discredit the missions. Father Kino accepted these as necessary trials and referred to them as adversities inflicted by God but tempered by Him with favors. As an example of this type of opposition we find in his diary the following notation:

"The reports hostile to these new conversions went to such an extreme that during these months it was written from here to Mexico and from Mexico here that time spent in these missions was lost, that nothing was being accomplished, and that there was no profit in them; nor could we secure a lieutenant to aid us in these new conversions, or any legal certifications in our favor. We never could secure anything; and when four new

fathers came from Mexico to Sinaloa, although the father visitor wrote me that from them the Pimeria should be provided with fathers, on account of the very malicious and altogether false reports which went to Sinaloa, to the effect that these Pimas had just shot with arrows the father of Arispe, Francisco Xavier de Mora, no father whatever came, nor did there remain any hopes of fathers or of other relief." (4)

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4. Ibid., 2:38

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So Kino had to deal with treachery on the part of the white population and although he checked the evil rumors as he heard them new ones kept appearing from time to time.

On January 19, 1689 Padre Gonzales who was Father visitor came on his tour of inspection. So pleased was he with the progress made in so short a time that he was instrumental in obtaining four new Fathers from the viceroy in Mexico City. None of these Padres however, remained a very long time due to the continued subversive activity mentioned before.

In 1690 came the shift in offices. Father Juan Maria Salvatierra was appointed visitador in place of Father Gonzales. He was given particular instructions to investigate the Pimeria and thus in December 1690 we find him at Dolores with Kino. It was the first meeting of these two padres which was to have as one of its results the renewal of missionary effort in California.

Immediately the two fathers set out on a tour of inspection. Everywhere the Indians received them kindly and brought their children for Baptism. Everywhere Padre

Salvatierra was convinced of the need of more missionaries in the Pima region. At one place called Tucubavia they were met by Sobaipuris Indians, never visited by missionaries, who were asking for conversion. In his memoir, Kino relates this invitation:

"It was our intention to turn back from El Tucubavia to Cocosperra, but from the north some messengers or couriers of the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac more than forty leagues journey from San Cayetano del Tumogacori came to meet us, some carrying crosses which they gave us, kneeling with great veneration and asking us on behalf of all their people to go to their rancherias. The Father-visitor said to me that those crosses which they carried were tongues which spoke volumes and with great force, and that we could not fail to go where, by means of them they called us. Whereupon, we ascended to the Valley of Guevari, a journey of about fifteen leagues. In San Cayetano they had prepared us three arbors, one in which to say Mass, another in which to sleep, and the third for a kitchen. There were more than forty houses close together. Some infants were baptized and the father visitor gave good hopes to all that they should obtain the fathers, the holy baptism, and the boon of their eternal salvation which they requested. When his Reverence had seen so many people, so docile, so affable, with such beautiful, fertile and pleasant valleys, inhabited by industrious Indians, he said to me these words: 'My Father Rector, not only shall the removal from Pimeria of any of the four fathers assigned to it not be considered, but four more shall come, and by the divine grace I shall try to be one of them.' (5)

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5. Ibid., 119-120

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The following year Kino made another entrada into Arizona visiting Bac, Quiburi and Caborca and founding missions and visitas. The mission at Bac is considered to be the first permanent settlement in Arizona. Kino now had a fairly good



picture of the country to the north. On one of the entradas that Kino and Salvatierra took into Arizona they discussed a project dear to Kino's heart - the conversion of the Indians of Baja California. One of the drawbacks seemed to be the lack of food and good pastures in California. Kino pointed out to the Father visitor that supplies could be furnished to California from the fertile lands of Pimeria.

Salvatierra made a report of all this and six years later these conversations bore fruit when Salvatierra and Kino were appointed to undertake the work in California. This appointment was later curtailed but Kino was given permission to occupy himself half of the year in California and the other half in Pimeria.

As a result of his discussion with Salvatierra Kino next turned his attention to the west. In December, 1693, he made his first trip westward along the Gila and the Colorado till he reached the Gulf. He visited the Soba Indians whose chief, El Soba had a reputation for his hostility toward the Pimas and it was at this time that Kino made use of an opportunity to establish amicable relations between these two tribes. Kino decided this country of the Sobas would be an ideal place for a mission since it would serve three purposes; the conversion of the Sobas, the preservation of friendly relations between the Sobas and Pimas, and it might be used as a base for exploration between Dolores and the Gulf.

Kino secured the services of Padre Francisco Xavier Saeta for the mission which was given the name of Nuestra Señora de las Concepcion de Caborca.



With a knowledge of Kino's future plans Father Saeta made agricultural beginnings at Caborca.

"It is clear that to Padre Saeta were due the real foundations of Caborca, one of the finest of the Sonora missions; and that to his zeal was also due the real beginning of the agriculture which still sustains the towns of the lower Altar Valley. The report of the planting of vegetable seeds for the refreshment of the sailors from California indicates, too, that Saeta had in mind the ambitions of Kino and was consciously preparing for the day when there should be regular communication between Caborca and the peninsula." (6)

6. Rufus Wyllys, Pioneer Padre, 101

Kino, the geographer, was now at work. In the year following he made three more trips to the coast on all of which he was accompanied by Captain Manje who was assigned the duty of making full report on the expeditions, including the taking of the census and noting the desire on the part of the natives for Spanish rule. Manje's diary of these trips is published under the title, Luz de Tierra Incognita, and is written with an eye to detail and color.

In his desire to investigate unknown country, Kino was eager to follow every lead. His next clue took him northward down the Santa Cruz Valley. The Indians at San Xavier del Bac had informed him of the Casa Grande on the Gila River, and so in November of 1694 Kino and Captain Manje made an expedition down the Santa Cruz River to view the ruins. While there, Kino said Mass and preached to the natives. In his writings he gives a description of Casa Grande.

"The Casa Grande is a four-story building, as large as a castle and equal to the largest church in the lands of Sonora. It is said that the ancestors of Montezuma deserted and depopulated it, and beset by the neighboring Apaches, left for the East, or Casas Grandes, and that from there they turned towards the South and southwest finally founding the great city and court of Mexico. Close to this Casa Grande there are thirteen smaller houses, somewhat more dilapidated, and the ruins of many others, which make it evident that in ancient times there had been a city here. On this occasion and on later ones I have learned and heard, and at times have seen, that further to the east, north, and west there are seven or eight more of these large old houses and the ruins of whole cities, with many broken metates and jars, charcoal, etc. These certainly must be the Seven Cities mentioned by the holy man, Fray Marcos de Niza, who in his long pilgrimage came clear to the Bacapa rancherio of these coasts, which is about sixty leagues southwest from this Casa Grande, and about twenty leagues from the Sea of California. The guides or interpreters must have given his Reverence the information which he has in his book concerning the Seven Cities, although certainly at that time, and for a long while before, they must have been deserted. The natives and children of the Pimas, Opas, and Cocomarizopas were very well pleased." (7)

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7. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs, 1:128

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After viewing these ruins, Kino continued to the Rio Gila along which he travelled for a short distance. This was his first entrada into country which was to draw him again in the future on expeditions of exploration.

Father Kino's work in the scientific exploration of this country is valuable to us in gaining a picture of the primitive Southwest. On all of these expeditions he collected intimate data both in regard to the Indian inhabitants, their

dress, appearance, manner, occupations, etc., and the geography of the location.

The year 1695 brought tragedy. As has been mentioned in a previous chapter the civilian whites resented the missionaries and were constantly working to bring suspicion on the Pimas whom the padre, and especially Kino, defended. Repeated acts of cruelty were committed on unoffending Indians until finally a revolt resulted in which Padre Saeta was murdered at his mission of Caborca - the first Jesuit martyr in Pimeria Alta. The trouble started with the appointment of an opata named Antonio as overseer of the Pima neophytes. Authority had gone to his head and when in the absence of the Padre, Antonio became harsh and arbitrary and in an outburst of rage performed acts of cruelty which the Pimas resented, the revolt broke out. Describing the extent of damage in connection with the revolt, Manje writes:

"Only the villages of the Mission Nuestra Senora de los Dolores escaped the conspiracy and conflagration 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." (8)

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8. F. Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 106

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This was the only difficulty of magnitude which arose during Kino's time and doubtless if Kino had been assigned to quelling the uprising from the beginning, there might

have been less bloody results. Kino's influence was indeed greater with the Pimas than was that of the military.

In 1696 Kino journeyed to Mexico City to make his report to the Father General as well as to ask for more fathers for the Pimeria and to plead the cause of the California conversions.

By a license of February 5, 1697 Kino and Salvatierra were empowered to convert California at their own expense and in the name of the King. Bancroft believed that the Order had its eye on the material wealth of California although he admits there were higher motives in addition, quite an admission for Bancroft. He says:

"Thus the boon so long and patiently sought was obtained -----It has been the fashion to see sinister and selfish designs in all Jesuit undertakings; but, however much Loyola's followers in other parts of the world may have merited this approbrium, no just person will suspect that the founders of the California Missions were actuated by any but the purest motives. That the founders in serving God sought to advance the glory of their order, and that the Jesuits not only dreamed of undiscovered wealth in the north-west, but attached an otherwise inexplicable importance to the arid peninsula in comparison with other missionary fields by reason of the exclusive control given to the society, are facts that by no means detract from the credit due to Salvatierra and his associates, nor is it strange that Jesuit and other Catholic writers have exaggerated the difficulties overcome and the magnitude of the achievement." (9)

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9. Hubert Bancroft, North Mexican States, 280-81  
 Bancroft is known for his prejudice against the Jesuits.  
 He scarcely appreciates the Order's aims and ideals.
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A feature to be noted in the license granting California to the Jesuits for missionary purposes, was the stipulation that the enterprise was to be entirely in their hands.

"Not only were they to have charge of spiritual interests, but they were also to hire and command the soldiers and such other officials or helpers as they might need. The one check on Jesuit authority was the requirement that the conquest should be made in the name of the king and subject to the orders of the viceroy or other higher representatives of the crown." (10)

10. Charles Chapman, "The Jesuits in Baja California," Catholic Historical Review, 6:48

Since the conversions were to be made at their own expense, Padres Salvatierra and Juan de Ugarte of Mexico City undertook the solicitation and collection of donations from various pious persons in Mexico. This formed the nucleus of a fund known as the Pious Fund. From time to time additional donations from wealthy persons swelled this sum which was deposited in the hands of a procurador to invest and use for the purpose of carrying on missionary work among the natives. (11)

11. Hubert Bancroft, op. cit., 432-3.

Here again we find Kino's plans leading to a perpetual endowment for missionary work. The Pious Fund exists today and is used by the Catholic prelates of California. (12)

12. Catholic Encyclopedia, Pious Fund, 12:106-7

Upon his return from Mexico Salvatierra had founded a mission at Loreto on the Lower Peninsula in 1697. Kino knew



that the success of this mission depended upon a means of supplying it from Pimeria Alta. He therefore set about his explorations with increased zeal. The conversion of the souls of Lower California depended on food which the missionaries might supply.

But the California missions were not the only ones dependent on Kino as a source of supplies. Those of the northern and eastern frontiers in the valleys of the Gila and the San Pedro were supplied by the Padre as well.

Numerous trips taken into the valley of the San Pedro and Santa Cruz during the years 1696 and 1697 resulted in the foundation of more permanent missions. In December 1696 Father Kino again visited his friend Captain Coro at Quiburi. Here he left cattle and horses for the beginning of a church ranch. More cattle was distributed during the following year to the missions en route from Dolores to San Xavier. Such foresight is typical of Kino's mission development.

By the close of 1698 Kino had explored his vast realm in all directions and had made great progress in establishing missions. He had made at least fourteen journeys into Arizona reaching as far north as Tucson. He had journeyed repeatedly to the Gila River by different routes.

"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, Cocospere, San Lozan, Santa Mana, Quiburi, San Luis Bacoancos, Guevavi, Tumacacori, and San Xavier, and westward and northwestward to Imuris, Magdalena, San Ignacio, Tubutama, Saric,

Busanic, Atel, Oquitos, Pitiquito, Caborca,  
and Soncota." (13)

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13. Frank Lockwood, op. cit., 80

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Hence we have further proof of Kino's contribution to the civilization of the Southwest. Through his wise planning he taught even the crude Indians how to support themselves in a region which is one of the most arid parts of our country.

The Padre now began to think more intensely about California. His interest in a land route now became an obsession and was second only to his thirst for souls which depended to a degree on the establishing of that route.

Many views had been propounded as to whether California was a peninsula or an island. Kino had come to America with the belief that California was a peninsula. This belief was held at Ingolstadt. But since the idea that it was an island was so prevalent in Mexico, Kino had come to accept that belief. However on his journeys to the Rio Colorado he had met Yumas wearing unusual blue shells such as he had seen only on the Pacific coast in 1684. These Indians told Kino that the shells were carried from the Sea of the South as they called the Pacific. Kino argued that if these blue shells had come to the Yumas from the Pacific there must be a land connection with California and the ocean by way of the Yuma country.

Father Kino now decided to trace the cue of the blue shells. For this reason he invited Indian chiefs for more than fifty leagues around to assemble at San Xavier del Bac.

He conversed with them and inquired about the shells. All agreed that such shells could only be seen along the South Sea. Kino describes the shells in his Diary:

"En la Costa exterior se hallan unas conchas, propias de ella. Acaso las mas hermosas del Orbe: porque su lustre ordinario, que es mayor y mas vivo, que el del mas fino nacar, esta empanado, y cubierto de un zelage de azul vivisimo, y apacible, tan fino como el de Lapis lazuli: este es como una telilla del gadissima, o como un Barniz sobrepuesto, y transparente, por entre el cual brilla, y sobresale lo plateado del fondo. De estas se dice que si fueran usuales en Europa, quitaron la estimacion al nacar. Son estas unas conchas sencillas, que no tienen otra que las tape, a distincion de las conchas en que se crían las perlas; las cuales son dobles, sirviendo una de fondo, y otra de tapa: " (14)

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14. Eusebius Kino, Las Misiones de Sonora y Arizona, 8:33-34

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In September of 1700 Kino made a trip to the Colorado River, saw the junction with the Gila and reached the head of the Gulf. Here he found natives resembling Californians. He also observed trees which were native to California such as the incense tree and a tree bearing fruit called medesse.

Kino wrote to Salvatierra that he was positive of the overland passage. The following year he returned to the Gulf, this time by way of the Camino del Diablo as the trail from Sonoita to Yuma was called.

Again in 1702 he was at Yuma Junction, descended the Colorado as far as the Gulf and proved that "California no es isla, sino península." This last expedition was made with only his Indian servants. What a contrast to the escorts of Coronado and De Soto!

He relates the accomplishment of his long sought desire thus:

"On the twentieth we arrived, thanks to his divine Majesty, in safety at Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, having travelled in going and returning three hundred and eighty four leagues in twenty six days, without our pack animals becoming weary and without any mishap, which we attributed to the celestial favors of our Lord, having happily caught sight of California, having solemnized forty-two Baptisms, and discovered four other new nations and the great Rio Colorado, or Rio del Norte. And we reported this news to the lovers of new conversions as previously they had asked me to do." (15)

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15. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, I 258.

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Kino had discovered that California is a peninsula. All that remained was to demonstrate the value of this discovery. Upon his return from the entrada of 1700 to the Gulf, he received a letter from Salvatierra in which the latter told of the lack of supplies at Loreto since the supplies from Mexico failed to arrive due to shipwreck.

The letter was a challenge for further exploration. He set to work again gathering cattle and supplies for the journey. He made extensive preparations. Since danger still existed from unknown tribes, a military escort was arranged with Captain Manje in charge. Salvatierra, too, decided to accompany Kino, to verify the discovery.

Finally on March 10, 1701, the expedition was under way. It was decided to head westward toward the Gulf and thence up the coast to the mouth of the Colorado, instead of around by way of the Gila, since this route would cut off many miles.



On the twentieth of March, north of the Santa Clara mountains, Salvatierra who had crossed the gulf to the mainland to make the journey overland, Kino and Manje ascended a hill and from its summit saw California to the west and southwest. Because of the sand dunes surrounding the head of the Gulf the explorers were unable to go further. Turning back, Kino reached Dolores on April 16.

In the Autumn Kino set out again for the Colorado River, crossed it on a raft and set foot in California in the land of the Quiquima Indians. Thus he was the first white man since Coronado to cross the Colorado River from the east.

Kino made inquiries among the Indians as to the road to Loreto which was one hundred and twenty-five leagues to the south but was unsuccessful in obtaining much information on this point. He also, as was his custom, sent messages of good will to nations farther on. On this entrada he had brought together five nations, the Pimas, the Yumas, the Quiquimas, the Cutanzes and the Cocopas. (16)

16. Frank Lockwood, op. cit., 97

Kino made a return trip to the same Indians in the following year accompanied by Father Gonzalez who became seriously ill on this trip and died upon their return.

Kino's plan for the future proposed the extension of the mission chain, on both sides of the Gulf of California toward the north to meet at the Rio Colorado. From here he would extend the missions to Alta California and to the country to the north of Pimeria Alta. (17)



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17. op. cit., 118

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In the last years before his death, Kino pleaded for more missionaries. He knew the vastness of the territory and the advantage to be realized by the extension of conquest and conversion to Alta California and to the country to the north. In 1710 he sent a report to the King telling of the work already accomplished and setting forth the plan he had in mind for future efforts.

He used as an argument for the conversion of California the fact that communication might be established by land between the mission fields from the Rio Colorado to the Port of Monterey where his plan included the establishment of a large Spanish colony to serve as a base and also as a port for communication with China.

Kino pointed out that in Alta California conversions would be certain and quick since there was no particular vice to overcome such as polygamy, or the worship of bronzes as in China and Japan.

His report to the Spanish Ruler asking for more fathers follows:

"Report and Relation of the New Conversions, by Eusebio  
Francisco Kino, 1710

#### Dedication

To his royal Majesty, Phillip V., God preserve him for many years:

Your royal Majesty has ordered in your very Catholic cedula of July 17, 1701, which my Father Provincial of this New Spain as well as the Father Visitor of these missions of Sonora had sent me in printed form (in it being printed my name, though I do not deserve it, and the name of Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra),

that report be made to your royal Majesty of the location and state of the heathen of this province of Sonora; therefore, with this report unknown North America places itself at the sacred feet of your royal Majesty, for by means of the more than two hundred leagues of new conquests and conversions, which have a compass or circumference of more than six hundred leagues and contain very fertile lands and new nations already very friendly, discovered in these last twenty-three years by the fathers of the Company of Jesus in more than fifty expeditions or missions which on different occasions they have made to the north, northeast, northwest, and west, some of which have been of fifty, seventy, ninety, one hundred, one hundred and fifty, two hundred and more leagues, there now remain very well reduced all these many nations. And they ask for fathers and holy baptism, and it would seem that they know very well what our Holy Mother, the Church, says to them on the first feast day in May, day of San Felipe and Santiago, namely, that the Gentiles, desiring to see the Saviour of the world, came to Phillip (Gentiles Salvatorem videre cupientes ad Philippum accesserunt). And if in those times there was an apostolic Phillip to whom the Gentiles drew near, it is very notorious that today also we have (and we of this unknown North America know it) our very grand and Catholic monarch Phillip to whom these innumerable Gentiles come.

May the sovereign Lord of the heavens preserve the life of your royal Majesty many happy years.  
Mission of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores, February 2, 1710.

The sacred feet of your royal Majesty are kissed by your humble chaplain,  
Eusebio Francisco Kino." (18)

18. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, 2:224-225.

The following year 1711, Padre Kino took leave of his Indians. Father Luis Velarde who was to be his successor in Pimeria Alta describes his last moments on earth. He says:

"Father Kino died in the year 1711, having spent twenty-four years in glorious labors in this Pimeria, which he entirely covered in forty expeditions, made as best they could be made by two or three zealous

workers. When he died he was almost seventy years old. He died, as he had lived, with extreme humility and poverty. In token of this, during his last illness he did not undress. His deathbed, as his bed has always been, consisted of two calf-skins for a mattress, two blankets such as the Indians use for covers, and a pack-saddle for a pillow. Nor did the entreaties of Father Agustin move him to anything else. He died in the house of the Father where he had gone to dedicate a finely made chapel in his pueblo of Santa Magdalena, consecrated to St. Francis Xavier..When he was singing the mass of the dedication he felt indisposed, and it seems that the Holy Apostle, to whom he was ever devoted, was calling him, in order that, being buried in his chapel, he might accompany him, as we believe, in glory." (19)

19. Ibid., I: 64

After Kino's death Padre Campos and Padre Velarde worked alone in Sonora, but for twenty years there is no record of a missionary in Arizona until in 1731 Father Segesser went to San Xavier del Bac and Father Grashoffer to Guevavi.

## Chapter VII

Personality, Character and Achievements

It is impossible to award full justice in painting a word picture of the character and achievement of the hero of this paper. In his career as missionary, explorer, geographer, cartographer, ranchman and diplomat Father Kino displayed many sterling qualities.

Father Velarde who was Kino's companion during the last eight years of the latter's life asks this question:

"Who can tell the inner acts of virtue by which he made himself so worthy an instrument of salvation to many souls?" (1)

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1. Hubert Bancroft, North Mexican States, 505. Taken from Alegre, de la Compania de Jesus en Nueva-Espana, iii, 154-7
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Mentally endowed with a scholastic type of mind, superior to most of his day, had he chosen he might have enjoyed a position of note among the intellects of Europe. Yet he made a deliberate choice to preach to the heathen in a remote corner of the seventeenth century world. And in his ministering to these heathens he showed complete unselfishness.

"In his twenty-four years in Arizona and Sonora, Kino crossed and recrossed, in fifty journeys, the territory between the Magdalena and the Gila Rivers and that between the San Pedro and Colorado. In this time he distinguished himself not only as a missionary but as a church builder, explorer, ranchman, cartographer and historian.

Kino furnished inspiration to others in their work in the missions. Father Luis Velarde, his companion in the last moments described Kino as 'a modest, humble, gentle, ascetic of medieval type, drilled by his religious training to complete self-effacement.'" (2)



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2. H.E. Bolton, The Padre on Horseback, 81

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His piety is shown in his everyday life. Alegre says of him:

"He was seen to enter the church for prayer more than a hundred times a day, in imitation of the great Apostle of Ireland, though his whole life was a continual prayer." (3)

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3. H.H. Bancroft, op. cit., 506

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His persistency is shown in many instances. We saw it first in his untiring efforts to obtain an assignment to the Orient. In spite of discouragement he continued to address letter after letter to the Father General until he was successful in obtaining a favorable reply. Again it is shown in his tenacious resolution to establish a land route to California and thus minister to those Indians. Again when he might have despaired and given up when the fathers he needed to care for his Indians failed to arrive he showed those qualities of hope and submission to the will of God which were so strong within him. In his Memoir we read:

"And yet, although I have reported the many missionary fathers whom we have needed and asked for, and whom the father provincials and generals promise to us, and have even sent several times and continued to send in goodly number, the contradiction and opposition here impedes, prevents, and detains them from us. But we confidently hope in the loving disposition of our Lord, that in his time there will come in so much the greater numbers the zealous father laborers necessary, predestined for the entire conquest and conversion of all this unknown North America, which with so much peace, quiet, and constancy is asking the boon of its



eternal salvation." (4)

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4. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta,  
2:101

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His energy and hardihood were displayed in his many difficult journeys, often into untravelled country. In the quarter of a century he made fifty journeys from Dolores. For months at a time he averaged twenty-five to thirty miles a day over rough and arid country. A record of May 3, 1700, in which Kino covered seventy-five miles between sunrise and midnight to answer the call of a brother priest, shows his sincere attitude toward and his love for the natives, as well as a disregard of toil in administering to others.

"On the third, in San Cayetano, as I was going at sunrise to say mass, I received a letter from Father Augustine de Compos, in which his Reverence summoned me to San Ygnacio to help save from death a poor delinquent whom the soldiers had taken prisoner with the intent and determination to beat him to death the following day, May 4. I replied that I would go immediately after mass. I also wrote to Alferes Juan Bautista Escalante thanking him for the letter which I had received two days before at San Xavier del Bac. Travelling that day more than twenty five leagues, I arrived almost at midnight at San Joseph de Hymores and the next day very early, in time to say mass, at San Ygnacio, and we succeeded in rescuing the prisoner from death." (5)

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5. Ibid., 1:239-40

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Fearlessness in the face of danger was another of his attributes. Often, on entradas into new country he travelled with only his Indians, preferring to leave his military guard behind. "Eternity was his security." Another outstanding

example of this trait in the Padre occurred at the time of the Pima Revolt of 1695, when without exception, the entire white population of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores fled before the enemy, but Kino remained calmly at his mission awaiting martyrdom, which happily did not occur.

When Father Kino began his work in Pimeria that territory was occupied solely by heathen Indian tribes. Much of this section was desert; Cucurpe was frontier. In reviewing the Padre's achievement here Lockwood says:

"Father Kino's work in Pimeria 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." (6)

6. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 65

In the Hamburger Korrespondent, 1880 Heinrich Semler appraises Father Kino's achievement in the spiritual field among the Pimas.

"Se establecio entre los papagos viviendo alli y les enseno una vida civilizado y uva actividad pacifica, hizo de ellos miembros utiles de la sociedad humana y esto lo han quedado hasta el dia de hoy. No como los indios californicos, aquellos discipulos de Franciscanos los papagos han recaido en su idolatria pagana despues de la secularization de sus misiones, sino han quedado cristianos y han, conservado fielmente su caracter honrado y solido, la base del cual, habia sido formado por el padre Kino y lo han conservado hasta una epoca en la cual el conocimiento del ultimo padre jesuita ya se habia convertido entre ellos en leyenda y tradicion." (7)

7. Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nacion, 8:40

Another instance of a lasting gain achieved in the spiritual field is recounted in Garces diary. Three quarters of a century after Padre Kino's death, Father Garces found the Yumas making the sign of the cross as had been taught them by the pioneer missionary. (8)

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8. Elliot Cones, Diary of Garces, 1:36

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Ambassador of Peace between the Spanish authorities and the Indians was another of Father Kino's accomplishments. Under the Spanish authorities the Indians were reduced and forced to work in the mines. Kino obtained provision that during spaces of five years in places where he was converting, no Indians should be taken out and compelled to work. Authorities were jealous of the Pimas and there was constant hostility to Kino's plans for them. They suspected the Pimas of depredations which the Apaches had committed.

An opportune moment came when Kino was able to prove the loyalty of his Pimas. This was in the Apache raid on Cocopersa in February, 1697. Kino heard that the Spanish garrison intended to march against the Apaches. He sent word to the Pimas to join the Spanish soldiers against the enemy. The Pimas put down the Apaches in a brave and crushing defeat and forced them to make peace terms with the Spanish. Kino describes this situation in his memoirs.

"But meantime the news reached the neighboring rancharia of Quiburi, which is a league and a half from Santa Cruz, and immediately its captain, called El Coro, came to the rescue with his brave people, together with other Pimas who had come from the west to barter for maize,

and who contributed to the fortunate outcome of the event, for they were supplied with the arms which we had bidden them provide to go on the expedition with the soldiers of the presidio. The captain of the enemy, called El Capatean, proposed - for with Captain Coro came many Pimas - that they should fight, ten on one side and ten on the other. Captain Coro accepted the proposal and selected ten Pimas, while Capatean selected ten others, the most valient of all he had. Five were Apaches as was also one of the other five. They began shooting their arrows, and, as the Pimas are very dextrous in shooting, and also in parrying the arrows of their adversaries, and as the Apaches, although dexterous in shooting arrows and with the lance, are not dexterous in parrying the arrows, five Pimas soon wounded the five Apaches who were their antagonists, as did four other Pimas their adversaries, the Hocomes and Xanos. Captain Capatean was very skillful in catching the arrows, but his opponent, a valient Pima, grappled with him and struggling threw him to the ground and beat his head with stones. Thereupon, all the rest of the enemy began to flee, and the Pimas followed them through all those woods and hills for more than four leagues, killing and wounding more than three hundred, of whom fifty-odd remained dead and stretched out nearby, and the rest, as they were wounded with the poisonous herb, died along the trails. The remainder, about three hundred went, after this ill-fortune, and from fear of the Pimas, as they confessed, to ask and to offer peace in the presidio of Xanos to Senor General Juan Fernandez de la Fuente, in El Paso, New Mexico, to Maestro de Campos Luys Granillo, and in the pueblo of Socorro, as the letters and authentic reports from there attested. And there have remained still in revolt only sixteen braves and twenty-seven non-combatants." (9)

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9. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, I 179.

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Kino made use of this incident to gain more missionaries for his people. Although in this instance in order to preserve civilization it was necessary for Kino to encourage



Indians in war, as a rule he took all means to bring peace between warring nations.

At another time he acted as peace maker between the Yumas and the Maricopas. Often when making entradas into unknown lands he brought neighboring tribes together and furthered friendly relations between them. An instance of this is seen on the entrada to the Gulf in 1701.

"He was able, also, to cultivate good feeling and a desire for Christian religion among the five nations that had been brought together during his visit - the Pimas, the Yumas, the Quiquimas, the Cutganes, and the Cocapas." (10)

10. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 97

As a spiritual monument to Kino, in addition to the twenty-five missions which he established in Pimeria there is a record of baptisms of more than 4000 neophytes. Kino furnishes statistics in this regard in his memoirs.

"With all these expeditions or missions that have been made to a distance of two hundred leagues in the new heathendoms in these twenty-one years, there have been brought to our friendship and to the desire of receiving our holy Catholic faith, between Pimas, Cocomariopas, Yumas, Quiquimas, etc., more than thirty thousand souls, there being sixteen thousand of Pimas alone. I have solemnized more than four thousand baptisms, and I could have baptized ten or twelve thousand Indians more if the lack of father laborers had not rendered it impossible for us to catechise them and instruct them in advance." (11)

11. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir, 2:252

Bancroft places the number of baptisms at forty thousand. This however is an error due to faulty copying from Ortega's



Apostolicos Afanes. (12)

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12. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 587-8

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It must be noted that the prosperity of these missions made for peaceful possession and settlement by the Spaniard. Due to Kino's efforts and to a good extent because of their love and respect for the Padre, the Indians ceased to war among themselves or with the Spanish settlers.

Church Builder

As a record of his church building, a chain of missions in the region now included in northern Sonora and southern Arizona are pointed out by artists and builders as the architectural remains of the Spanish pioneers. Many of these are a tribute to Kino.

"The fine old churches still standing at San Xavier del Bac, Tumacacori, San Ignacio, and other places in Pima Land are in part or mainly Franciscan structures erected on foundations laid by the Padre on Horseback. They are monuments both of the Black Robes and to the Grey Robes who came after them." (13)

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13. Ibid., 596

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Bolton and Lockwood visited some of the remains of these missions in 1928. Lockwood, in describing this trip says:

"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 Ambrosia at Busanic, a mission founded by Kino in 1689; at the quaint, ancient village of Seric, 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. Next came charming San Antonio, standing graceful and genial on a hillside in the picturesque village of Quitova 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 of San Diego; and six miles farther to the west is a church equally beautiful and stately, Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion. 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." (14)

14. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 9-10-11

The finest of Kino's missions that has come down to the present day is San Xavier del Bac. Here Father Kino displayed his skill as a church builder. In April, 1700, he wrote in his diary concerning the building of this church.

"On the twenty-eighth we began the foundations of a very large and capacious church and house of San Xavier del Bac, all the many people working with much pleasure and zeal, some in digging the foundations, others in hauling many and very good stones of tezontile from a little hill which was about a quarter of a league away. For the mortar for these foundations it was not necessary to haul water because by means of the irrigation ditches we very easily conducted the water where we wished. And that house with its great court and garden nearby, will be able to have throughout the year all the water it may need, running to any place or workroom one may please, and one of the greatest and best fields in all Nueva Hiscaya." (15)

15. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, I:235

The ruins of Bac still stand.

Ranchman

One of Kino's important contributions to the future development of the United States was his work as a ranchman. Many writers refer to him as the "cattle king of his day." He was the first man to introduce domestic stock raising into Arizona, an industry which is carried on in the same location today.

"To support his missions, near them he established flourishing stock ranches, thus making the beginnings of stock raising in at least twenty places still existing in northern Sonora and southern Arizona." (16)

16. Herbert Bolton and Thomas Marshall, Colonization of North America, 302.

By 1696 he had established the beginning of ranching in the valleys of the Magdalena, Altar, Santa Cruz, San Pedro and Soncota Rivers, thereby laying the foundations for the economic prosperity and independence of the missions of his time and the future. This was part of his mission plan. "And it must not be supposed that he did this for private gain, for he did not own a single animal." (17)

17. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 57

When Father Salvatierra began mission work in California he depended on Kino for cattle.

"More than once the abandonment of California was prevented only by the aid of Father Kino, who drove cattle hundreds of miles to Guaymas and shipped them across the Gulf." (18)

18. Herbert Bolton, Colonization of North America, 306

In February 1699 when entradas were being made into the

country to the northwest where the Cocomaricopas lived, a ranch was established at San Marcelo on the Soncota River. Kino had in mind the idea that this ranch would be of great value in supplying cattle to the California missions, since it was on the route from Dolores to the Colorado River. An extract from the account of this expedition says:

"On February 7 we began this entry, the Senor Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje, Father Adamo Gila, and I, with some servants and more than ninety pack animals. We entered by the northwest to San Marzelo del Sonoidag, where a new ranch was begun, with thirty-six head of cattle which I ordered sent ahead for the fathers of California, if perchance they should go up to the near-by post of Santa Clara." (19)

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19. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, 1:193-4

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Further preparations for supplying cattle to California are mentioned in the Padre's letter of February 2, 1702 to the very Reverend Father General, Tyrso Gonzalez at Rome.

"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 Pimeria 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 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 Pimeria 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." (20)

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20. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 120-121  
This letter was also supplied to Lockwood by Father Rossetti of Brophy College.
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A letter from Father Saeta thanking Kino for a present of one hundred and fifteen head of cattle for the beginning of a ranch at Caborca is further testimony of Kino's ability and contribution as a ranchman.

"Yesterday, the fourteenth inst., I received your Reverence's very welcome favor of the second of this month, through the Indian Santiago, who brought me the sixty head of sheep and goats for the provisioning of this new mission. These, together with the thirty-five (fifty-five) preceding make one hundred fifteen. The fifteen will be for our dear California as your Reverence suggests. May God repay your Reverence for the charity, while on my part I give you due thanks with all my heart." (21)

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21. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, 1:136
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A second letter dated a week later from Saeta to Kino refers to the latter's plan for the support of the California project. Saeta wrote:



"With inexpressible pleasure to me and to my children, the herdmen arrived yesterday, Passion Sunday, the twentieth instant, with the cattle which your Reverence gives for this mission, to the numbers of one hundred head. As your Reverence suggests to me, the other five spotted cows, with your Reverence's brand, are assigned, as is your wish, to our most beloved holy hermitess, Rosalia de las Californias, to whom I am continually praying Sit portus et aura suis, in order that some day we may go to set up with our own hands her image and in time her own statue on that innocent and happy little hill, dedicated to her, etc." (22)

22. Ibid., 1;136-7

It should be kept in mind that Kino carried out this work without the aid of white men; he relied entirely upon the labor of his Indians. This often entailed grave danger. In stocking the ranch at Tumacacori the padre employed Indians who had been suspected of the murder of Father Saeta at Caborca to drive the cattle 150 miles. Then, too, there was always danger of Apache foraging on these long trips.

In his diary for April 24, 1700, there is another reference to this project. When Bac was fully established in 1700, Kino sent a herd of seven hundred head of cattle to the ranch there, keeping seven hundred more at Dolores.

One of the ranches founded was at Cibuta between Nogales and Imuris and is still in existence and noted for its fat cattle. Kino mentions this ranch at several points in his diary. On March 3, 1701, we find;

"and after fifteen leagues' journey I arrived after nightfall at the ranch of San Simon y San Judas del Siboda.

On the fourth they gave me three infants to baptize; I provided myself with twenty other good pack-animals; seven droves of

mares were branded; and I left orders for branding immediately afterwards the thousand head of cattle contained in this ranch, which I have dedicated to the aid of the new conversions which may be founded." (23)

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23. Ibid., 1:275

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Again on October 24, 1706, Captain Juan Matheo Ramirez who accompanied Kino over the land passage to California, makes this notation in his diary:

"On the twenty-fourth we passed the ranch of San Simon y Judas del Siboda, which Father Kino had founded for the aid of new missions." (24)

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24. Ibid., 2:201

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Excerpts from a letter of Father Salvatierra in October 1699 show the dependence of California on Sonora. He says:

"That province of Sonora has been the mother of all the missions for the last thirty years, since in Sonora (and in the visitation of the Pimeria in the year 1691) were born the strong desire whence has resulted the birth of this mission of California. - - - Here every kind of animal multiplies; and already there are here eight species of animals from the other side, now acclimated to Loreto. The only lack I have suffered is of provisions. But the most holy Virgin has been present with us in all and has brought us succor not on one occasion, but on many, when least we expected it, as is the case now with the return of the bark by which I have received twenty-four loads, twenty-three of flour and one of pinole, a fine present, all of which comes to me from the province of Sonora." (25)

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25. Ibid., 1:223-4

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These vast herds of cattle served eventually as a basis for the ranching industry which makes up a great part

of the wealth of the Southwest and is one of its leading industries today. This begun by Kino is surely one of his important contributions to our economic development.

### Agriculturalist

Another contribution was in the field of agriculture. Just as Kino brought a means of livelihood to the Pimas in the shape of cattle, horses and goats and in the training he gave them as cowboys so that they built up wealth in cattle, so also in the field of agriculture he taught them many things.

"Due to his constant labors, the Pimas were given other foods and taught how to raise them. Fruits, vegetables, wheat and sugar cane were introduced by him; and the Indians learned how to cultivate better their fields of maize and their gardens." (26)

### 26. Rufus Wyllys, Pioneer Padre, 188

When new missions were established, as a part of the plan, vegetables and fruits were planted and grain fields were begun.

Thus when Padre Minutili was installed by Kino at the new mission of Tubutama, Kino ordered the planting which was necessary.

" - - - and a good field of wheat sown and a good garden leveled off and planted with various small trees of Castille, grape vines, peaches, pomegranates, fig trees, pear trees, and all kinds of garden produce." (27)

### 27. Ibid., 177

Again, when the mission at San Marcelo del Sonoita was begun among the Cocomaricopas, we find:

"On the third, after Mass and talks on Christian doctrine by Padre Kino a beef and a sheep were killed, and all the people went out to sow a good field of wheat for the Church." (28)

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28. Ibid., 183

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### Scientific Explorer

Kino's work in the scientific exploration of California and Sonora is a contribution of magnitude. To him we owe the conquest of California indirectly since he made the first entrance into that country which had resisted all the exploring expeditions made previously. Although he had to abandon San Bruno in 1684 he kept the desire to Christianize there alive and became Salvatierra's inspiration. The colonization of Sonora by Kino was an essential preliminary to that of California by Salvatierra. Without the supplies provided by Kino for that sterile land the settlement of Lower California might not have been possible, or at least it would have been delayed and much more difficult.

In a letter written at Dolores on October 18, 1701 and addressed to the Father General of the Society of Jesus at Rome, Kino sets forth his purpose of extending his missions beyond the Colorado River into Upper California and of supplying the Californias from Pimeria.

"Our Very Reverend Father General, Tyrso Gonzalez

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 Rio Colorado and the Rio Grande one thousand five hundred and fifty souls coming to see me at the place we named St. Dionysius. I informed the Reverend Juan Maria 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 there there is 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 Pimiera, 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." (29)

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29. Frank Lockwood, With Padre Kino on the Trail, 118-119  
 This letter was sent to Lockwood by Rev. Felix A. Rossetti of Brophy College, Phoenix Arizona. Father Rossetti had obtained it from college archives in Germany.
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Thus after 1699, aside from his work of converting the savages, Kino devoted much of his energy to the discovery of a land route to California.



In 1699 on a journey to the Gila River, he had received a gift of some blue shells from the Yumas. These were similar to some he had seen fourteen years previous on the Pacific coast of California. This convinced him that there must be a connection between the country of the Yumas and the Ocean. In 1702 he was successful in proving this theory. We read in his report:

"On the seventh, setting out down stream, after going four leagues, we halted near a rancheria which, however, was on the other side of the river; and while I dispatched some friendly messages to the rancherias round about, with the governor, the alcalde, and my major-domo of Nuestra-Senora de los Dolores, and the four best pack-mules that we had, I ascended a hill to the westward, where we thought we should be able to see the Sea of California; but looking and sighting toward the south, the west and the southwest, both with a long range telescope and with and without, we saw more than thirty leagues of level country, without any sea, and the junction of the Rio Colorado with this Rio Grande (or Rio de Hila, or Rio de los Apostles) and their many groves and plains. We afterwards learned that in those lands and their vicinity lived four new nations, of friendly and industrious Indians, the Quiquima, Bagiopa, Hoabonias and Cutganes. Returning to our stopping place we ate, adding some sweet meats for joy that now, thank the Lord we had seen the lands pertaining to California, without any sea between and separating these lands from it." (30)

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30. H.E. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, 1:249

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Father Salvatierra was overjoyed with this new discovery and he wrote to Kino thanking him:

"Your Reverence has a thousand benedictions from all the fathers and seculars from your journey and for the discovery, from the hill, at a distance, of the joining of New California

and New Spain." (31)

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31. Ibid., I:298

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Father Francisco Mania Picolo who was Father-visitor sent his congratulations in this same letter.

"My beloved Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, I give your Reverence a thousand congratulations for the discovery, so much desired. May our Lord grant us the boon of seeing California carry on trade with New Spain by land, for the relief of these missions and for the good of so many souls." (32)

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32. Ibid., I:298

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Letters were also received from ministers of his Royal Majesty, thanking Kino for this contribution.

Another of Kino's contributions to Geography was the discovery of Santa Inez. On one of his expeditions to Tepocas, in 1706, in company with Father Minutili, he aided in the discovery of this island. He referred to this work very modestly in his memoirs.

"Father Geronimo Minutili, having labored with much fervor in this expedition, afterward gave an account of our mission or journey to the fathers of California. God granted that jointly we should discover in this latitude thirty one in this Gulf of the Sea of California a great island, which must be about three leagues in width from east to west, and about seven or eight leagues in length from north to south, and no more than about six or seven leagues from this our terra firma, or coast. Because we discovered this new island on the twenty-first of January, we named it the Island of Santa Ynes." (33)

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33. Ibid., 2:161

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Discovery of Santa Inez was important since it pointed

cut a short route for the establishment of commerce and communication between Pimeria and California in latitude thirty-one degrees. In this regard Kino made the following comment in his reports.

"And although I have always recognized and now recognize that this passage and commerce by way of the Island of Santa Ynes and of the Cape of San Vicente at thirty-one degrees latitude can not give particular difficulty, and can be the means of great relief and advancement to the new conversions and new missions of California Baxa, where already so gloriously the fathers above mentioned are toiling, as well as of California Alta, which is the nearest and closest to the land passage to California, my very many occupations, and especially the total lack of the father missionaries necessary for so great a harvest of souls as we have in hand together with the accustomed contradiction and opposition of some disaffected ones, have prevented and now prevent me from continuing the search for the very easy discovery of this new and very short passage to California. For, as it is no more than eight or ten leagues across a very peaceful and sheltered sea, even with some good canoes, or launches, or medium-sized vessels, this way and commerce can be opened and continued." (34)

34. Ibid., 2:177

Letters to Kino from General de la Fuente and from Father Geronimo Minutili repeated the urgent need of this Pima-California gateway.

In the following year, 1706, the longer passage by land four degrees latitude to the north was established following the discovery of the northern end of the Californian Gulf and the consequent proof of the peninsular theory in regard to Lower California thus making California accessible by land to Sonora.

"- - - for, in these ten years, in fourteen expeditions which I made for this purpose, we have plainly discovered that this Sea of California extends no further than to thirty-four degrees and a half of latitude, where there is plainly a passage to California. By it there continually come to us many of those blue shells which are produced only on the opposite coast of the above mentioned California and South Sea, whereby every year the ship from China is accustomed to come." (35)

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35. Ibid., 2:244-5

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Thus Kino was an explorer of the first rank. His numerous entradas often into arid regions and most of them into unknown lands, accomplished by foot and on horseback, and frequently unaccompanied by military escort, are a testimony to this fact. Many of the trails he broke became in later days important trade routes. "In Sonora itself, his trails are still the main highways to the north." (36)

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36. Rufus Wyllys, Pioneer Padre, 187

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#### Cartographer

Father Kino's achievement in the field of cartography was a definite addition to the geographical knowledge of the day. His maps of Pimeria Alta, Lower California and of the Gulf region are based on actual exploration and discovery.

As has been stated before Kino began his series of maps early in his missionary career. The first of these was of the Puerto de Guadalupe and its vicinity and was sent by the Padre to the Duchess. His next map, made in the same year,



1683, shows the mission sites of La Paz and San Bruno.

This map was published in 1919 and is described by Bolton as a "land mark in historical geography." (37)

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37. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 160. Shows a print of this map from the original manuscript which is contained in the Huntington Library.

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He sent other maps of the California coast to friends in Mexico and in Europe. Some of these went to his former professor, Father Heinrich Scherer, under whom he had spent many hours in study at Ingolstadt. To Scherer he wrote:

"- - - all the things which we are going to see and enjoy on this expedition of ours to the nearest western shores of Carolina - - - trying to note on it accurately all things which have not been mentioned in any geographical chart up to this time, since no map exists of the interior lands of California." (38)

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38. Ibid., 178

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In his numerous expeditions to the Gila and the Colorado, Father Kino made a number of maps showing the Indian villages along the way. Some of the first of this series were based partly on hearsay but he revised these on subsequent trips on the basis of first-hand knowledge. In 1694 when he made an entrada to the north into a fascinating country which was to lure him again and again, and viewed the Casa Grande, he obtained information from the Indians there of two friendly nations living to the west. In his account of this trip he remarks:

"These nations are the Opas and Cocomari-copas. They speak a language very different (from that of the Pimas) though it is very

clear, and as there were some who knew both languages very well, I at once and with ease made a vocabulary of the said tongue, and also a map of those lands, measuring the sun with the astrolabe." (39)

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39. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir, 1:128

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Many doubts had existed before and during Kino's time as to whether California was a peninsula or an island. Prior to Drake's voyages cosmographers pictured it as a peninsula but Drake on his return to Europe carried the opposite theory and henceforward many maps showed California as an island. In his studies at Ingolstadt, Kino has access to a "general map of all the terrestrial world" a copy of which he carried to the new world. This map depicted California correctly as a peninsula, a conclusion which Kino then accepted. However on his arrival in Mexico he changed his position after due study of accounts and maps available there, to the generally accepted insular idea.

The solution of this geographical riddle became another of Kino's important achievements; the outcome of many journeys to the west and northwest. The results were published in two of his famous maps. The first one was entitled Land Passage to California and its neighboring new nations and New Missions of the Company of Jesus in North America 1701. This map was designed expressly to depict California as a peninsula but in addition it was the first detailed and exact map of the whole of the region of Upper Pimeria to be published. Bolton makes the following comment on this map:

"It exhibited the results of all of his explorations since his map made in 1696, but it was designed especially to show that California was a peninsula. In detail the map is surprisingly good, the latitudes and the configuration of the head of the Gulf, the Gila and the Colorado River being essentially correct." (40)

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40. Herbert Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 464

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Late in 1701 Kino made another entrada toward the Gulf. On this journey he crossed the Colorado, visited the Quiquimas of Alta California and traversed territory reached only by Coronado and Onate. He had reached Upper California by a land route. He now returned to Dolores.

"Arrived there he sat down and drew a map, combining the results of all his explorations to the north, and showing California as a peninsula. It was a new draft of the Paso par Tierra, his most famous contribution to cartography." (41)

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41. Ibid., 474

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Kino's most famous map was published in 1705 in Paris, in 1707 in the Spanish version and in 1708 in English.

"Not only did European scholars print and reprint Kino's map, but they talked and wrote about his remarkable work. For example, on February 9, 1708-9, at a meeting of the Royal Society of London, "A paper was read of ye discovery of California whereby it appears not to be an Island." Kino had become an international figure. His appointment as royal cosmographer was fully justified." (42)

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42. Ibid., 569-570

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Kino's keen foresightedness is glaringly exemplified in his proposed plan to the King for the conversion of Upper

California. Much time would have been saved had Kino's plan been executed. Instead Monterey and Yuma waited, Yuma for almost a century and a half.

"Kino is therefore one of the headlights in the list of those men who contributed to the founding of Spanish California. Not only did he possess these ideas himself, but he also disseminated them in his voluminous writings." (43)

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43. Charles E. Chapman, A History of California: The Spanish Period, 190

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His idea of a land route from Sonora to Monterey which was important in the development of California was put into reality in 1775-6 by Anza and Father Garces. In the winter of 1928 when Bolton and Lockwood were following Anza's trail, Lockwood remarked:

"As far as the Colorado River however, Anza was following trails broken eighty years earlier by the intrepid Kino." (44)

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44. Frank Lockwood, With Kino on the Trail, 9.

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### Historian

We must not overlook Kino's great contribution as an historian. How, in days filled to the brim with activities, he found time to make a written record, is beyond comprehension. However, we have his original letters, diaries and reports to prove his powers as an historian.

The most valuable of these records is his history written at Dolores and to which he gave the following complete title: Favores Celestiales de Jesus y de Maria Ssma



y del gloriosissimo Apostol de las Yndias S. Francisco Xavier experimentados en las nuevas Conquistas y nuevas Conversiones del nueva Reino de la Nueva Navarra desta America Septentrional yncognita y Passo por Tierras que hasta Aora havian sido yncognitas, dedicados a la Rl. Magd de Felipo V mui Catolico Rey y gran Monarca de las Espanes, y de las Yndias."

The history was written at the request of the Father General of the Jesuit Order to whom Kino forwarded it in parts as it was completed. The source is an invaluable one as it is an account of an historical movement of great importance from the pen of the principal actor. No other account was written during this quarter century.

Favores Celestiales is written in five parts opening with a dedication to Philip V then reigning king of Spain. Part One contains a history of the affairs of Pimeria Alta and a discussion as to the peninsular versus the island theory of California Baja. It covers events of the twelve years from 1687 to 1699. Parts two, three and four, covering the years from 1700 to 1707 lay emphasis on the Padre's explorations in Pimeria Alta, along the Gila and Colorado Rivers and the Gulf coast. The last part is a report to the Spanish King arguing for further conquest in California with the idea of establishing a new kingdom there to be known as New Navarre.

In discussing the merit of Kino's history, Bolton who rediscovered it after a loss of almost two centuries and who published the English translation in 1919, says:

"Indeed, the rediscovery and the publication of this long lost manuscript, whose

very existence has been disputed, puts on a new basis the early history of a large part of our Southwest." (45)

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45. Herbert Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir, 1:21

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In addition to all this Kino was a booster. He was the first white man to advertise the virtues of Pimeria Alta. In his relation to Philip V he paints an attractive picture not only of the cattle and agricultural products but also of the climate, mineral wealth, salt beds and fisheries. He writes:

"The climate of most of these lands and new conquests where the promotion of these new conversions is asked is very good and pleasant, and somewhat similar to that of Mexico and to the best of Europe with neither too great heat nor too great cold.

In these new nations and new lands there are many good veins and mineral lands bearing gold and silver; and in the neighborhood and even in sight of these new missions and new conversions some very good new mining camps of very rich silver are now being established.

On this coast of the Sea of California, or Californian Gulf, of these new conquests, we have very good salt beds, of white as well as rock salt; and there are inlets and posts very suitable for fishing for all sorts of very savory fish, shrimps, oysters, etc.," (46)

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46. Ibid., 2:266-7

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In an evaluation of Kino's influence on his contemporaries, Bolton writes:

"Before he came to California Kino's career was in preparation. There he became a personality. Without Kino to shed light upon them, Atondo, Goni, and Copart would now be dim figures. They were good and useful men. But it was Kino's presence that lifted them and their deeds above the common place.

On the peninsula Father Eusebio revealed his gifts as an inimitable missionary, an exuberant explorer, a superb diarist, and a trained cartographer. On his return to the Mexican capital, where he dealt face to face with provincial and viceroy, he demonstrated his power to influence men - a power based on a magnetic personality, sound knowledge, and the courage of his convictions. But not till he reached Pima Land did Kino's outstanding qualities blossom forth into full flower. There his peculiar genius found its opportunity. He was an individualist, restive of restraint, fitted best to flourish outside the range of stereotyped society. He was most himself on the frontier." (47)

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47. H.E. Bolton, Rim of Christendom, 587

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Such was the life work and monumental contribution of this great hero of the Southwest, inspired by his predecessors, Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier to give up potential fame for a life of hardship, suffering, sacrifice and complete self-effacement. Kino's life was dominated by a sole purpose, that of bringing Christ to Indians whom he loved, and trusted. He gave up all for them. He was answering that question, "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?"

But in achieving all this he could not help but use the good means which would help to the noble end. Following in Christ's footsteps, his heroic unselfishness, his complete self-effacement, his patience, humility, gentleness, kindness and his deep love led him to monumental achievement in the lives of his Indians.

As a man of action, too, he stands out as a pioneer responsible for those beginnings in Southwest culture which

are evident throughout that section to this day and which we have noted. His missionary activity alone was a vast undertaking. In addition we have noted his church building, stock-raising, agricultural pursuits, exploration, cartography, peace making and his writing - all contributing to the influence of this greatest of North American missionaries.



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