THE SPANISH MISSIONS OF THE SANTA CRUZ VALLEY

by the

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A Thesis

submitted to the faculty of the

Department of Archaeology

in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in the Graduate College

University of Arizona

1937

Approved:

Brynn Cummings
Major Professor

May 18, '37
Date.

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INTRODUCTION

Although much of the early history of the United States was the result of pure accident, the discovery of New Mexico was the result of a carefully planned expedition. Chance furnished the incentive for exploration, but the entire history of the Southwest is the outcome of careful planning.

Columbus began the chain of accident and design when, at the age of twenty-five, he set out from the Mediterranean on an expedition to England. Scarcely had the fleet cleared the Pillars of Hercules, when it was attacked by French pirates. Columbus was one of those who escaped, being rescued by some Portuguese and taken ashore. Thus he made his first acquaintance with the Iberian Peninsula, which was to play such an important part in his subsequent voyages. From stories he here heard from the lips of sailors, his carefully planned expedition set out on that memorable Friday, August 2, 1492.¹

Accident again intervened when the American continents threw their bulk before him and blocked his passage to the spice lands of the Orient. Realizing fully the importance

1. Kirkpatrick, 1934, p. 4.

of his discoveries, he established bases among the islands and continued his explorations. Continuing his indefatigable search for the Strait of Anian, which would lead through the land masses and on to the East, he sailed on his fourth voyage in 1502. A tropical hurricane buffeted him about and resulted in his visit to the island of Guanaja off the coast of Honduras. Fate again dogged his trail and almost carried him to the North American mainland. At Guanaja he met a great Indian dug-out manned by a type of Indian which he had not before seen. From them he learned of a land to the west which they called Maia². These cultured natives were Mayas from Yucatan. Had he turned westward; had he accepted the invitation of the Mayan chieftain to visit Yucatan, most likely his waning good fortune would have taken on new life, and the great Admiral, and not Hernando Cortez, would have been the discoverer of the great treasure stores of Mexico. But he sailed eastward to die in Spain, a broken and disappointed old man, while the Maya turned his canoe westward, no doubt to recount to the wide-eyed listeners about a truncated temple-pyramid, the story of the white men, the sons of Kukulcan.

Chance, good luck, destiny, or what you will, again spun the wheel of fortune in America. Scarcely had Hernando

2. Blom, 1936. p. 3.

Cortez captured the great Montezuma, when reports came to him that Panfilo de Narvaez, with eighteen ships, had landed at San Juan de Ulua with orders to capture the "pirate Cortez." Cortez, leaving 150 men to guard Montezuma and the three hundred thousand Aztecs in Mexico City, took about a hundred men and set off to the coast to capture Narvaez. This he did, but had Narvaez been victorious, doubtless his expedition to Florida seven years later would never have been made, and Cabeza de Vaca's account of great cities to the northward would never have been told, and the search for the Seven Cities of Cibola would never have brought Fray Marcos de Niza and Coronado into Arizona and New Mexico. The years between 1492 and 1539 are only forty-seven, but many, many thousands are the miles between Spain, Hispanola, Cuba, Mexico, to Cuba again, northward to Florida, along the Gulf of Mexico to Texas, across Texas to the Valle de los Corozones, to Mexico City again, again northward across southern Arizona, and up to Cibola.

Hispanic North America had been discovered. Then chance played a less important part and carefully planned expeditions set out which resulted in the missions of the Santa Cruz Valley in Arizona.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST

The degenerate days of pagan Rome had committed suicide. Hope had sprung anew during the days of Charlemagne, only to be followed by a period of dismal darkness before a bright dawn. The Dark Ages (800-1100 A.D.) set in, obscuring and apparently threatening the very extinction of all civilization. Then came the Crusades with their consequent exchange of enlightenment which resulted in the thirteenth, probably the greatest of all the centuries. Spain, on the western rim of Christendom, had been the battleground of civilizations from the days of the Germanic migrations. It had likewise been the field upon which Mohammedanism and Christianity had met in mortal combat. Europe was restless with the restlessness that comes from inactivity when one has known nothing but activity. New outlets for energy were needed and these were furnished by the glamorous tales brought back to the Old World by the sailors of Christopher Columbus.

Again the young Spaniard brought out his heavy armor and prepared for a new crusade for God and country. Foremost among these young Spaniards was a youth of good family who was born a sickly babe in a remote town in Estremadura, Hernando Cortez. He was a seven-year-old boy when the Great Admiral brought back news of the discovery of the islands that fringed the coast of the continent of Asia, as it was thought.

A stormy adolescence at Salamanca brought him far greater interest in the campaigns of Hannibal and Alexander and Caesar than in the ~~ineticacies~~^{intricacies} of the law, for which study his father had sent him to the great university. It was probably with a feeling of relief, then, that his family saw him sail for the West Indies in the year 1504.

A turbulent fifteen or so years in Cuba was the training school for the greatest of the Conquistadores. Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, assisted him in outfitting an expedition to the North American mainland. The night before the expedition was to set sail, Velasquez changed his mind and ordered Cortez' arrest. News of this reached Cortez, and he hastened his preparations, defied the governor, and, as Velasquez' agents arrived to arrest him, pushed out westward with his fleet of eleven ships, four hundred Spanish soldiers and two hundred Indian auxiliaries, thirty-two horses, ten cannon, and four culverins or long cannon.

Doughty, garrulous, lovable old Bernal Diaz del Castillo, soldier in Cortez' expedition, has recorded the events of this most glamorous of all conquests in his "Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana." The island of Cozumel and the peninsula of Yucatan introduced the Mayans to European fighting. Then Cortez sailed northward and into the Gulf of Mexico. Landing at the harbor which he called Vera Cruz, he fought his way to the

capital of the Aztecs and by 1521 had completed the overthrow of the most powerful of American Indian civilizations.

But Velasquez had not given up. He sent the tragic Panfilo de Narvaez with eighteen ships and a thousand men to capture Cortez. This force landed on the shore of Mexico in April 1520, while Cortez was in the midst of a thousand delicate situations in the Aztec capital. What force could not do, Cortez accomplished by strategy. Leaving the great city with its hundreds of thousands of amazed and infuriated Aztecs guarded by Alvarado and about one hundred fifty men, Cortez took eighty of his most trustworthy soldiers and set out against Narvaez. His little band was augmented by some twenty outposts along the way. Arriving at Narvaez' camp on Pentecost Sunday, 1520, Cortez captured the expedition, won them over to his side and with the erstwhile enemy as allies, returned to Mexico City. Narvaez, one of his eyes having been put out in the battle, returned to the Aztec capital with Cortez, in whose army he remained until 1523, when he returned to Cuba and Spain to plot against Cortez.

As the expeditions of Cortez pushed northward after the conquest of Mexico, new tales of the rival of South America's El Dorado, namely, Quivera and the Seven Cities of Cibola with their fabulous wealth, began to lure the Spaniards onward. Cortez now began his expeditions by water along the Pacific coast. In 1533 and again in 1534 he sent out ships from Tehuantepec, which expeditions

resulted in nothing but failure and additional intrigues on the part of Cortez' rivals. During the winter of 1534 and 1535, Cortez fitted out three ships, the San Lazaro, the Santa Agueda, and the Santo Tomas, and dispatched them northward. He and his army went by land to Chaimetle, where they joined the fleet. Thence he sailed for a point in Lower California near the present town of La Paz. This attempt resulted in failure as far as actual colonization was concerned. However, it brought about a greater geographical knowledge of the unknown northland, and furnished more interesting stories of wealth to urge the soldiers on. It was on this Lower California that Cortez had written the Spanish king in 1524:

"The island is inhabited only by women without any men, and at given times men from the mainland visit them; if they conceive, they keep the female children to which they give birth, but the males they throw away. The island is ten days journey from the province....and....is very rich in pearls and gold." ("Colonial Hispanic America" Chapman.)

It is interesting to note that California was first considered an island, then proved to be a peninsula by Cortez' expeditions, then placed on the maps of the early seventeenth century as an island, again proved by Padre Kino to be a peninsula, and promptly considered an island again by his immediate successors.

Cortez, on his expedition to Lower California, had come into conflict with Antonio de Mendoza, who had been appointed viceroy of New Spain in 1528, but who did not arrive

in the new country until 1535. Probably jealous of the great discoveries of Cortez, Mendoza asked the Crown for permission to conduct explorations himself.

At this juncture, in 1536, a new difficulty was hurled into the feud. One day Alva Nuno Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions staggered into Culiacan, the frontier town of New Spain, and announced that they were the solé survivors of the expedition of Narvaez to Florida that sailed away from Cuba in 1528, and had not been heard from since. Cabeza de Vaca brought stories that were interpreted as referring to the fabulous Seven Cities of Cibola.

In 1525, Cortez permitted the disgruntled Panfilo de Narvaez to return to Cuba and Spain. Narvaez was apparently successful in convincing the authorities that he had been greatly misunderstood by Cortez, and accordingly mistreated. Narvaez was the chief witness in the many lawsuits involving Cortez. The Emperor Charles V, at any rate, gave Narvaez permission to explore, pacify, and colonize the land of Florida, the territory extending from the present Florida to the Rio de las Palmas, probably the present Rio Grande river. Baltasar de Obregon, writing in about 1584, gives a cynical account of the grant:

"His majesty, in order to escape the great importunity of Panfilo de Narvaez, who prosecuted the marquis in lawsuits without much determination and care, thereby preventing the reward of his own services and those of Diego Velasquez, named him governor and captain-general of La Florida and the Rio de las Palmas, with a rich army of six hundred picked soldiers and gentlemen of high standing. He accepted this favor with

proper gratefulness and departed with his large army of showy and brave people." (Obregon's History. Translated by Hammond and Rey, Los Angeles, California, 1928, page 6.)

Panfilo de Narvaez set out from Spain on June 27, 1527, with a fleet of five ships and six hundred men. As treasurer of the expedition, the King had sent Alva Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. De Vaca was to see that the king's fifth of all the treasure discovered was duly transmitted to the king. There was also among the members of the expedition the Franciscan friar, Juan Suarez, commissary, and bishop-elect of Texas and the countries to be discovered. The ships sailed for Cuba to outfit the expedition. There many of the men deserted. In due time the expedition sailed from Cuba with four hundred men and eighty horses. After suffering extremely from tropical hurricanes in the Gulf of Mexico, they finally sighted, on April 12, 1528, the land which Ponce de Leon had discovered on Easter Sunday, fifteen years before, and called Pascua Florida. Part of the soldiers, under command of Narvaez himself, went ashore, and the ships were sent on southward and westward, never to be heard from again. The Indians on shore fled when the soldiers approached. Villages were found deserted. Narvaez and his men explored a great distance northward and eastward. The Indians became hostile, fighting from ambush. Sickness, damp heat, insect pests decimated the army. In desperation, they fashioned for themselves five crude boats or barges and, with the two hundred forty-two survivors, abandoned Florida. On about September 20, they set

out for the Rio de las Palmas and Panuco, somewhere south and west, they knew not how far distant.

Suffering extremely from lack of food and water, they found it necessary to put ashore occasionally for supplies. On one such foraging expedition, they were attacked by a great band of natives. Cabeza de Vaca records that "not one of us escaped unhurt." Winter came on, with its storms and consequent shipwrecks. De Vaca's barge was wrecked upon the cold and desolate shores of an island which he called Isla de Mal Hado. This has been identified as Galveston Island. There De Vaca and his few men were tenderly cared for by the natives, and fed and nursed back to a semblance of health. Here he learned that the boat in charge of Dorantes and Castillo had also been wrecked upon this island. It was about November 5, 1528. Later on, they learned from survivors that Narvaez' barge had been swept out to sea and lost. Only about eight men of the expedition now remained. One after another, these died of sickness, disease, hunger, and exposure.

It was at this time that the Spaniards were first called upon to demonstrate their medical knowledge. An epidemic swept through the Indian tribes. Some of the natives declared that it was in some way due to the presence of the strangers. Others denied this, pointing out that the Spaniards also were dying from the disease. However, they demanded that the Spaniards cure them. Then it was that Cabeza de Vaca records that they breathed upon the savages, prayed the "Our

Father" and the "Hail Mary," and effected many cures.

By the spring of 1529 only fourteen of the expedition remained alive. Cabeza de Vaca himself was critically ill. In fact, his death was reported to Dorantes, and he and Castillo went on, thinking their companion already dead. De Vaca was at this time still on Galveston Island, or the Isla de Mal Hado. As he recovered, he was sent out by the Indian tribe to neighboring tribes with whom they were at enmity, to act as a trader. This gave him opportunity to explore the country and to plan his escape.

In 1534, he left the island and started south and west, still hoping to find the Spanish villages that he knew were somewhere to the south. In a short time he met his erstwhile companions, who had been made slaves by a Texas tribe of Indians. Obregon gives the names of these four trans-continental wanderers as follows:

"Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, a gentleman of great courage, piety, and esteem, a native of Jerez de la Frontera, son of Francisco de Vera and grandson of Pedro de Vaca, who conquered the Canary Islands. His mother was Dona Teresa Cabeza de Vaca.

"Captain Andres de Orantes de Carrion, a very deserving, pious, brave gentleman, was another. He was the son of Pablo de Dorantes and Beatriz de Carranza, and a native of Bejar de Castanar in Old Castile.

"Andres del Castillo Maldonado, a Christianlike gentleman of high quality and worth, a native of Salamanca, son of Doctor Castillo and Dona Aldonza Maldonado.

"And Estevanico, a negro of the Arabian nation from Azamor, the slave of Captain Andres de Orantes de Carranza." (Obregon's History, page 7).

The following year the four escaped from the natives and continued their way westward. Very often they were called

upon to act as super-medicine-men. De Vaca records that many were the cures that they effected through prayer and the sign of the cross. This may account for the fact that in almost all cases, the Indians of the Southwest came to meet the first Spanish explorers with crosses in their hands. Cabeza de Vaca slyly remarked on one occasion, "They wanted to make medicine men of us without any examination or asking for our diplomas." De Vaca also records what is undoubtedly the first major surgical operation performed by a European within the territory now embraced in the United States. He writes:

"Here they brought me a man who, they told, a long time ago had been shot through the left side of the back with an arrow, the head of which stuck close to his heart. He said it gave him much pain, and that on this account he was sick. I touched the region of the body and felt the arrowhead, and that it had pierced the cartilage. So, with a knife, I cut open the breast as far as the place. The arrow point had gotten athwart, and was very difficult to remove. By cutting deeper, and inserting the point of the knife, with great difficulty I got it out; it was very long. Then, with a deer-bone, according to my knowledge of surgery, I made two stitches. After I had extracted the arrow they begged me for it, and I gave it to them. The whole village came back to look at it, and they sent it further inland that the people there might see it also.

"On account of this cure they made many dances and festivities, as is their custom. The next day I cut the stitches, and the Indian was well. The cut I had made only showed a scar like a line in the palm of the hand, and he said he felt not the least pain." (The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. Translated by Fanny Bandelier. New York, 1905)

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions came into contact with several artifacts and received many stories that point strongly to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. On one occasion they were presented with a little copper bell, which they were

told came from the north. Again, he writes:

"...two of their medicine men gave us gourds.

Thence onward we carried gourds, which aided greatly to our authority, since they hold these ceremonial objects very high."³

Esteban was later to make a mistake regarding these gourds which cost him his life.

Continuing southward, somewhere below the present international border east of El Paso, Texas, they reached the Valley of Hearts - Valle de los Corozones - so called because there Dorantes was given four hundred dried deer hearts. Here also they heard of great cities to the north, where the people were clothed in cotton and wore turquoise. But just at the moment, a more important thing was discovered. As Castillo talked with an Indian, he saw that he wore as a pendant a small sword-buckle to which was attached a horseshoe nail. Eagerly inquiring whence it had come, Castillo was told that white men had given it to the Indian. Here at last was a definite clue to other Spaniards. Cabeza de Vaca and Esteban, stronger than Dorantes and Castillo, hurried off in search of their fellow-Spaniards. Shortly, they met four soldiers, members of Diego de Alcarez' band, under the command of Nuno de Guzman. Returning for the other two travellers, the four made their way to Culiacan, and eventually to Mexico City, late in 1536, eight years after having sailed from Cuba.

The Viceroy Mendoza, bitter rival of Cortez, was

3. Bandelier, 1905, p. 138

intensely interested in the reports that these four travelers brought from the north. It was a well-known fact that Nuno de Guzman owned a Tejas slave who in his childhood had been with his father in seven large and rich cities in the north - large, in fact, so he said, as Mexico City itself. Mendoza wished the four transcontinental travelers to remain with him and carry on explorations to the end that these Seven Cities of Cibola might be found. But they were not interested. Cabeza de Vaca wished to return to Spain. Dorantes intended to do likewise, but after an unsuccessful start, seems to have returned to Mexico City. He and Castillo remained in Mexico, where, according to Bishop,⁴ they married and raised large families. Cabeza de Vaca, shortly after his return to Spain, was made governor of the Rio de la Plata country in South America. After some years in that region, political intrigues caused his arrest and return to Spain. There he died, like his predecessor Columbus, in poverty and disgrace, about 1556. Bandelier, however, thinks he died "certainly later than 1564."⁵

Even though these immortal four, Cabeza de Vaca, Alonzo del Castillo Maldonado, Andres Dorantes de Carranza and his slave, Esteban, cannot be called the discoverers of the

4. Bishop, The Odyssey of Cabeza de Vaca. New York; 1933

5. Bandelier, A. F., Contributions to the History of the Southwestern portion of the United States. Cambridge, 1890.

American Southwest, it was the reports which they brought back to Mexico which proved the inciting force that set in motion the real discovery of the Southwest.

Just what reports Cabeza de Vaca made we do not know. Undoubtedly he made some written report to the Viceroy, but it is not now extant. The only reports we have were written after De Vaca had returned to Spain.

However, New Spain was electrified by the news. As the quest for El Dorado has lured many to South America, so now the Seven Cities of Cibola were talked of by everybody. Surely the northland would produce at least much wealth as had the Inca and Aztec countries. The stories of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions increased with repetition. Things that they had never dreamed of were said to have been reported by them. Human nature was the same then as now.

The Viceroy Mendoza was quick to grasp the importance of the news brought back by De Vaca. His rival, Cortez, was in Spain, which gave the Viceroy an excellent opportunity to explore the new lands. The senescent Marquis de Valle, Cortez, seems to have raged impotently from afar.

Belthasar Obregon, writing forty-six years after the event, casually reports Mendoza's interest in the matter:

"...the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza became interested in the discovery of those lands of which he had been informed. With the approval and consent of the royal audiencia and the ministers of this kingdom, he sent an expedition to verify the discoveries and the report given to him of the region toward the north by the four lost ones. This was

carried out by Fray Marcos de Niza of the order of San Francisco."⁶

The Viceroy gave Fray Marcos explicit instructions regarding this reconnaissance. Esteban, former slave of Dorantes, was sent along as guide. Mendoza wrote in his instructions to Fray Marcos:

".....You shall take with you Esteban Dorantes for a guide, whom I order that he obey you in all and by all that you command him, as he would myself, and, if he does not do so, he shall be in jeopardy and shall incur the penalties which befall those who do not obey persons who hold power from H. M. to command them."⁷

Had this been written by a dramatist as "preparation" for the climax of a tragedy, it could not have been made more forceful. Esteban did go. Fray Marcos gave him explicit commands. Esteban disobeyed them. Esteban paid with his life for his rashness.

The Viceroy instructed Fray Marcos to be careful of his life above all else. He had, further, to observe carefully the lands through which he travelled, their population, their resources, their geology. It is noteworthy in attempting to rediscover the route of Fray Marcos that he was ordered to keep near the sea coast and to look for the Strait of Anian.

The instructions of Mendoza are not dated, but on November 20, 1538, at Tonala, Fray Marcos recorded the acknowledgment of the receipt of the instructions, adding,

6. Obregon's History, Hammond-Rey, p. 8.

7. Fr. Marcos de Niza, Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola, translated by Percy M. Baldwin, p. 9.

"I promise faithfully to fulfill the said instructions and not to go against nor to exceed them in anything therein contained, now or at any time."⁸

Fray Marcos de Niza set out from Culiacan, Mexico, on Friday, March 7, 1539, accompanied by a Franciscan lay-brother, Fray Honoratus, Esteban, and a number of Indians of the Pima tribe who had been instructed in Mexico City in the Spanish language and in Christian Doctrine. At Petatlan, the modern Sinaloa, Fray Honoratus became ill. The party remained there three days and then, leaving Fray Honoratus, they pushed on northward.

Fray Marcos, Esteban, and the Indians arrived at Vacapa, as the Friar says, "two days before Passion Sunday." He planned to remain in that pueblo two weeks. He sent Indians to the coast to bring him reports. Esteban was dispatched to the north with instructions to scout out the country for fifty or sixty leagues. Esteban left Vacapa during the afternoon of Passion Sunday, two Sundays before Easter. After a lapse of four days, he sent back messengers to Fray Marcos with reports of Cibola.

On the Tuesday after Easter, April 8, 1539, Fray Marcos and his Indians again took up the trail, expecting to join Esteban. After a few days, messengers came from Esteban, telling that the slave had disobeyed Fray Marcos and the express commands of Mendoza, and had continued along

8. Baldwin-Marcos de Niza. Relacion. p. 11.

the way to Cibola. The Friar seems to have traveled rather leisurely during the month, carefully studying the country and securing information from the natives. Eventually, he reached a deserted stretch of country. The Indians told him that it was now fifteen days' journey to the first town of Cibola. The Friar records in his Relacion that he entered this deserted country on May 9.

On the twelfth day, disheveled members of Esteban's party met Fray Marcos, announcing that the negro had entered the first village of Cibola, presented his ceremonial gourd, and, together with several members of his retinue, had been killed. A fact that seems to have been ignored by all modern writers is the simple statement which Fray Marcos makes for the reason for Esteban's murder. The vitriolic Castenada and the scandal-mongers of the present sexy school of writers have been able to conjure up salacious pictures of Esteban's wantonness. The simple fact is, however, that Esteban innocently presented the Zuni chieftain with an Apache medicine gourd. Fray Marcos relates the event as follows:

"Esteban, according to his custom, sent ahead messengers with his calabash, that they might know he was coming. The calabash was adorned with some rows of rattles and two feathers, one white and one red. When they arrived at Cibola, before the person of the lord's representative in that place, and gave him the calabash, as soon as he took it in his hands and saw the rattles, with great anger he flung it on the ground and told the messengers to be gone forthwith; that he knew what sort of people these were, and that the messengers should tell them not to enter the city, and if they did so he would put them to death."⁹

9. Fray Marcos - Baldwin, Discovery of the Seven Cities of Cibola. p. 25.

Fray Marcos was eager to go into Cibola, but because of Viceroy Mendoza's express orders that he conserve his life at all events, he merely viewed the pueblo from afar. It should be noted here that nowhere does Fray Marcos make any statement regarding gold and silver in the village. However, in the Ramusio edition of the Relacion, the Italian editor has made a lengthy interpolation which has given rise to the ancient canards about the Franciscan friar and his veracity.

After taking possession of the country for the Spanish emperor and naming it the New Kingdom of St. Francis, Fray Marcos returned in all haste to Mexico. On September 2, 1539, he presented his Relacion to the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, swearing to the truth of it before Juan Baeza de Herrera as notary. Nevertheless, Dr. Carl Sauer, writing in "The Road to Cibola," in 1932, finds that the Friar was an arch-liar, entirely unreliable, too "soft" to have made the long journey to Cibola, and, in fact, never went farther north than the site of Douglas, Arizona. Historians will make their choice as to who is correct, Doctor Sauer in his modern mental ramblings, or Fray Marcos de Niza writing immediately after the journey, and attesting to it under oath.

Mendoza had already ordered the governor of Nueva Galicia, Francisco Vasquez Coronado, to mobilize his army at Campostella. With Fray Marcos de Niza as guide, the army set out from Culiacan on April 22, 1540, for Cibola. Coronado and his men crossed Arizona and fell upon Hawikuh, the first

of the Seven Cities of Cibola on July 7. Coronado was wounded in the battle. Having heard of other pueblos to the northwest, he sent Don Pedro de Tovar to reconnoiter. This expedition of Tovar resulted in the discovery of the Hopi Pueblos, and of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

Upon his recovery, Coronado continued his explorations through New Mexico and Texas. In disgust at the poverty of the country, in 1542 the General and his men abandoned the New Kingdom of St. Francis and returned to New Spain. This ended Coronado's contact with the American Southwest.

The next entrada into the Southwest occurred in 1583 under Fray Agustin Rodriguez in 1582. Entering by way of the Conchos river and the Rio Grande, he turned westward at about the side of Socorro, New Mexico, and traveled as far west as Acoma. Don Antonio de Espejo made a similar entrada during the following year, but neither of these expeditions reached Arizona. However, by 1629, extensive explorations had been made of the Hopi Country and at least four missions established, namely, San Francisco do Oraibi, San Bernardino de Awatobi, San Bernardo de Walip, and San Bartolome de Shungopavi. These, together with their missionaries, were wiped out during the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Hopis at Awatobi permitted the mission to be rebuilt at Awatobi, but it was destroyed together with the entire village in 1700.

As far as is known, southern Arizona and the Santa Cruz Valley were not touched again by white men after the

departure of the last of Coronado's troops in 1542, until the entrada of Padre Kino in 1691.

FOUNDATION OF HISPANIC ARIZONA

One of the greatest historical documents of all time, Padre Kino's Favores Celestiales, lay forgotten in the archives of Mexico for some one hundred fifty years. Ortega drew heavily from it in composing his Apostolicos Afanes de la Compania de Jesus in 1752. Venegas had the manuscript before him when he wrote his Noticias de la California. The encyclopedic Bancroft knew of its having been written, but not that it was still in existence. Then one day in 1908, Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton discovered it in the Archivo General y Publico in Mexico City. This document, in diary form, established the truth concerning many matters which before had been merely conjectural. It also gave an impetus to the study of the great Jesuit's life and works both in this country and in his native Italy.

This study has brought out that Eusebio Kino was born in the village of Segno, in the Tyrolese Alps, probably on August 10, 1645. He arrived in Mexico on September 25, 1681. In October of the same year he set out for the new missions of Baja California. There he served his novitiate as a missionary until the abandonment of the California missions in December 1685. He had requested to be sent to the missions among the Guaymas and the Seris, with whom he had become acquainted while in Lower California. During the following December, he

set out for the northlands, but upon reaching Conicari, he found that he was to be sent to the missions of Pimeria Alta. Arriving at Cucurpe in the middle of February 1687, his fate was sealed. He was now on the lower rim of the territory that was to be the theatre of his actions for the rest of his life. Father Aguilar had been begging the vice-provincial, Father Manuel Gonzales, for a missionary to extend the frontiers of Christendom farther to the north. Therefore the newcomer was placed upon the rim of Christendom. But he did not long remain there. Taking up the rim, he advanced east, west, and north with rapid strides. He selected Cosari as his headquarters, naming it Nuestra Sonora de los Dolores del Cosari.

Adverse reports, spread by malcontents, had reached officials regarding the Indians of Pimeria Alta. There were very few people really in these northlands; they were very unfriendly; missionary efforts were being wasted. Such tales kept coming back from the frontier. In order to learn the truth the Jesuit Provincial, Father Ambrosio Oddon sent Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra to investigate. He came to Dolores at Christmas 1690. Early in January Salvatierra and Kino journeyed to Tubatama, and then a little farther northward to El Saric and Tucubavia. All along the way great throngs of natives were encountered, who showed the greatest reverence for the Padres. As a hundred and fifty years previous, they had welcomed Fray Marcos de Niza, so now they greeted the two Jesuits. Padre Kino records the event very fully in his diary:

"It was our intention to turn back from Tucubavia to Cocospera, but from the north some messengers or couriers of the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, more than forty leagues' journey, and from San Cayetano del Tumacacori, came to meet us, with some crosses, which they gave us, kneeling with great veneration, and asking us on behalf of all their people to go to their rancherias also. The father visitor said to me that those crosses which they carried were tongues that 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 Guevavi, a journey of about fifteen leagues, and arrived at the rancheria of San Cayetano del Tumacacori, where there were some Sobaipuris headmen, who had come twenty and twenty-five leagues from the north. 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." ¹⁰

Turning southward, they passed through the rancheria of Guevavi, later to become the head mission of southern Arizona. Thus did Kino make his first of fourteen entradas into Arizona. It is most probable that his route into Arizona lay through Walker Canyon in the Tumacacori mountains, some fifteen or twenty miles west of Nogales. Salvatierra was very enthusiastic about the prospects. Kino quotes him as saying:

"My Father Rector, not only shall the removal from this 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."

Padre Kino was busy with his missions, and it was not until August and September of 1692 that he was able to make his second entrada into the Santa Cruz valley. It was on this trip that he first visited the favorite of all his missions, Bac,

10. Bolton, "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta."
Vol. I, p. 119.

which he named San Francisco Xavier in honor of his patron saint, St. Francis Xavier, Apostle to the Indies. Here Kino's overpowering personality captivated the natives, and their affability, in turn, so impressed him that ever after he longed to take up his residence at Bac, a hope that with the fatality of an old Greek tragedy was constantly frustrated.

Kino and his servants and pack train then turned east, between the Santa Rita and the Rincon mountains, striking the San Pedro river, which he called "Rio San Jose de Terrenate" ~~Quiburi~~, near the present town of Benson. Traveling up the river, he visited Quiburi and its chief, Coro.

Kino's third entrada shoved the rim of Christendom still farther northward. "In November, 1694," he casually records in his diary, "I went inland with my servants and some justices of this Pimeria, as far as the Casa Grande, as these Pimas call it, which is on the large river of Hila that flows out of Nuevo Mexico and has its source near Acoma." Thus Kino had traversed the entire Santa Cruz Valley.

So impressed was he with the possibilities of the region that the next year he made a trip to Mexico City to try to secure more missionaries. He secured only promises which did not materialize.

His fourth entrada was via the San Pedro valley, in December 1696. It was on this trip that he firmly established ranching in Arizona, bringing with him numbers of cattle, sheep, goats, and mares. On January 13, 1697, he was at Bac where he

started a ranch. Although Kino does not mention it in his diary, some years ago I found in the Huntington Library in Pasadena, California, a manuscript written by Andres Burriel entitled "Extractos y Notillas," in which occurs this statement:

"Empeso la Iglesia al 19 de Enero de 1697 a S. Xavier del Bac y S. Cayetano dejando en ambos ganado mayor."

This passage, written in 1749 seems to record the building of the first churches at San Xavier and Tumacacori.

Kino, Mange, and their trains were back in Arizona again that same fall. On this entrada they traveled the entire length of the San Pedro valley, west along the Gila river to Casa Grande, and even to San Andres, some distance west of the great ruins. Mange and Bernal explored the region about Casa Grande and found the great irrigation ditch. The practical-minded Padre Kino at once grasped the feasibility of restoring the ditch and making a mission of the ruins. On November 17, 1697, they started back to Mexico. At San Xavier they found six thousand people, where, on the first visit there had been eight hundred. Mange elaborates upon the journey, telling of their passing through Santa Catalina, San Agustin de Oiaur, Tumacacori and Guevavi.

Kino's seventh entrada again traversed the Santa Cruz valley. Leaving Dolores on September 22, 1698, he went as far north as San Andres on the Gila river. Thence he turned directly south through the Pagago desert, through

Anegam west of Tucson, and thence to San Marcelo de Sonoita on the Arizona-Mexico border. Continuing southward, he reached the rancheria of Bacapa, which he called San Luis Bertrando del Bacapa. Padre Kino records that Bacapa is the rancheria "whither came the very Reverend Father Fray Marcos de Niza in his apostolic peregrination, and where he had reports which he puts in his book of the Seven Cities to the north and north-east."¹¹

If such were the case, and surely Kino in 1698 should know better than we in 1937, then Fray Marcos de Niza must have traversed the Santa Cruz valley, rather than the San Pedro.

Kino's eighth entrada was via San Marcelo de Sonoita to Yuma, and thence back along the Gila to San Andres, Casa Grande, San Xavier, and Tumacacori, and on to Dolores. Kino left Dolores on about February 7, 1699, made this tremendous trip above mentioned and returned to Dolores on March 14, a trip of almost a thousand miles in one month!

On October 27 of the same year, 1699, Kino was again in the Santa Cruz valley. With the Father Leal, Father Gonzalvo, Father Agustin de Campos, Lieutenant Mange and two other soldiers, he visited Guevavi and Tumacacori. There the Indians met them with crosses and triumphal arches, and joyfully escorted them to the little adobe houses which they had erected in hopes that they might have a resident missionary among them.

11. Bolton, "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta," Vol. I, p. 188.

At Guevavi there were ninety people. Passing on to Tumacacori, which was then on the east side of the Santa Cruz river, they "slept in the earth-roofed adobe house, in which I said mass the day following," says Kino. They camped for the night at a point about fifteen miles north of Tumacacori, arriving at San Xavier del Bac the following afternoon. Here another royal welcome awaited. There were now more than a thousand people at Bac. The irrigation ditches were running, the harvest had been good, the stock had increased greatly. For some reason not stated, they turned westward and visited Anegam, then returned to San Xavier, and went north to San Cosme de Tucson and San Agustin de Olaut. Kino and Mange went on to Santa Catalina.

The tenth journey into the present Santa Cruz valley was a memorable trip. The flocks and herds had increased tremendously. On April 24, 1700, Kino reported that there were two hundred people at Guevavi, whereas a few years before there were only eighty souls there. Very likely many of these new inhabitants had come from Los Reyes, a few miles to the east. Padre Kino and his companions spent the night of the twenty-fourth at Tumacacori, and then passed on toward Bac. There he spent seven days in conference with Indians from the Papago desert country, from the San Pedro valley, from Santa Catalina, and from as far north as San Andres on the Gila river. On April 28, 1700, he states that he laid the foundation for "a very large and capacious church and house of San Xavier del

Baac." We shall discuss this event more fully when we come to consider the various sites of San Xavier Mission.

Another event then occurred which shows the confidence which the Indians of Bac placed in the great Padre. When Kino left for Dolores on May 2, 1700, he took with him the twelve-year-old son of the chief "to be taught the prayers and Christian doctrine and to learn to serve at Mass." It would be interesting to know the name of the lad, and what became of him in later days. However, nothing further is said of him.

Kino returned to the Santa Cruz valley the following spring, entering by way of San Marcelo and the Papago desert country. On April 9, he was again in Bac. On that occasion, he remarks that as an evidence of friendliness and love, some natives who were hunting saw him coming to Bac, and gave up their hunt to follow him. Bac was almost deserted at that time. A great many of the inhabitants had gone out to fight the Hogomes, Janos and Apaches. Many of the stock animals had been sent to San Luis because the vagueros had neglected them to go out to the desert and gather sahauro fruit. Although Kino mentions several events of this visit to Bac, including ^{his} ~~her~~ teaching them Christian doctrine, there is no mention of the progress of the church whose foundations he had laid the year before. On the eleventh, they set out for San Luis, by way of Tumacacori and Guevavi.

As a result of Father Visitor Leal's journey with Kino through Papagueria, four new missionaries were sent to

Pimeria Alta. Two of them were stationed in the Santa Cruz valley. Father Juan de San Martin was sent to Guevavi, and Father Francisco Gonzalvo was stationed at Bac. Although Chief Coro had been promised a priest for Quiburi, none was sent. Quiburi had been practically abandoned, the people moving to Los Reyes, near the present Sonoita in eastern Santa Cruz County, because of the constant raids of the Apaches. Kino was jubilant. Now he had at last managed to secure resident missionaries for his frontier missions. Churches were built at all four places. Specific mention was made of the church at Guevavi.

But the triumph was short-lived. The Indians were not so friendly to the new missionaries, and the new missionaries were not made of the stuff that Kino was made of. They had arrived in the Santa Cruz valley in 1701. In 1704 Father Juan de San Martin was in Pitiquin, the modern Hermosillo. Father Gonzalvo remained at Bac only one year. Kino says nothing of the cause of his withdrawal, but Mange says that he left in 1702 because of the depredations of the neighboring villages of Juaxona and Tunortaca. ("dos rancherias cercanas la de Juaxona y Tunortaca.")¹² Bolton conjectures that these two villages may have been Tucson and the Desert Laboratory Hill, Tumamoc. However, this does not seem likely. There is an entry in the church register of San Ignacio Mission, written by

12. Mange, Luz de Tierra, p. 277

Padre Agustin de Campos, stating that Padre Gonzalvo died in San Ignacio on August 10, 1702, at the age of twenty-nine.

Kino was back in Arizona, in the Santa Cruz valley, for the thirteenth time on November 4, 1701. At this time he mentions having said Mass in "the new and very neat little church, which a little while before Father Juan de San Martin had built (his Reverence at this time had gone away to be treated) and which I had ordered to be roofed and whitewashed.."13 It is interesting to note that on this occasion he referred to Guevavi as "San Jose de Guevavi," although before he had called "San Gabriel de Guevavi." On this trip, Kino went to the Colorado river, making his only visit into what is now the state of California.

In the spring of 1702, Kino and Father Manuel Gonzales again entered Arizona, but did not touch the Santa Cruz valley. However, it seems that sometime during the fall of that year, Kino did return to Bac. He mentions that he went "as far as San Marcelo.....Afterwards I began also the very large church of San Xavier del Bac, among the Sobaipuris, distant about sixty leagues north of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores."14 This may mean that he had now built a larger church than that for which he laid the foundations in April 1700.

This was Padre Kino's last recorded entrada into

13. Bolton, "Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta," Vol. I, p. 307.

14. Idem, p. 373.

Arizona. I do not doubt, however, that during the eight years before his death, he made many more visits to his beloved Bac. At this point, his "Favores Celestiales" cease to be so much a diary, and become more of a discussion of conditions in Pimeria Alta. The year 1703 was one of great Indian hostility on the part of the Apaches, the Jocomes, the Janos, and the Seris. Apparently Chief Coro's overwhelming defeat of the Apaches at Santa Cruz and Quiburi in 1698 made the latter seek revenge. The faithful Sobaipuris cooperated excellently with the Spanish in defending the San Pedro and the Santa Cruz valleys. When times became more tranquil, Kino bent his efforts toward securing more missionaries for these valleys. But never did the missionaries come, and the kindly old Italian padre, worn out by years and the desert trails, died peacefully in Magdalena on March 15, 1711.

PIMERIA ALTA AFTER KINO'S DEATH

Even before Kino's death there were indications that the missions of Pimeria Alta would be taken away from the Jesuit Fathers. These fathers were the staunch defenders of their Indian converts. These Indians held the most fertile fields and ranges, and the Spanish colonists who were following in the wake of the missionary padres wished to dispossess the natives. Intrigue followed intrigue, and the rim of Christendom was in constant turmoil.

Campos and Velarde, both companions of Kino, carried on alone in Pimeria Alta for several years after Kino's death.

"The Padre Kino being dead, Padre Agustin (de Campos) continued and still continues his entradas; and with dexterity of tongue and his saintly industries, with the love and respect which the Pimas have for him, and with other mediums dictated by his prudence, zeal, and experience and knowledge which he has of the Indians."¹⁵

Padre Velarde succeeded Kino at Dolores, where he remained for twenty years, until 1731. In that year the long-awaited reinforcements came for the missions. During the following year two of these Jesuits were assigned to the Santa Cruz valley, Padre Juan Bautista Grashoffer to Guevavi and Padre Felipe Segesser to Bac. They did not remain in these missions very long, however, and when Padre

15. Wyllys, Translation of "Padre Luis Velarde's Relacion of Pimeria Alta, 1716" New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. VI, No. 2. April 1931.

Jacobo Sedelmayr arrived in 1736, the missions of the Santa Cruz valley were practically abandoned. Nominally they had been under Padre Keller of Suamca since 1733. Sedelmayr stands midway between the great Kino and the great Garces as a powerful character in the Santa Cruz missions. His explorations made him a worthy successor of Kino. Even though his attempts to reach the Hopi country failed, he pushed back the rim of Christendom many more miles. When he reached the Casa Grande region in October 1744, he found the Pimas still docile and fondly remembering Kino. On this journey he found a group of Pimas along the Gila river still treasuring a piece of an iron axe given them by Padre Kino, the only bit of iron in their village.¹⁶

The missions of the Santa Cruz valley were flourishing once more, when, on November 21, 1751, Luis of Saric led the Pimas and Papagos in a revolt against the Spanish. At that time, Sedelmayr was Jesuit Provincial, Padre Francisco Pauer was at Bac, and Padre Garrucho was at Guevavi. Both these missionaries escaped, but a great many Spaniards were killed, including Padre Tomas Tello at Caborca and Padre Henry Rhuen at San Marcelo de Sonoita.

16. Ortega: "Apostolicos Afanes", p. 442

Mills, Hazel Emory, "Father Jacobo Sedelmayr, S. J."
Arizona Historical Review, Vol. VII, No. 1, Jan. 1936.

WHAT THE OLD CHURCH REGISTER TELLS

The only original documents remaining in Arizona, dealing with the mission days, are two church registers belonging to the archives of the Diocese of Tucson. These are now very fragile, many pages having been torn out, but their crumbling leather covers bear the inscriptions:

TUBACA Y OTROS
DE CALABASAS BAUTISMOS

Both of these titles are misleading, because the first is the register of baptisms, marriages, and burials of Guevavi. The second deals almost entirely with Tumacacori during the Franciscan period. (Plate I)

The first volume, Tubaca Y Otros, covers the Jesuit period in Arizona. Pages are missing from both front and back, how many, it is impossible to tell. The first three entries on the present first page are undated. The fourth entry begins: "en 19 de febrero de 1741..." It is signed by Father Jose Torres de Perea, and it is evident that the first three entries are also in his handwriting.

However, farther over in the register the earliest recorded date is found, a marriage entry dated August 16, 1739, and signed by the Jesuit padre, Alexandro Rapuani. The latest date is June 14, 1767, a marriage entry signed by Padre Custodio Ximeno. Several pages are evidently missing

after this date. It was in the fall of 1767 that the Jesuits were expelled from Pimeria Alta.

The following is the order of succession of resident missionaries at Guevavi, as worked out from the church register:

Alexandro Rapuani, ? to August 27, 1740. His first entry is dated August 16, 1739.

Jose Torres de Perea, latter part of 1740 to February 9, 1744. First dated entry, February 19, 1741. During 1744 and 1745, Pedro Ignacio Xavier Keller signed thirty-four entries.

Joseph Garrucho, May 7, 1745 to November 21, 1751. The Pima Revolt began on November 21, 1751. On that day Padre Garrucho recorded a baptism in Santa Gertrudis de Arivaca.

During 1752 there were no missionaries in Arizona, because of the Pima Revolt.

Francisco Pauer, March 4, 1753 to January 15, 1760.

Miguel Gerstner, January 16, 1760 to May 26, 1761.

Ignacio Pfefferkorn, May 28, 1761 to May 30, 1762.

Custodio Ximeno, June 3, 1762 to June 14, 1767.

The following are bits of information which are revealed by a study of the Jesuit register.

A great many Indian villages are mentioned by the various Padres, some of them being Buena Vista, Toacuquita, Toaczoni, Cuituac, Sopoc, Jaupari, Bacuacucan, Pueblo de Santa Tomas, Supquituni, and Doacuguita. The sites of these

villages are now unknown. Other well-known villages are mentioned, such as Santa Gertrudis de Arivaca, Quiburi, Sonoita, Tusson (also spelled Tuchson), Calabasas, Tunaca, and Sopori.

It is interesting to note that on May 9, 1745, Padre Joseph Garrucho signed himself, "Ministro de Guebabi y San Xavier del Bac."

Quite frequently there is recorded the baptism of Apache children from three to twelve years old. Apparently they were captured in battle and adopted by the Sobaipuris of the Santa Cruz valley. There are the records of several Sobaipuris having been killed by Apaches in the vicinity of Guevavi.

Tumacacori, which, during the Jesuit times was a visita of Guevavi, is often referred to as "San Ygnacio de Tumacacori," rather than as "San Cayetano de Tumacacori," as Kino called it. Even the Jesuit Visitor General Lizassacoin (November 19, 1761) called it San Ygnacio.

A number of Spanish names occur in this register. These were sometimes designated as soldiers, but apparently there were Spanish colonists there also. On the seventh of September, 1759, Padre Francisco Pauer buried Juan Tomas Beldarrian, Captain of the Presid~~do~~ of Tubac. He died in Guevavi, and was buried in the church "a las gradas."

This surprising entry is found under the entries for the year 1759:

"En 5 de Febr murio confessant en Sonoita Franco el Caporal de los Doyenos y se enterro en la nueva Yglesia. Ihs. Franco Pauer, M.d.p.s.M."

Does this mean that a church had just been built at Sonoita, "Los Reyes de Sonoitae," of Kino's time? No other mention had ever been made of there having been a church at Sonoita. Or did Padre Pauer mean that the burial was in a new church at Guevavi? There is no record of there having been a "new church" built at Guevavi. The entry immediately before this one has the burial "en esta Yglesia."

Padre Pauer made two notations regarding the Pima Revolt of 1751. The following is found among the burial records for 1751:

"En 21 de Novbre de esta an de 1751 se subliu toda la nacion Pima y no se reduco esta pueblo hasta el an de 1754 aun qe al empesaron a reconocer a Sn Yglesia y paraqe conste lo firme.

Ihs
Franco Pauer."

In the section of the register given to baptisms, immediately following a baptism entry from Arivaca, by Padre Joseph Garrucho, comes the following note:

"En esta dia de subliu y so aleo toda esta Nacion Pima por causa queda sin Minestro hasta el ano de 1753, en que ano reconocieron su pueblo y bajaron de Paz y paraqe conste lo firme.

Ihs
Franco Pauer
Mro de Docta p s Majd"

There seems to be a discrepancy regarding the date of the return of the villagers to Guevavi. I believe this can be explained as follows: during the year 1753, Padre Pauer had only two baptisms, the first on March 4th. There

were no marriages nor burials during the year. This indicates that although he was stationed at Guevavi, the Indians had not returned in any numbers. In 1754, however, he had one hundred ninety-five baptisms, which surely indicates that the Indians had returned in great numbers, and permitted their babies born during 1752 to be baptized. In fact, Padre Pauer has great numbers of baptisms in Tumacacori, "Tusson" and San Xavier del Bac. Archbishop Salpointe, in "Soldiers of the Cross" combines the two accounts.

It may be noticed that I have consistently referred to this Padre as "Padre Pauer," whereas Engéhardt calls him "Paver," and Salpointe lists him as "Paner." Bancroft calls him "Paver." In comparison with his handwriting in the words Manuel, Catharina, casaron, con, and even with the Francisco in his own name, it is evident that the third letter in his last name is not an n. Therefore, his name is not "Paner," as Archbishop Salpointe has it.

Likewise, I have compared the third letter with the Padre's handwriting in the words Xavier, Olivas, Christoval, vecino, and find that the letter is not v. Therefore, his name is not "Paver," as Bancroft and Engelhardt have it.

However, when this third letter is compared with the similar letter in pueblo, Manuel, Tubaca, Junio, Agustin, Juana, Octubre, and many others, it is very evident that the third letter is u. Therefore the Padre's name is undoubtedly Francisco Pauer. This may be a Spanish corruption of the

German Bauer, since this padre was in the Santa Cruz valley about the time when we find here such names as Grashoffer, Segesser, Gerstner, Pfefferkorn, Keller, and Middendorff.

As a synopsis of this register, Tubaca Y Otros, the following is given:

This register contains the records of the baptisms, marriages, and burials for Guevavi mission and its visitas and rancherias from December 1739 to June 14, 1767, a few months before the expulsion of the Jesuits. It therefore covers almost twenty-eight years. During that time there seem to have been seven regular missionaries, stationed at Guevavi, and at least eight other Jesuit priests who made one or more entries in the register. Their names and the years during which their entries occur are as follows:

Ignacio Xavier Keller, 1741, 1744, 1745, 1747, 1751, 1753, 1755.

Yldefonse de la Pena, 1744, 1745.

Joachin Feliz Diaz, 1744, 1745, 1748, 1759.

Bartholome Sainz, 1749.

Juan Nentwig, 1753.

Alonso Espinosa, 1755, 1757, 1758, 1761, 1762.

Bernardo Middendorff, 1757.

Joseph Manuel Diaz de el Carpio, 1760, 1761.

These latter eight priests probably were stationed in northern Sonora, and, upon visits to Guevavi, assisted the regular missionary. Padre Keller seems to have attended Guevavi and

its visitas after Rapuani left and before Torres de Perea arrived. Padre Nentwig, the author of the famous "Rudo Ensayo," seems to have visited Guevavi after the Pima Revolt and before Padre Pauer was stationed there regularly.

Such was the state of the missions of the Santa Cruz valley after the time of Padre Kino. During the six or seven years immediately before the Pima Revolt, Padre Joseph Garrucho had built up a splendid mission at Guevavi and its visitas. He had to flee to Suamca to save his life. Padre Pauer, who seems to have been missionary at Bac when the revolt broke, returned in 1753 as missionary at Guevavi. During the following seven years of his rectorship, Guevavi reached its high mark as regards numbers of baptisms. In 1754 there were 195. In 1755 there were 100, and in 1756 there were 130. Then a period of decline set in, ending in the fall of 1767, when the Jesuits were removed from the Santa Cruz valley in accordance with the general order of the Spanish king exiling them from all Spanish lands.

FRANCISCANS IN THE SANTA CRUZ VALLEY

After the Jesuit Fathers had been shipped out of Vera Cruz for Spain, the missions of southern Sonora were placed in charge of the diocesan clergy, that is, the priests who belong to no religious order, but who are directly under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese in which they are working. The missions of Pimeria Baja and Pimeria Alta, however, were turned over to the Franciscan Friars of the missionary colleges of Jalisco and Queretaro. The college of Jalisco furnished eleven fathers for the missions of Pimeria Baja, and fourteen Franciscans were sent to the missions of Pimeria Alta.

The Franciscans set out from Queretaro on August 7, 1768, but did not reach the seaport of San Blas until the following January. By the end of June, they had reached the missions assigned to them. Two of these Franciscans were sent to the Santa Cruz valley in Arizona. Fray Juan Christomo Gil de Bernave was assigned to Guevavi, with its visitas, Tumacacori, Calabasas, and Sonoita. Fray Francisco Garces took up his residence at San Xavier del Bac, with Tucson as a visita.¹⁷ During the short interval between the departure of the Jesuits

17. Engelhardt, Fr. Zephyrin, "Franciscans In Arizona", pp. 30-35.

Arriavita, "Cronica Serafica," p. 396.

and the coming of the Franciscans, the buildings of the missions, as well as the live stock on the mission ranges, had suffered greatly. A great many of the native Sobaipuris of Guevavi and Bac had given up the fight against the Apaches and had returned to the villages in the Papago desert to the west. Even after the re-establishment of the missions under Bernavi and Garces, the Apaches continued their attacks. In 1769 they sacked Guevavi, killing all but two of the few Spanish soldiers guarding the mission. Bac was likewise attacked and buildings burned and live stock stolen.

The damage was repaired, however, and under the Franciscans, the missions of the Santa Cruz valley reached a new peak of prosperity. Guevavi ceased to be the head mission, and the residence of the Friars was changed to Tumacacori, at which time Guevavi became a visita. Calabasas had during this time become a substantial village, and a church was built there.

During the Franciscan period, the location of the mission buildings of both Tumacacori and Bac were changed. Whereas the Tumacacori of Kino's time had been on the east side of the Santa Cruz river, it now appears at, or near, the present location to the west of the river. San Xavier del Bac was moved from the lowlands of the river bottom to the mesa where it now stands.

Garces proved himself the equal of Kino in his explorations. He continued the journeys to the Gila as made by the Jesuits, as well as numerous trips through the San Pedro

valley and the Papago desert country. By 1771, he believed the time was ripe for the establishment of new missions and the reoccupation of several old ones. He therefore requested missionaries for Tucson, Sonoita and several Papago desert villages, and Santa Cruz, a league south of Kino's fortified village of Quiburi on the San Pedro. Garces even outdid Kino in the extent of his travels. Garces not only made one or two trips to the Pacific coast with Captain Juan Bautista Anza, but, in 1776, traveled northward along the Colorado river, followed the south rim of the Grand Canyon, along the Little Colorado and the Moencopie Wash, and eventually to Oraibi. Thus he accomplished the task which was uppermost in the mind of Kino, Keller, and Sedelmayr for many years.

One of the most poignant events in the history of the Southwest is here recorded in the diary of the great Garces. He had trudged these hundreds of rough miles from Bac to Oraibi. He approached Oraibi on July 2, 1776. Meeting a young Hopi near the cornfields to the west of the mesa, Garces offered him some tobacco. The Hopi refused. He went on to the village and again received a cold welcome. He explained to them through interpreters that if they would not receive him, he would go on to Walpi, or even on to his fellow Spaniards at Santa Fe, New Mexico. On July 3, Garces recorded in his diary:

"As soon as I reached the desired corner of the street I disposed things in order to take rest, for it was already night; and presently there came a young man of the Yabipais, and without saying to me one word he took away the mule."

Then, while the colonial patriots were affixing their names to the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, the following little tragedy was being enacted on the Third Mesa in Hopiland.

"July 4. As soon as day broke I heard singing and dancing in the streets; the dancers passed by the place where I was, and then only did I see that some of the Indians were painted red, with feathers and other decorations on the head, beating the sound of the dance on a kind of drum with two small sticks, to which the flutes played an accompaniment; and many persons kept time to the music as well through the streets as on the housetops. I observed that in some places the procession paused. The sun having now risen, I saw coming nigh unto me a great multitude of people, which caused me some fear of losing my life. There came forward four Indians who appeared to be principals, of whom the tallest one asked me with a grimace, 'For what hast thou come here? Get thee gone without delay--back to thy land.' I made them a sign to be seated, but they would not. I arose with the Santo Cristo in my hand, and partly in Yuma, partly in Yabipai, and partly in Castillian, with the aid of signs, which are the best language to use with the Indians, I explained to them my route, naming the nations whom I had seen, those who had kissed El Cristo; I told them that I came to say to them that God is in the sky, and that this Senor whom they saw on the cross was the image of God, Jesu-Christo, who is good. To this responded an old man in Castillian language and making a wry face, 'No, No.' Then I said, 'Fetch my mule.' After a little the Yabapai youth appeared with her, and having arranged my things I mounted her back, showing by my smiling face how highly I appreciated their pueblo and their fashions."¹⁸

Had Fray Garces listened, undoubtedly he would have heard tinkling among the dancers two or three little altar bells, plunder from the ruined San Francisco de Oraiba Mission,

18. Elliott Coues, translation of Garce's Diary, On the Trail of A Spanish Pioneer, p. 388.

destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when two of his fellow Franciscans were hurled from the cliff to their martyrdom.

Dr. Elliott Coues says of Father Garces:

"He wandered....several hundred leagues without a white companion, relying upon Indians to show him the way he wished or was obliged to go. His peregrinations extended farther than those of any other missionary of his day who went unattended. His loneliness reached a pathetic climax at Moqui, his farthestmost point, where those he loved and had come so far to save from perdition would have none of him or his religion, gave him nothing to eat or a place to lay his head, and turned him out of town between two days."

Three years later, Garces returned to the Yuma tribe whom he had visited on his way to Hopiland, and founded two villages and missions. Here, on July 17, 1781, Father Garces, together with Frailes Juan Barraneche, Juan Diaz, and Matias Moreno, and many Spaniards and Christian Indians, received the palm of martyrdom.

Fray Juan Chrisostome Gil de Bernavi suffered a like fate. He labored in the Santa Cruz valley, re-establishing Guevavi and its visitas, until he was made president of the missions of Pimeria Alta. Shortly after that, he and Fray Mathias Gallo set out to found a mission among the Seri Indians of the west coast of Mexico. There on March 7, 1773, he was beaten to death with clubs by the Seris, becoming the first Franciscan martyr of Pimeria Alta.

Verifying the saying of St. John Chrisostom of old that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians, the missions of Pimeria Alta continued to prosper. New churches were built at the new sites to which most of the missions of the

Santa Cruz valley had been moved. Unfortunately, the church registers of San Xavier Mission have long since disappeared, but the volume from Tumacacori, incomplete as it is, shows the excellent work done by the several missionaries there.

Then came the decline. The Hidalgo Revolution in Mexico caused the withdrawal of financial and military support from the missions. The Apaches took advantage of the disorganization and pushed their raids with greater ferocity. In 1822 Mexico gained her independence from Spain, which ended the mission days in the Santa Cruz valley. The splendid San Xavier Mission, as we have it today, was left to the bats and the owls. San Jose de Tumacacori, put into use only in December 1822, was the prey of Apache firebrands. Nominally, the missions of the Santa Cruz valley were under the care of the parish priest at Magdalena. Actually they were abandoned, never again to be rehabilitated for religious purposes, with the single exception of San Xavier del Bac and its visita, San Jose de Tucson.

THREE MISSIONARY THRUSTS TOWARD THE NORTHLANDS

While Father Eusebio Francisco Kino and his fellow Jesuits were laying the foundations of Christianity in Pimeria Alta, the Franciscans from the colleges of Santa Cruz de Queretaro and Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas were making a missionary thrust into northern Coahuila and Texas. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Franciscans of Queretaro withdrew from the Texas missions and took up their work in Pimeria. At a still later date, the Franciscan college of San Fernando began its thrust up the Pacific coast. Here, Fray Junipero Serra founded the first of the California missions, San Diego de Alcala, on July 16, 1769. With the precision of military strategy, these three fingers of missionary activities extending northward from Mexico began to consolidate their positions. The San Fernandinos were peacefully fortifying the Pacific coast of California with their establishments, reaching from San Diego to San Francisco Solano on the northern shore of San Francisco Bay. The Queretaranos had firmly established themselves in the Rio Grande Valley in New Mexico, and westward to Zuni. However, their spur of missions in Hopiland had been wiped out by the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. One of the problems of Fray Garces and his Queretaranos in Arizona had to solve was the task of forging a link between the missions of New Mexico

and those of California. It was for this reason that Fray Garces made his remarkable journey to Oraibi in 1776. Had he lived, or had the War of Independence of 1822 not driven the Franciscans from their Arizona missions, undoubtedly this gap would have been filled, and there would have been a chain of missions from the Rio Grande to the Pacific.

This readjustment of mission sites resulted in a few changes in the line up of Arizona missions. Guevavi, the eldest of the southern Arizona missions, ceased to be a mission, the mission proper being removed to Tumacacori, with Guevavi, Calabasas, Tubac, and Sonoita as visitas. Eventually Guevavi, Calabasas, and Sonoita drop from view. Apparently Calabasas at that point in history built a church and set up its own register. This register, however, is not now known to exist. This matter will be dealt with more fully when we consider the building at Calabasas. In order to hold the lower Santa Cruz valley against the Apaches, the presidio was moved from Tubac to Tucson. Thus San Xavier del Bac and San Jose de Tucson advanced in importance. Fray Francisco Garces lost his life in attempting to establish the missions among the Yuma tribes on the Colorado. With the failure of that attempt at extending the mission field in Arizona, the period of expansion closed, not to be reopened again until the American Franciscans came into southern Arizona in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

SITES OF THE MISSIONS OF THE SANTA CRUZ VALLEY

As has been indicated, the location of the various missions of the Santa Cruz valley have been changed from time to time. Not one of the missions now standing occupies its original site, nor is there anything left of the original buildings, with the single exception of the Calabasas mission. It will be impossible definitely to locate each site without extensive excavations and long research. However, from old historical documents and an archaeological reconnaissance, a few facts have been uncovered regarding the original locations of the missions.

GUEVAVI

This, the oldest of the southern Arizona missions, has gone under various names. Kino called it San Gabriel, and once, probably through a slip of the pen, San Jose. In Franciscan days it was called Los Santos Angeles Gabriel y Rafael, or sometimes shortened to Santos Angeles.

The only etymology we have of the word Guebabi is that given by Padre Nentwig in "Rudo Ensayo," written in 1762. There he speaks of "...Guevavi, en Pima, Gusudac, o Agua grande..."¹⁹

19. Nentwig, Juan: Rudo Ensayo, p. 149.

The ruins of the mission now stand on the north bank of the Santa Cruz river on the eastern edge of the Dines Nelson property, about twelve miles northeast of Nogales, Arizona. (Plates II and III) However, in all probability, this is not the original site of the mission. There is an area about two miles west of the present site which shows evidence of a long occupation, probably reaching back into prehistoric times. Extensive excavation will be necessary to bring to light whether or not this is the original site of the mission. The ruins now remaining are located upon a small mesa above the Santa Cruz; whereas, in 1772, the Reyes report stated that the pueblo was situated in "an arroyo in a fertile region..." It would seem, therefore, that the extant ruins were built sometime after 1772. Fray Juan Domingo Arricivita, writing in "Cronica Serafica" in 1791, includes Guevavi among these missions which had been completed and roofed. This may refer to the present ruins of Guevavi.

Although much of the history of this mission already given bears upon the location, it may be summarized as follows:

In January 1691, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino "ascended to the Valley of Guevavi, fifteen leagues from El Tucubavia." On his return from Tumacacori, he mentioned having stopped at "the rancheria of Guevavi." This is apparently the first visit of a white man to Guevavi. When he returned eight years later, the Indians had built a house for the

missionary whom they hoped Kino would send them. There were ninety people living there at that time, taking care of the ranch which Kino had started for them with supplies of live stock from other missions. When he visited the place the following year, 1700, he found two hundred people living there and the ranch flourishing. So pleased was he with the prospects that when he finally secured four priests for his missions, he sent one of them, Father Juan de San Martin, to Guevavi in 1701. It was at that time that Kino first calls the place "San Gabriel de Guevavi."

In his diary, under the date of 1701, Kino made this entry:

"In Guevavi, in a few months, we finished a house and church small but neat, and we laid the foundations of a church and a large house." 20

Thus it is safe to say that the original mission building was erected in 1701. In November of the same year he spent the night in Guevavi, and on the fifth, said Mass "in the new and

very neat little church, which a little while before Father Juan de San Martin had built (his Reverence at this time had gone away to be treated) and which I had ordered roofed and whitewashed." 21

For some reason or other Father San Martin did not remain in Guevavi long, for in the spring of 1704, he is mentioned as being the missionary stationed at Pitic.

The church register, incorrectly titled at some later date, Tubaca Y Otros, reveals the fact that between 1739 and

20. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, Vol. I, p. 303.

21. Bolton: ut supra.

1767 Geuvavi was the head mission, with Los Reyes de Sonoitac, San Cayetano de Tumacacori, Santa Gertrudis de Arivaca, and Santa Gertrudis de Tubac as visitas. During this time, it was a flourishing settlement, if we may judge from the number of baptisms, marriages, and burials recorded. (See pages 35-41, this paper).

The Pima Revolt of 1751 caused the flight of the missionary, Father Joseph Garrucho, but the buildings do not seem to have been harmed. With the pacification of the Pimas and the return of Father Francisco Pauer as missionary in 1753, a period of great prosperity began. Guevavi was in charge of Father Custodio Ximeno at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Fray Juan Christomo Gil de Bernavi was the first Franciscan to be stationed there, coming in June, 1768. Regarding the buildings at Guevavi in 1772, Engelhardt quotes the Reyes report as follows:

"Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi. The only other mission in what is now Arizona was the most eastern of the Pimeria Alta missions. It had three visitas: Tumacacori, Calabasas, and Sonoitac....The pueblo of Guevavi was situated in an arroyo in a fertile region, where a little farming was done by the Indians. The church and sacristy were well furnished with vestments of every color and with altar utensils."²²

A careful study of the church register, De Calabasas, in the archives of the Bishop of Tucson shows that about 1773, Guevavi ceased to be the head mission, and became a visita of Tumacacori. However, as Arricivita indicated in "Cronica

22. Engelhardt, Franciscans in Arizona, p. 72.

Sarafica" (page 448) in 1791 the church was completed and roofed, we may conclude that it was still a thriving visita.

For many years Guevavi has been open to vandals and treasure hunters, and at present it is a ruin past reconstruction. Extensive mounds and ridges to the south and west of the ruin show that there is much that might well be investigated. The trash heap in the edge of the arroyo to the west should be excavated. There is a ruin across the arroyo to the east which would also bear excavating. It is not now evident whether of Indian or Spanish origin.

There are only three portions of walls now standing on the ruin at Guevavi. The original building was about fourteen feet wide and seventy feet long, but of this large room, there now remains only forty-eight feet of the west wall, six feet on the north wall attached to it, and an isolated portion of wall on the east side, twenty-nine feet long. These portions of the wall now stand about ten feet high.

It will be noted that I have not referred to these walls as being part of the church building. I doubt that such was the case.

In 1935, three or four high school boys from Patagonia, treasure seekers, dug a large pit in the north end of the building, which should have been the location of the sanctuary. During this operation they uncovered a wooden coffin in a grave, which lay at a slight angle to the long axes of the building. The bottom of the grave was seven feet

two inches below the top level of the fill. The grave was twenty-two inches wide and the length was not determined. The boys removed the coffin and bones, piece by piece, throwing them out within the building with their shovels as they searched for "treasure." Such was the condition of the site when Doctor Bealer of the University of Arizona notified me and requested that I recover the bones and bury them.

Examination of the pit revealed a few details of the construction of the building. Ten inches above the apparent level of the coffin there was a stratum of small rocks three inches thick extending across the tunnel left by the removal of the coffin. This stratum extended across the grave and the extent of the cut, about eight feet in all. The rocks apparently were the foundation upon which the adobe floor had been poured. In the northern end of the pit a structure of adobe bricks was uncovered by the boys. At first appearance it seemed to be the altar, but upon careful examination it was seen that the structure was more like a closet, plastered inside with white lime plaster about an inch thick. Further excavation will be necessary to determine exactly what this structure is. It may be found that this was a closet in the sacristy, although the mound adjoining the building to the north has been considered to be the sacristy. In case this structure proves to be the altar, then the burial would have been immediately in front of the

altar.

The burial itself presented several problems. Upon examination of the bones, Dr. John Provinse of the University of Arizona was of the opinion that they were the bones of an European male of about fifty years of age. The body was clothed in a brown woolen garment of the shade and texture of the modern Franciscan habit. However, clinging to the fabric were rather modern metal buttons and stitches of modern machine sewing. In the pieces of the coffin were modern machine-made wire nails.

There is no record of a Franciscan having died at Guevavi, however. Dr. Rufus K. Wyllys states in his book, "Pioneer Padre," that the Jesuit Padre Grashoffer died there but does not give his authority for the statement. I have found nothing to substantiate the claim. There are two possible solutions to the problem of the identity of the body. One is that at some recent date a Mexican resident of the district found an old burial with something to identify it as that of a priest. Reverently clothing it in a Franciscan habit, he may have buried it within what tradition has as the church at Guevavi. Another solution is that the body was that of a layman who was a member of the Third Order of St. Francis, and who, dying during modern times, was buried within the ruins. Careful and scientific excavation of the site should bring to light the truth regarding this burial and the original use of the ruin now remaining at Guevavi.

THREE VISITAS OF GUEVAVI

During Jesuit times (1691 to 1767) Tumacacori was the principal visita of the original southern Arizona mission, ^{Guevavi}~~Tumacacori~~. During the first few years of the Franciscan period (1768 to 1825) it remained a visita, but soon after the coming of the Franciscans, the head mission seems to have been transferred to Tumacacori, at which time Guevavi became its visita. Tumacacori, therefore, will be discussed in a separate section of this paper.

SONOITA

Due to the fact that there were at least two visitas by this name in northern Sonora and one in Arizona, quite a lot of confusion has arisen in the writings of careless historians. The visita of this name which is here discussed is the pueblo located on the Sonoita creek, a tributary of the Santa Cruz river emptying into the Santa Cruz at the present railroad station of Calabasas. I have not been able to identify the actual site of this visita of Sonoita.

Mention of Sonoita as Los Reyes is first found in Kino's diary under the date of October 27, 1699, when the Padre remarked that although there were ninety people living at Guevavi, "There are many more in the rancheria of Los

Reyes to the eastward about four leagues away."²³ After Captain Coro's overwhelming defeat of the Apaches at Quiburi on the San Pedro river, the Apache reprisals caused the Sobaipuris to abandon Quiburi and move to Sonoita. On April 24, 1700, Kino found more than five hundred living at Sonoita.

The Guevavi church register contains many entries recording the baptisms, marriages, and burials at Sonoita, but no mention is made of a church in the village until 1759. Then the following entry is made in the register:

"En 5 de Febr murio confesante en Sonoita
Franco el Caporal de los Doyenos y se enterro en
la nueva Yglesia.

Ihs Franco Pauer. M.d.p.S.M."

It is apparent, therefore, that at the time some kind of church was erected.

At a later date, Coro was able to move his Sobai-
puris back to the village of Quiburi, and Sonoita seems to
have become less important. However, even in Franciscan
times there was still a visita at Sonoita, but with another
saint's name attached to it:

"The town of San Ignacio de Sonoita is
situated in a valley encircled by mountains, six
leagues east of Guevavi and two from the present
town of Calabasas. The lands are many and good
ones for tilling, but the Indians cultivate them
very little. The church and house of the padre-
missionary have no ornaments nor any furniture;
when the padre comes to this town and the other
visitas to administer to them he brings along all
the necessities from the town of Guevavi. By the
census which I have now there must be eighteen

23. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, Vol. I,
p. 204.

families, twenty widowers and single men, twelve widows, and the total number of souls is ninety-four."²⁴

There are only two mentions we have of a church having been erected at Sonoita. Careful exploration might probably reveal the site of this visita.

TUBAC

The visita of Tubac, likewise, appears on the Guevavi register at an early date. As early as November 12, 1741, the baptism of a child from Tubac is recorded. At that time it was generally referred to as "Santa Gertrudis de Tubaca." In 1752, during the Pima Revolt, a presidio was established at Tubac, according to "Rude Ensayo," and undoubtedly a church was built at that time. In May, 1774, Captain Juan Bautista Anza mentions a church, calling it "San Ignacio de Tubac". It is probable that this was the presidio chapel. Often we find a church built for the soldiers and their families within the presidio, and having a name different from the village church. At the presidio of Tucson, for example, the mission visita church was called San Jose, and the presidio chapel, Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe.

The old village church of Santa Gertrudis de Tubac was standing at the time of the Gadsden Purchase in 1853-1854.

24. Rose, Robert E. Translation from copy Reyes' report in Bancroft Library, California, Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, December 1936.

It is pictured in "Adventures in the Apache County", by J. Ross Browne, published in 1861. However, during the administration of the Right Reverend Henry Granjon, Bishop of Tucson (1900-1922) a new church was erected on the site of the ruined visita church, and called "St. Ann's". Thus the original name of Santa Gertrudis de Tubac has fallen into oblivion.

CALABASAS

In far better condition than the ruin at Guevavi is the old church at Calabasas, near the junction of the Sonoita creek and the Santa Cruz river. (Plate IV)

The date of the establishment of a visita at Calabasas is not definitely known, nor is the saint's name for the village certain. At present it is referred to as San Cayetano de Calabasas, but it is not likely that this name was attached to the Indian village until Sao Cayetano del Tumacacori was moved west of the river and called San Jose.

Neither Father Kino nor Lieutenant Mange mention Calabasas in their dairies. It does not seem to have been even a small Indian pueblo until after the Pima Revolt in 1751. When Padre Pauer returned to Pimeria Alta in 1753 and took up his station at Guevavi, he traveled far and wide. He recorded a very great number of baptisms as having been administered in San Xavier del Bac, Tucson, Arivaca, Sonoita, and several villages whose locations are entirely

unknown now. However, not once does he mention the baptism of a person from Calabasas. It is not until 1756 that the name of Calabasas occurs on the pages of the Guevavi register. Then, on June 2, Padre Pauer recorded the baptism of an infant, and notes in the margin of the register "de las Calabasas." For many years thereafter, the burials of those who died in Calabasas took place in Guevavi, indicating that there was not even a cemetery then established at Calabasas. As late as 1769, the Franciscan missionary Gil de Bernavi recorded such a burial.

The Reyes report of 1772 says of Calabasas:

"The pueblo or visita of San Cayetano de Calabasas stood two leagues east of Guevavi, in a district very favorable to farming, but the Indians cultivated little or no land. There was neither church nor house for the visiting priest."²⁵

In the Tumacacori church register, until the year 1773, the people who died in Calabasas were buried in Guevavi. Then, under the date of March 4, 1773, Fray Gaspar de Clemente noted that he attended a dying woman in Calabasas, and buried her "en la Yglesia de dho (meaning dicho, or aforesaid) pueblo." After that entry no further mention is made of Calabasas. It would seem, therefore, that by that time it had a church and kept its own register, possibly having a resident priest. This is in keeping with Arricivita's remark in "Cronica Serafica" (1791) that at that time the church at Calabasas had been re-roofed.

25. Engelhardt, Franciscans in Arizona, p. 72.

At the present time the remains of the church at Calabasas are on the east bank of the Santa Cruz river, about fifteen miles south of Tumacacori Mission. The Arizona Highway Department, during the administration of Governor G. W. P. Hunt, erected a large sign at the ruins stating that it was the site of Fort Mason. I have not been able to find the authority for that statement. It is apparent, however, that the church building was remodeled and partitions erected in the nave, making three rooms of the former body of the church. In fact it was this that led Mr. Frank Pinkley to discover the fact that this was the original Calabasas Mission. The adobes of the partitions are of a different quality from those of the walls of the church. Furthermore, it is clearly evident that where the partitions were settled and withdrawn from the outer walls, there is a thin red plaster behind the partitions. In the south end of the building the unbonded adobes reveal a large arched entrance. (Plate IV-b)

The church is twenty-one feet, nine inches wide and fifty-eight feet nine inches long, outside measurements. This length includes the mound which evidently represents the sacristy of the church. The latter appears to have been a room fourteen feet by fifteen feet four inches. Adjoining the sacristy to the west is a room twelve by fourteen feet, the walls of which are still standing to the height of about five feet. Because of the remodeling that was done at the time the partitions were put in, it is practically impossible to distinguish

which were originally doors and windows.

To the right of the closed arch of the main entrance, one foot eight inches from the front wall, there are the remains of the holy water font. This is a shell-shaped cavity hollowed out of the east wall of the building, one foot eight inches wide and one foot deep. It is plastered with white lime plaster one inch thick. (Plate V)

On the exterior of the east wall, twenty-one feet six inches from the north end, there are the remains of a drain, very similar to those found in Tumacacori Mission. This drain leading from the roof is plastered with a thick coat of lime plaster. Undoubtedly there were other similar drains, probably two on each side of the building, but only this one now remains. (Plate VI)

Apparently the roof was flat, and supported by carved beams, or vigas. A portion of one of the original beams was removed some years ago to Tumacacori Mission where it is now to be found in the museum. Another similar portion is now serving as a lintel for the doorway in the northermost of the two partitions in the church building at Calabasas. (Plate VII)

There is no evidence of foundations which would have supported towers. Probably the front facade was carried some eight or ten feet above the roof line to form bell arches, as was done at San Jose de Tucson. These either fell or were removed when the partitions were put in and the

buildings converted to profane use.

A few years ago, I found two small burned brick tiles which were probably floor tiles. They were about eight by four inches. They are considerably smaller than those of either Tumacacori or San Jose de Tucson. However, the adobes used in the walls are of the usual Spanish style, twenty-five or twenty-six inches long, eleven inches wide, and four inches thick.

As far as I have been able to find out, there is no sketch extant of this church. It is always possible, however, that investigation of the museums and libraries of Spain and Mexico may reveal pictures and plans, as well as historical documents regarding these missions of the Santa Cruz valley.

TUMACACORI MISSION

When we speak of a Spanish mission, we must carefully distinguish between the founding of the mission and the building of the mission church. Again, it must be remembered that there have been two and sometimes three churches in succession at these mission sites. This is particularly important when we consider San Cayetano del Tumacacori, or, as it was called in Franciscan times, San Jose de Tumacacori.

The site of the village of San Cayetano del Tumacacori of Kino's time was on the east bank of the Santa Cruz river. Three of Kino's maps of Pimeria Alta are reprinted in Dr. H. E. Bolton's "Rim of Christendom." Each of these maps shows Tumacacori on the east of the river. Furthermore, Lieutenant Mange indicates that such was the location of the village. Mange recorded in his diary, "Luz de Tierra Incognita" under the date of March 11, 1699, that as they were returning from a trip to the Gila river, Padre Kino became ill as the result of a drenching received in a terrible storm. When they, traveling down the west bank of the Santa Cruz river, arrived opposite the village of San Cayetano del Tumacacori, the river was so high that they were unable to cross it. Indians from Tumacacori brought mutton across the river to make a stew for the sick Padre.²⁶

26. Mange, Juan Mateo, Luz de Tierra Incognita, p. 271.

At this time there apparently was no other church there than the ramada which the Indians had constructed when Padre Kino first visited Tumacacori. As mentioned elsewhere in this paper, the Burriel manuscript of 1749, in the Huntington Library, states that Kino "began a church on the nineteenth of January, 1697, at San Xavier del Bac and San Cayetano, leaving live stock at each." This, however, seems to be an error regarding Tumacacori, for Kino states that in October 1699, "We slept in the earth-roofed adobe house, in which I said mass the following day."²⁷ It seems that there was no church constructed at Tumacacori during Kino's time.

Nor is it evident just when the first church building was erected. Throughout the first years of the register, there is no mention made of a church building at Tumacacori. There is an occasional mention of a burial in the cemetery. It is only in 1757 that there is any indication that there was a church at Tumacacori. Then this entry is made in the Guevavi register:

"En 7 de Julio (the year is 1757) murio confesado y oleado Lorenzo el Alcalde de Tumacacori y se enterro en aquella Yglesia.

Ihs Franco Pauer."

Undoubtedly this entry indicates the existence of a church building, because before and after this entry there are records of the padres' having given "ecclesiastical burial" to various persons. It was because of his high office in the pueblo that

27. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, Vol. I, p. 205.

Lorenzo the Alcalde merited burial within the walls of the church.

At any rate, there was a church at Tumacacori in 1772, for the Reyes report mentions a priest's house and church, bare of furniture and vestments. But even at this date, the site of Tumacacori was on the east side of the Santa Cruz river. Padre Pedro Font's map of 1777 indicates that it was even then on the east bank.

The question arises, then, as to when the transfer of the mission to the west side of the river was made. I have found nothing that will answer the question. It is entirely possible that the mission remained on the east side of the river until the erection of the present building on the west side of the river.

A great deal of confusion has resulted regarding the date of the erection of the present building at San Jose del Tumacacori. Because of its dilapidated condition, because of errors in construction, because of apparent repairs and additions, the tendency has been to assign a much greater antiquity to the mission than the facts in the case warrant.

A careful study of these three entries in the burial section of the Tumacacori register definitely date the completion of Tumacacori Mission.

"En el año del S^o de mil setec. noventa y cinco en el día diez de Octubre. Fr. Balthasar Carrillo de edad de sesenta y dos años Religioso Profeso de N.P.S^a. Franco en la Prova de Burgos, y Hijo del Colegio de la Sta Cruz de Queretaro, y actual Ministro de esta mision de S^a Joseph de Tumacacori; natural de la villa de Titero en

Navarra, profeso en la ciudad de Logrono Prova de Rioja, en union y comunion de Na S^a M^e Yglesia bolvio su alma a Dios en esta Mision como alas tres de la tarde de dicho dia; se confeso el mismo dia por la manana conmigo, y ala tarde antes de morir se le administro la extrema uncion; no recivio el Viatico por no haver havido tiempo; su ouerpo fue sepultado dia onze de Octubre en la Yglesia de esta misma mision, al subit las gradas del altar maior en el medio, y para que conste lo firmo en dicho dia mes y ano ut sup^a.

Fr. Narciso Gutierrez
Mro de Docta
p.s.M.

TRANSLATION:

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred ninety-five, on the tenth day of October, Fray Belthasar Carrillo, aged seventy-two, a professed religious of our father St. Francis, of the Province of Burgos, and a son of the College of the Holy Cross of Queretaro, and actual minister of this mission of St. Joseph of Tumacacori, a native of the village of Titero in Navarre, professed in the city of Logrono, Province of Rioja, in union and communion with our holy mother Church, returned his soul to God in this Mission at about three in the afternoon of the aforesaid day; he went to confession to me the same morning, and in the afternoon before he died I administered Extreme Uncion; he did not receive the Viaticum because there was not time; his body was buried the eleventh day of October in the church of this mission at the foot of the main altar steps in the middle. And as proof I sign my name the same day month and year as above.

Fray Narciso Gutierrez
Minister of Doctrine
for his Majesty.

Thus does Father Gutierrez record the death and burial of his fellow-worker at Bac and Tumacacori. According to the entries in the Tumacacori register, Father Gutierrez remained at Tumacacori until late in 1821, when the following entry is made by Father Juan Bautista Estelric:

"En el año del Señor de mil ocho cientos veinte y uno, día trece de Diciembre paso de esta a la eterna el Reverendo P^e Narciso Gutierrez. Cuyo cuerpo fue sepultado el día quince del mismo abajo de las gradas del altar mayor alado de la Epistola y para conste lo firme ut supra.

Fr. Juan Bta Estelric.

TRANSLATION:

In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred twenty-one, the thirteenth day of December, there passed from this life to the eternal life the Reverend Father Narciso Gutierrez, whose body was buried the fifteenth of the same (month) under the steps of the main altar on the Epistle side. And as proof, I sign my name as above.

Fray Juan Bautista Estelric.

Thus a little over twenty-six years after Father Gutierrez had buried his predecessor, he in turn died, and was buried in the sanctuary of the church at Tumacacori beside the body of Father Carrillo. Father Estelric did not long remain at Tumacacori. His successor was Father Ramon Liberos. Father Liberos seems to have opened a new cemetery, for in the Tumacacori register, at the top of a certain page, is found this heading:

C e m e n t e r i o n u e b o
se bendijo el día primero de Octubre del año del Señor
de mil ocho cientos veinte y dos.

A baby was buried in this new cemetery on the very day of its blessing. Three more burials take place in it and then there is this entry, annotated in the margin by the "Crusaders' Cross," a Greek cross with a smaller cross in each of the four angles of it:

En el año del S^r de mil ocho cientos veinte y dos día trece de Diciembre yo Fr. Ramon Liberos Ministro de esta Mission de Sⁿ Jose de Tumacacori translade los restos de los RR.PP.F^v Balthasar Carrillo y F^v Narciso Gutierrez de la yglesia vieja a la nueva, los enterre

en el Presbiterio, al lado del Evangelio. Para q^e
conste lo firmo ut supra.

Fr. Ramon Liberos

TRANSLATION:

In the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred twenty-two the thirteenth day of December, I, Fray Ramon Liberos, Minister of this mission of San Jose de Tumacacori, transferred the remains of the Reverend Fathers Fray Belthasar Carrillo and Fray Narciso Gutierrez from the old church to the new, burying them in the sanctuary at the Gospel side. As proof I sign my name as above.
Fray Ramon Liberos.

These three burial entries contain matter of great importance regarding the completion of Tumacacori Mission. Father Carrillo died in 1795 and was buried in the middle of the sanctuary, directly in front of the main altar, the place of honor in the church. Twenty-six years later, Father Gutierrez died, and was buried beside his predecessor Father Carrillo. Notice that Father Gutierrez died on the thirteenth of December and was buried on the fifteenth of the same month.

Exactly one year later, that is, on December 13, 1822, the missionary of Tumacacori removed the bodies of these two Padres from the old church (la yglesia vieja) and reinterred them in the sanctuary of the new church (a la nueva). I do not believe that this translation of the remains would have been said to have been made "from the old church to the new" had they merely have been moved from the former sanctuary to the new one, supposing this new sanctuary to have been merely an addition to the then existing church. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that the bodies would have been disturbed had they been anywhere within the consecrated ground

of the church building. I say this, because in recent years there has been much written regarding the apparent extension and change of plan of the present Tumacacori Mission. Undoubtedly the changes have been made, but I do not believe they represent the enlargement of a church built before 1822. Where "la yglesia vieja" was located, I cannot say. However, I believe it was in the original village of Tumacacori on the east side of the Santa Cruz river. Since Padre Font's map of 1777 shows Tumacacori as being located east of the river, it seems to me most probable that the site was moved some time between 1777 and 1822.

Various locations are pointed out as the site of the original village, some of them manifestly impossible. However, last fall Mr. Louis R. Caywood, Custodian of Tumacacori National Monument, and I made a superficial reconnaissance of a site immediately across the river from the present mission. There we found a mound of some seventy feet long and thirty feet wide. There are adobe bricks in a wall about two feet above the original surface. Nearby there were fragments of burned bricks, such as were used as floor tiles. As the owner of the property was out of the state we were unable to do any excavating.

After Mexico gained her independence from Spain in 1822 and the Franciscans were exiled from public office, San Jose de Tumacacori was left to the doubtful mercy of the Apaches. The roof was burned, and disintegration set in. Even more ravaging were the pick and shovel of treasure hunters.

In later years, the walls and stout front doors served as an excellent corral for the safe-keeping of sheep and cattle, while the adjoining sacristy furnished a warm bunk-house for the vaqueros. The mission buildings, and even parts of the church, were carried off to supply building material for the neighboring ranches. Shortly after the abandonment a few of the statues were carried to San Xavier del Bac by the faithful Indians, but most of the furnishings of the church are lost at the present time.

In ¹⁹⁰⁸~~1898~~ the United States Government declared the old mission a National Monument, under the direction of the National Park Service. Since that time stabilization and repairs have gone on slowly, just as the money was available for the work. It is fortunate that such an able and interested superintendent as Mr. Frank Pinkley, Custodian of Southwestern National Monuments, was in charge of the work. In 1921 the restoration of the roof of the church was made possible by funds contributed by the National Park Service, The Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society, the Nogales Chamber of Commerce, and the Knights of Columbus of Tucson and Phoenix. The complete details of the restoration of the roof is told by Mr. Pinkley in the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report for October, 1936.

Since that time a resident custodian has been placed in charge of the Mission to act as guide to visitors and a guard against treasure-seeking vandals.

In December 1934, Paul Beaubien was placed in charge of extensive operations at Tumacacori. It was made a F.E.R.A. work project. Excavation and mapping was carried on from that time until the completion in March 1935. As the terms of the agreement under which the F.E.R.A. labor was secured, it could be used only for excavation and not for rebuilding. Therefore, as soon as the excavated portions had been mapped and carefully noted, they were covered with earth again in order to preserve them. The National Park Service made five sheets of excellent maps which are of immense importance to historians and archaeologists in the study of Tumacacori. Copies of these maps are bound with the archaeologist's notes and published in the March 1937 issue of the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, mimeographed at Casa Grande Ruins, Coolidge, Arizona.

San Jose de Tumacacori stands today as one of the most interesting of the historical National Monuments. (Plate VIII)

The facade, unlike that of the neighboring San Xavier del Bac, is severely plain. The entrance and the choir window immediately above it are each flanked by two plain, tapering columns. Between each pair of this group of eight columns is a niche deeply indented in the front wall. They probably once held statues, as do those in the facade of San Xavier. The portion of the facade which extends above the roof line was restored in 1921 from old photographs and sketches made before the original fell or was torn down to furnish building material

for the nearby ranches. Under the overhanging cornices and within the arch of the doorway are faint traces of painted designs. Possibly the entire facade was once decorated with these same designs. (Plate IX)

The front entrance into the Mission is through an arched doorway six feet wide and nine feet six inches high. Within the building, immediately to the right, is a narrow hall-way leading into the baptistry. Upon the walls of the church there are plainly visible the lines where once was erected the choir loft. Apparently the choir loft was rebuilt and shortened, as the excavations of 1934-1935 uncovered the remains of foundations extending farther into the nave of the church.²⁸

The interior of the church from door to sanctuary wall is about ninety feet. The width is seventeen feet. (Plate X) When the construction began, the nave was filled with debris from the fallen roof and windblown fill to the depth of about six feet. When this was cleaned out, it was found that within the nave there were two altars and one niche on each side of the church. The altars were about six by eight feet, constructed solidly of adobe bricks. Above each altar was a niche for a statue. In a pilaster on each side of the church, midway between each altar, was a large statue niche.

28. Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report, March 1937. Also Special Report No. 4, May 1936. (Note: This publication will hereafter be designated by the initials SMMR, and the date given.)

These are sometimes erroneously called altars also, but the location of the niche, very near the floor level, shows plainly that they were not intended for altars. Mr. J. H. Tovrea, from archaeological and architectural studies, has drawn a possible reconstruction of one of these altars.²⁹

Immediately north of the pilasters, and extending to within a few feet of the sanctuary arch, on each side, are fills of adobe bricks, unbonded with the remainder of the church walls. These describe the figure of an arch. Excavation on the interior of the Mission revealed massive foundations twelve by thirty feet outside measurements. Interiorly, they formed alcoves about eighteen by seven feet. These undoubtedly were altar alcoves, forming small side chapels in the church. For some reason not now apparent, they were later closed and the exterior razed to the ground.

There are marks in the walls of the nave which indicate the location of the Stations of the Cross. These seem to have been in the form of molded medallions, about twelve inches wide and eighteen inches high. Only twelve of these are now in evidence, but Mr. Pinkley states that he has seen an old picture of the interior which shows the other two stations attached to the now fallen arch which formerly supported the choir.

The sanctuary is reached by ascending three steps, to a height about three feet above the nave of the church.

29. S.M.M.R. Supplement No. 1, Jan. 1936.

Above the steps is a splendid arch framing the altar and the reredos against the back wall of the sanctuary. The sanctuary is covered by a splendid dome, a liturgical feature that is entirely correct, whereas the dome above the transept and nave intersection such as is found at San Xavier, is not liturgically correct. This dome of Tumacacori has witnessed the ravages of time and vandals, and has to a degree protected the frescoes within the sanctuary. At present, the painted designs are faintly visible, in several colors. The plaster for some seven to ten feet above the floor level had been removed by souvenir hunters and treasure seekers. Immediately above the altar, however, there is visible the outlines of a large cross, undoubtedly a crucifix. Above this is a niche for San Jose, the patron of the mission. The panel enclosing these is outlined in geometric painted lines. Above this is a molded bracket which apparently held the bust of a figure with outstretched hands. (Plate XI) A similar figure occurs at San Xavier, topping all the reredos decorations, representing God the Father. The four pendentives beneath the sanctuary dome contain paintings, apparently taken from invocations in the Litany of Loretto. One of these is too dim to distinguish more than a faint outline; the others are a cedar tree, a tower or a column, and a well. The sanctuary is lighted by a window in the east and in the west wall. On the walls in line with the bottom of the windows are outlines of twelve pictures which once were affixed to the walls. What these

are is a matter of conjecture. Other than that they are twelve in number, there is no reason to suppose that they were the pictures of the Twelve Apostles, as is usually stated.

The sacristy is reached through a door in the east wall of the sanctuary. The floor level is a foot or two lower than the level of the sanctuary. This room, about twenty by seventeen feet, is roofed with a barrel vaulted roof of burned brick. (Plate XII) At the time of the reconstruction of the Mission, this vault had pulled away from the wall of the nave and was about to collapse. It has since been strengthened and its safety assured. Although most of the walls of the sacristy are covered with thick black soot from the campfires of herders, it is evident that it was not originally frescoed. A series of steps leads from the sacristy up the south wall for about six feet, where they end at an open archway. This opening led through the wall of the nave into the pulpit. The pulpit was restored in about 1921, but Mr. Tovrea has shown that the restoration does not conform to the original design.³⁰ A door leads through the east wall of the sacristy into the courtyard and to the residence of the padres. In the north wall there is a tall window reaching almost to the floor. It was apparently used as a means of reaching the cemetery and mortuary chapel north of the church.

This cemetery is about sixty-one feet wide and one

30. S.M.M.R. Jan. 1936.

hundred seventy-six feet long. It is enclosed by a thick adobe wall about seven feet thick, much of which was rebuilt at the time of restoration. A portion of the east wall is formed by the walls of a two-story building, probably the monastery, opening out into the courtyard. The fourteen niches in the cemetery wall probably represent the places where the Stations of the Cross were erected.

In the southern part of the cemetery, a few yards from the church, is the mortuary chapel, a circular building about sixteen feet in diameter. (Plate XVI) A single door opens into the chapel. It is evident that it was intended to have been surmounted by a dome, but no part of it remains, nor was the debris removed from it such as might have been a dome. The probability is that the chapel was never completed. The use of the mortuary chapel will be explained when the mortuary chapel of San Xavier Mission is discussed.³¹

The baptistry of the Mission was located on the first floor of the bell tower adjoining the east side of the nave. The entrance into the baptistry is through an arched passage way through a wall ten feet thick. In the nine-foot-thick south wall a tunnel-like passage leads to a window which admits light into the baptistry. In the east end of the north wall there is an arched opening leading to the stairs to the second

31. Pinkley, Mission of San Jose de Tumacacori, a pamphlet-guide published at Casa Grande National Monument, Coolidge, Arizona)

floor of the tower. The ceiling of the baptistry is formed by a neatly plastered dome. There are no cupboards nor paintings in the room, which seems an indication of its incomplete state at the time the Mission was abandoned.

The stairway to the tower tunnels through the nine or ten foot walls, this passage-way undoubtedly being the reason why it was considered necessary to build such thick walls. It winds a few feet up the east wall, then turns west through the entire width of the north wall of the tower, then south through the west wall, and thus to the level of the second floor of the tower. The door to the right (or west) opened into the choir loft. To the left (or east) is a room of approximately the size of the baptistry below. This is erroneously called the robing or vesting room. However, this is a misnomer, for the Missions did not have vested choirs. It was probably a store room. There is a very interesting window in the east wall of this room. This only window in the room is exteriorly a mere slit in the wall, about six inches wide and eighteen inches high. It widens, however, as it passes through the thick wall, until the interior opening is about two by three feet. This wedge-shaped construction allows a maximum of soft, diffused light to enter the room through a minimum of exterior opening. It serves the purpose of admitting sufficient light without offering a large opening through which the hostile Apaches could shoot their fire-arrows. (Plate XIV) It is apparent that the ceiling of this room was to have been similar

to that of the baptistry, but as there was no debris in the room at the time of reconstruction, it seems that the ceiling dome was never constructed.

A narrow flight of stairs leads from the landing between this room and the choir loft up to the level of the third story, or to the bell arches. The four faces of this portion of the tower are identical. They form a square tower, set back some four or five feet from the face of the lower portion of the tower. It was likely the intention of the builders to have added a balustrade about this parapet, but evidently such was never built. This portion of the tower consists of a shell of burned brick filled with rubble, making the walls about five feet thick. The arches themselves are about five feet wide and ten feet high. Near the top of each is a heavy unfinished wooden beam for supporting the bells. (Plate XIII) It is evident that these bells were once in place in all four arches, as there are deep scorings where the bell ropes cut into the brick edges of the tower. Although the pendentives had been made, rounding out the upper portion of the tower to support a dome, the tower was never completed. Mr. Tovrea has drawn two possible reconstructions of this tower, one representing a dome placed directly upon the tower as it now stands, and the other showing a second story and dome added, such as is found at San Xavier del Bac.³²

32. S.M.M.R., Jan. 1935, p. 47.

Flanking the exterior of each arch, there are splendidly constructed niches for statues. Each is surmounted by an excellently constructed shell, the leading Spanish mission motif. On each side of the niches are deep holes where the beams of the scaffolding rested. The fact that they were never filled in indicated that the tower was never completed.

The floor of this portion of the tower is slightly above the present roof level. It was formerly considered that the mission was originally roofed with a barrel-vaulted roof, such as is now found on the sacristy. However, when Mr. Pinkley cleaned out the debris from the nave, no such material was evident there. Furthermore, Mr. Tovrea has shown conclusively that the present construction of the walls would not have supported the weight of such a roof. His explanation also accounts for the thinner walls of the nave from the level of the floor of the choir loft. ³³

From the north end of the roof, there arises the magnificent dome above the sanctuary. Although it is slightly less perfect in its hemispherical proportions than that of San Xavier, this dome with its chaste lantern and cross are even more impressive than the moorish drum and dome of San Xavier. An unusual feature in the structure of the Tumacacori dome is a flight of six small steps, or rather twelve

33. S.M.M.R., Jan. 1935, p. 45.

projections for supporting steps, leading from the floor, up the face of the dome, to the lantern. As far as I know, this feature is found in only two other missions within the United States, namely, Santa Barbara and San Gabriel in California. No satisfactory explanation of these steps has ever been made.

(Plate XV)

To the east of the Mission, there are three rooms now standing, and these, together with the extensive mounds and ridges, outline the extent of the rooms enclosing the mission patio. These ruins were almost completely excavated in 1934 and 1935 under the supervision of Mr. Paul Beaubien of the National Parks Service. His excellent and detailed report and the complete maps accompanying it leave nothing to be said of this portion of the Mission. These are to be found in the supplement to the Southwestern Monuments Monthly Report for March 1937.

Probably since the Franciscans were expelled from the missions of the Santa Cruz valley, that insidious pest, the treasure seeker, has been plying his nefarious trade. Nowhere has he been more industrious than at San Jose de Tumacacori. The entire area has been churned until it is almost impossible to establish any sequence by means of stratigraphy. Legends of buried gold hordes, of buried bells, of vaults and tunnels beneath the church and the grounds have fired his imagination and divorced it from his reason. One such legend has it that a tunnel leads from the

north end of the sacristy to the river some half mile or more to the east. Great stores of gold and the golden altar vessels are supposed to be hidden in this tunnel beneath the floor of the sacristy. In order to squash the tale, Mr. Beaubien excavated to the depth of ten feet within the sacristy. The first few feet of soil had been disturbed by treasure seekers, but the excavation was carried down well into undisturbed soil, and never a trace of the tunnel was found.

Mr. Beaubien's theory of the origin of the buried treasure and tunnel stories is well worth our notice. In his report of the excavation mentioned above, he writes:

"There was a large treasure hunter hole through the floor of Room 34b. From this one, like most of the others, the adjacent floors had been undermined. After settling, the floors always sloped toward the holes. I was never able to reach the sides of these holes without damaging the structures above; so was never able to examine the strata pierced by the treasure hunters. There were many rumors of underground passages or tunnels at Tumacacori, and I suspect that most of them had their birth with vandals who had dug through the floors of Rooms 43 and 45 to find the floors and walls of older buildings on the same level as Rooms 46, 47, and 49."³⁴

34. S.M.M.R., March 1937, p. 202.

SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

The Ultima Thule of the Spaniards in southern Arizona during the closing days of the seventeenth century was the beautiful and fertile valley of the Santa Cruz river at Bac, where a large Indian village had existed from pre-historic times. Its peace, broken occasionally by Apache invasions, was probably strangely disturbed one day in early April, 1539, when a strange black man and his retinue of servants stopped for a short time in the village. Conjectures and explanations doubtless were still rife, when a few days later a strange white man in flowing gray robe of a Franciscan friar came with messages of peace to Bac. A year later Coronado's gaudy army probably terrified the Sobaipuris of Bac, and again they may have been disturbed as the General returned in disgust in 1542 from his fruitless expedition through New Mexico and Texas. Then, for a century and a half, primitive affairs flowed along as peacefully as the purling Santa Cruz river, broken now and again by the inroads of the Apaches, as the spring and late winter freshets troubled their Santa Cruz. But as the years rolled on toward the end of the sixteen hundreds, traders brought back from Pimeria Baja stories of the extensive ranches and abundant farms that white men had so generously given the Indians of that region. Impromptu councils about the mesquite campfires at Tumacacori,

"where the curved peak turns over," at Bac, "where the water comes to the surface," at Stjuckshon, "the foot of the black mountain," far out in the deserts to the north and to the west, discussed the advisability of inviting these white men to come up into these lands

"...where the mountains were nameless
And the valleys unpeopled and still."

A decision was evidently reached in favor of the plan, and a delegation of Sobaipuris met Padre Kino early in January 1691, at Tucubavia. The magnetic personality of the great Jesuit overpowered them, and Kino and Padre Salvatierra graciously accepted their invitation to come into their territory. He visited them at Tumacacori and Guevavi that year. The following year he went again to the Santa Cruz valley, this time reaching as far north as Bac where, says Kino, "I found the natives very affable and friendly, and particularly in the principal rancheria of San Xavier del Bac, which contained more than eight hundred souls." Kino did not number the natives as so many "head." To him they were always "souls." He preached a touching sermon to them, but there is no mention of the establishing of a church, or even of the ramadas such as the people of Tumacacori had built for him and Father Salvatierra.

It was five years later that he was able to establish a ranch, giving them live stock, grains for their fields, and fruit trees for their orchards. He visited them again in 1699, and mentions an earth-roofed adobe house, and many cattle, but

no church. However, as we have seen, it was on this visit that Burriel says the church building was begun at Bac. It seems very likely that such was the fact, a small building being erected by Kino until it was evident that he would be able to visit them more frequently, or, as was always his fondest hope, that he himself might be assigned as permanent missionary at Bac.

Such was the condition of things at Bac when Kino visited the village in the spring of 1700. He wrote at length in his diary on April 28, 1700:

"On the twenty-eighth we began the foundations of a very large and capacious church and house at San Xavier del Baac, all the many people working with much pleasure and zeal, some in digging for the foundations, others in hauling many and very good stones of tezontle 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 irrigation ditches we very easily conducted the water where we wished. At that house, with its great court and gardens near by, will be able to have throughout the year all the water it may need, running to any place or work-room one may please, and one of the greatest and best fields in all Nueva Biscaya."³⁵

A careful consideration of the plain meaning of Kino's words should forever disprove the statement that the present building of San Xavier Mission is built upon the foundations laid by Kino. Kino says, in the present tense, not in the future tense, that "by means of irrigation ditches we very easily conducted the water where we wished." It is very obvious that there were then no irrigation ditches

35. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, Vol. I, p. 235.

flowing through the sterile caliche escarpment upon which San Xavier now stands. To have been there, the Santa Cruz river would have had to be tapped some two or three miles away. There would have been no reason for the Indians with their primitive stone and wooden tools to do this Herculean labor when there were hundreds and thousands of acres of fertile land in the river bottoms, easily watered by short ditches led from the Santa Cruz. Furthermore, had the ditches carried water through the grounds where the Mission now stands, there would have been nowhere for it to have gone but over the little bluff back of the Mission.

The old Indians some thirty-five or forty years ago pointed out to the early American missionary fathers the traditional site of the mission of the "Black-robles," or Jesuits, in contradistinction to that of the "gray-robles", or Franciscans. According to the Indians at Bac, this site was in a level flood plain about two miles northward from the present Mission. It was then said by the older Indians that they remembered playing on the crumbling adobe walls, then standing about six feet above the ground. These walls, their parents told them, were built by the Black-robles fathers. The site admirably fits the statement of Padre Kino that the "very good stones of tezontle" came from a small hill about three quarters of a league, or almost two miles away. Martinez Hill is at about this distance from the site, and it contains stones of volcanic origin. At the traditional site the

ground is level and the soil is deep and rich. At that time the Santa Cruz did not flow in a deep channel as now, and a low brush and rock dam would have thrown the water out over the primitive fields. Thus Kino's statement that running water could be made to flow through the Mission grounds. All this is obviously impossible at the site where the San Xavier now stands.

Last year I talked with Mr. Ben Tinker, whose home is at this traditional site. He knew nothing of the tradition, but gave the following information. He bought the place in 1928 and built a house and planted a garden about the grounds. One morning he looked out his window and saw the tip of a newly-planted cotton-wood tree waving just above the surface. When he dug his tree out to replant it, he found it had sunk into a subterranean chamber about four by eight feet, lined with home-made bricks. A similar chamber was found at the present San Xavier Mission some years ago when repair work was being done beneath the monastery of the Mission. It seemed to have been a cesspool or some sort of sanitary disposal plant. A like vat is found at San Antonio Mission in California and some of the other missions of the Southwest.

I have the following story from a manuscript given me by Father Bonaventure Oblasser, O. F. M., who had lived among the Papagos for almost thirty years and who speaks their language fluently. The older Indians, among whom he names Turibio, Encarnacion, and Chief Carlos - all now dead -

remembered that their parents had often told them of the fathers who wore black cassocks and did not wear a white cord about their waists. These fathers built the first church, the women carrying the stones from a little butte about a mile to the south, in their kihos, or burden baskets. As time went on, the river bed filled up with silt, and the seasonal floods came up to and over the mission grounds. The mission was moved, and the old buildings slowly crumbled away. The site was taken up by Spanish colonists because it was so easy to irrigate and the soil was so fertile. Marteriano Ramirez and Joaquin Burriel occupied the old mission grounds in the early sixties. At that time there remained only a few feet of the old walls and the low mounds, which the Papagos called Bit Shon Kuk, or the place of earthen foundations.

A few years ago, as I came out of San ^{Agustin} Augustin Cathedral in Tucson, I met an elderly man who was standing in front of the building admiring the recently completed towers of the Cathedral. He remarked of the changes being made in Tucson, and soon our conversation drifted to Spanish days and San Xavier. As he started away, I remarked that I would like to have him write down his story of the Mission. I thought no more of the occasion, until some months later, when I received by mail a manuscript neatly bound in notebook covers and beautifully illustrated with photographs of the interior and exterior of San Xavier Mission taken during the latter part of the past century. I reproduce herewith

SAN SAVIER IN 1891

By

A. S. Reynolds

Presented to

Victor Stoner

1932

(signed) A. S. Reynolds

While waiting for a train at Naila Station My conductor Mr. Scott-Bishop Salspont and a Priest that I did not know was looking across the Valley and talking about the Mission of San Xavier I said Bishop is the Mission as old as some people claim he replied no I do not think so San Xavier was Built By Father Garcez after he built San Jose de Tucson. this I have learned from Indians one young Indian told me that his people said that there had been three churches or Missions First a small one Near The present one called San Xavier Then one about the size of TUMACACORI in the Santa Cruz river bottom, and called San Xavier del Bac. it was in low Land The Fathers had a hard time at that place not onley Indians Apache but high water

This young Indian was from the Presbeterian School for Indians in Tucson

This is the Indians storey

The Mission that was built by Father Chinie or Kino, was located two and a half miles North east of the present one in a sague, or low land, water was ditched from the river to it, they had a Brush and dirt dam in the river. Storms caused the river to rise and flood the low land, distroying out-buildings and stoored crops The Bishop said he asked how long was the Mission in that low place I do not know, Was it the same men that built the present mission, Oh know, My GrandFather was telling my people at one of our Feasts he said the First Padres wore Black Robes and carried their cross in their Pockets the priest that built the new or present church had Brown Robes tied with a rope abound their bodys, and carried the cross and beads hanging to it they stayed a long time on the River Some of the Priests was killed by Indians APACHES Then one day a long robe came up From Pimeria Baya He was riding a Mule. Leading two other animals. he and the other Priest left in a day or two for PIMERIA BAYA. they never returned. the Father before he left placed an Indian Warden in charge

For a long time no Fathers came the river destroyed every thing then the Indian Warden moved what he could from San Xavier DEL BAC to the little mission at San Xavier then the Bishop said you see we have Had three San Xaviers the small one one called San Xavier DEL BAC The Present San Xavier is not by the river

Yours

A. S. Reynolds

To Father Stoner

But to continue with the statements of Kino regarding the work at San Xavier. In 1701 Father Francisco Gonzalvo was sent to Bac as its first resident missionary. However, he does not appear to have remained there but a year or two. In 1702 Kino was again in Bac, when he remarked,

"Afterwards I began also the very large church of San Xavier del Bac, among the Sobaipuris...."³⁶

Apparently this means that he continued work upon the foundation he had laid in April 1700.

On May 29, 1703, the year following the above entry, Father Visitor Antonio Leal wrote Kino:

"Very good news is that which your Reverence imparts to me. I greatly appreciate that in regard to the quietude, fidelity, and firmness of the children of Bac. God keep them in this good disposition; may they see their holy church finished, with a father to attend them, and may they enjoy it many years."³⁷

This seems to indicate that at that date the church had not been finished, nor was Father Gonzalvo any longer at Bac.

During the last six months of 1706, Kino begged his superiors for more missionaries for Pimeria Alta, enumerating the places where they were needed. Among them was San Xavier.

36. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta, Vol. I, p. 373.

37. Bolton, ut supra, Vol. II, p. 35.

He said that in all those places he had named there were houses for the priests and churches. It is possible that at that time his establishment of 1700 had been completed.

Undoubtedly, as late as the Reyes report in 1772, the Mission was still at or very near the original site in the valley. This report quoted in Engelhardt's "Franciscans in Arizona," page 72, states:

"San Francisco Xavier del Bac. The church here was situated in a fertile plain, where the Indians cultivated a little soil, raised wheat, corn, and other cereals. The building was sufficiently spacious. The sacristy was well supplied with altar vessels and ornaments, but in poor condition."

When the Anza Expedition came down the Santa Cruz valley on its way to the founding of San Francisco, several of the diarists of the expedition made mention of San Xavier del Bac, but not one of them has anything to say about a church such as the present San Xavier is. Undoubtedly its majestic beauty could not have escaped them, particularly the garrulous, gossipy Padre Pedro Font!

No actual date for the beginning, nor for the completion of the present mission building has been found. Carved on the inside of the door leading from the sacristy to the sanctuary is this inscription:

PEDRO BOJ^S.

Ano

DE 17

97

This date, the Indians told Bishop Salpointe, was carved upon the door by one of the workmen at the time of the completion

of the building. Incidentally, this Pedro Bojorquez is listed by Captain Anza as one of the colonists who went with him to the founding of San Francisco. The date of the beginning of the present building, and likely of the removal to this present site also, is usually given as 1783.³⁸

38. Salpointe, "Soldiers of the Cross," p. 182.

SAN JOSE DEL TUCSON

The chief visita of San Xavier, and the only one of which there is now any evidence, is San Jose del Tucson. Tucson as a place name first occurs in history when Kino records that on November 1, 1699, he passed through San Agustin del Oyaut, and a few leagues farther south,

"...on the left (as he traveled toward San Xavier) the rancheria of San Cosme del Tucson."³⁹

He later located San Cosme del Tucson as being three leagues from Bac, and San Agustin del Oyaut two leagues farther down the river from San Cosme. Kino makes no mention of church having been built at either of these villages, and indeed, they seem to have been of slight importance during his time. By the time of the Pima Revolt of 1751, Tucson seems to have increased in population, for Padre Pauer recorded in the Guevavi register that during 1754 he visited Tucson or "Tusson," as he spells it, and baptized a great many infants.

After Padre Espinosa became missionary at Bac, Tucson increased in importance. It was not until Franciscan times, however, that there seems to have been any Spanish settlement established at Tucson. Father Francisco Garces was the first Franciscan missionary at Bac, with Tucson as a visita. The saint's name is now changed, and the place called

39. Bolton, Kino's Historical Memoirs of Pimeria Alta, Vol. I, p. 206.

San Jose del Tucson. The Reyes report of 1772 states that there was then neither a priest's house nor a church at Tucson. In 1776, the presidio was established at Tucson, and its chapel, called Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe, built.⁴⁰

The public in general has been misinformed regarding the location of Padre Garces' walled village of Tucson. His, the first walled section of Tucson, was west of the river at the foot of Sentinel Peak. The wall about the presidio was not built by him. This is evident from Arriacivita's "Cronica Serafica" written in 1791.

"Estos (los Apaches) se han empeñado siempre en destruir una corta Rancheria que habia en Tucson, por ser le entrada para sus irrupciones; ~~por~~ a solicitud del Padre Garces de fabrico un Pueblo con Iglesia, casa para el Padre, y muralla que lo defiende de sus inhumanos estragos, y hoy es Presidio de los Espanoles."⁴¹

There seems to be only one picture of Padre Garces' visita church now in existence. It was drawn from a point in Sentinel Peak in 1851 by John Bartlett, a member of the Boundary Survey.⁴² This drawing shows a beautiful little church to the north of the monastery building. I have copied this church in building my Church of St. John the Evangelist across the Nogales Road from the Veterans Hospital near Tucson. Nothing now remains of San Jose del Tucson but a few stones of

40. Bolton: Anza's California Expedition, Vol. IV, p. 28

Lockwood and Page, Tucson the Old Pueblo, p. 19.

41. Arriacivita: "Cronica Serafica", 1791, p. 448.

42. Bartlett, John: Personal Narrative, Vol. II, p. 296.

its foundation. The heap of mud at the site represents the large two-story monastery, while near by are the ruins of other mission buildings.

This old monastery building is even yet called "the mission church." Pioneers of Tucson insist that it was the church, because, they will tell you, they remember seeing the altar within it. This is entirely true, but the altar which they saw was in the monastery chapel, not in the church of San Jose. Apparently the monastery chapel was dedicated to Nuestra ^{Esquipala} ~~Escapula~~, named for a famous shrine in Guatemala.

Mention and descriptions of the presidio chapel are given in various manuscripts of pioneers in the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society in Tucson. Since this presidio chapel cannot be called a visita of San Xavier del Bac, we shall not consider it here.

THE MISSION PLAN

The question often comes to mind: Why was this or any of the other missions built? The answer is simply this: Spain, to which this part of the country belonged from 1538 until about 1822, early in her conquests found that the Church could pacify and control the natives where the army was powerless. Writing in the first half of the sixteenth century, Nuno de Guzman, governor of Nueva Galicia, as the northwest part of Mexico was then called, said, "The poor natives were well disposed to receive the friars, while they flee from us as stags in the forest."

The priests gave the Indians all kind of stock animals, grains and fruits. They taught the Indians how to care for these, making practical stockmen and farmers of the former savages. The assaults of the Apaches from the northeastern part of the country made it necessary for the government to establish presidios, or forts, near the most important missions. It was the plan of the Spanish government to withdraw the missionaries, and to erect the former missions into parishes under the care of a parish priest when the Indians should have reached such a point of development as to warrant the change.

Although the mission of San Xavier del Bac was founded by the Jesuits, the present building was without doubt

erected, and the mission reached its greatest prosperity under the control of the Franciscans, or the Order of Friars Minor, and for that reason we shall describe the mission system as administered by them.

The Indians were not compelled to work for the mission, nor to live in the mission village. However, if they devoted their labor to the mission, under the direction of the missionary father, they received their food and clothing in return for the work. Archbishop Salpointe, in his book, "Soldiers of the Cross," describes the daily life in a mission as follows: "Early in the morning the inhabitants of the pueblo had to go to church for morning prayers and Mass. Breakfast followed this exercise. Soon after, a peculiar bell called the workmen. They assembled in the atrium, a little place in front of and adjoining the church, where they were counted by one of the priests and assigned to the different places where work was to be done. When the priests were in sufficient numbers they used to superintend the work, laboring themselves, otherwise they employed some trustworthy Mexicans to represent them. During the season of planting and harvesting, the workmen had their dinner prepared in the farmhouse. Towards the evening, a little before sundown, the work was stopped and the men permitted to go home. On their arrival in the houses which were located around the plaza, one of the priests, standing in the middle of this plaza, said the evening prayers in a loud voice in the language of the tribe. Every word he pronounced was

repeated by some selected Indians who stood between him and the houses, and lastly by all the Indians in the pueblo."

It was under such a system, and with the proceeds from the mission farms and ranches, that this beautiful Mission of San Xavier del Bac was built. (Plate XVII) That this system has borne ample fruits is vouched for by the excellent fields of the present-day Papagos, the children of these Indians who placed themselves under the care of the humble friars.

The bizarre decorations, the numerous statues sometimes almost grotesque, and the seeming incongruous mingling of the beautiful and the fantastic, may strike some of us as being out of place. But let us remember that these Spanish had come into this country, among strange races of whose language they knew but little, and were trying to teach them the fundamentals of the Christian religion. It was indeed a process of "Christianization and Spanishization," and the methods that the friars employed were the very up-to-date ones of visual instruction. Indeed we can find the entire Apostles' Creed illustrated in this one building.

THE FACADE

Before entering the church, let us pause a moment and examine the facade. It stands out in its original colors, never having been whitewashed. Bits of its former brilliant coloring are still visible. The zigzag tracery that we shall see within is also noticeable here. The figure to our right as we face the entrance no doubt represents St. Lucy. For years and years, the Indians have burned candles before this statue as offerings, in addition to their prayers, for St. Lucy's intercession to get them relief from sore eyes, a very prevalent disease. Directly above, with tambourine in hand, stands a statue of St. Cecilia, the Patron of Music. The figure on the opposite side likely represents St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the patron of the Third Order of St. Francis. Immediately beneath stands the headless figure of a male saint in cassock and surplice, but there are no identifying marks about the statue. The massive wooden doors are the original ones. It is interesting to note that there is a door within a door here. The entire wooden sections open, in addition to the usual small wooden doors. These doors were once covered with heavy tin, doubtless to minimize the danger from Apache fire-arrows. The facade was once decorated with ten ornate columns, the like of which we shall see all through the building. Only three of these remain on the facade, and they

are badly dilapidated. You will note, above the window opening out upon the small balcony, a large shell design. This emblem is used in art to indicate St. James the Apostle, who carried Christianity around the Mediterranean Sea, to Spain. He is greatly venerated in that country, and his emblem is to be found in many of the Spanish Mission churches. We shall find it very frequently when we examine the interior of this church. Just above the shell, in the medallion, is the coat of arms of the Franciscan Order. The monogram to the right, "I. H. S.", means "Jesus Savior of Men." On the opposite side is the monogram of the Blessed Virgin. On the extreme edges of the facade are the rampant lions, emblems taken from the Spanish coat of arms. The cone surmounting the facade is what remains of a life-size statue of St. Francis of Assisi. We shall get a better view of it when we go to the towers. If we follow up the outer edges of the facade, we shall find that, just below the concrete railings of the bell towers, they terminate in coils probably signifying the bishop's crosier or pastoral staff. In each coil is to be seen a small stone image. They seem to be the images of cats, although as far as is known there is no symbolic meaning attached to such a figure. It is customary to find on the bishop's crosier the figure of a lamb, signifying the pastoral office of the bishop.

THE MORTUARY CHAPEL AND YARD

The wall to the right, or west side, of the entrance to the church encloses the mortuary yard. The small building at the end of the enclosure is the mortuary chapel. In this chapel the remains of the dead Christian Indians were sometimes kept until they could be conveniently interred. Often the missionary would be away for a day or two visiting other Indian villages, and the Indians of the Mission would wait for him to return and perform the burial rites. The inscription above the door of this mortuary chapel, "HOC SACELLVM OLIM MORTVARIVM RESTAVRABAT EPISC. TVCSONEN. DEDICABATQVE SMAE MATRI DOLOROSAE A. D. MCMVI," is the Latin for "The Bishop of Tucson restored this little chapel, formerly a mortuary, and dedicated it to the Most Holy Mother of Sorrows, A. D. 1906." At the time of the restoration, the walls of the yard and the upper part of the tower had fallen; but by means of old pictures of the Mission, they were reconstructed. The bell in the tower of the chapel is dedicated to St. Augustine, having cast about it the inscription, "SAN AVGVSTIN," Just above the inscription and almost perforating the bell, is a deep dent where a bullet had struck it. The fourteen figures in bas relief, set in niches in the walls of the yard, are the Stations of the Cross. They are of a recent date, the original ones having long since been carried away by relic hunters.

The grave is also of recent date, and is of no historic importance.

THE INTERIOR

Now let us enter the Church proper, and take up our position at the gate to the sanctuary, between the two lions, and facing the door. From this position we get a good view of the length of the church. To our right is the Chapel of the Passion of Our Lord; to our left, the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows. In front, upstairs, is the choir loft. The interior of the dome, directly above us, contains some excellent frescoes put there by the builders of the Mission. They have not been retouched. Notice that the three small domes, forming the ceiling of the church, are made to represent drapery. Now let us go down the church to the front door, noticing the small medallion paintings at the apex of each arch. Those on each of the four arches supporting the main dome are monogram abbreviations of the word, "Mary." (Latin and Spanish, "Maria.") The medallion on the third arch from the altar represents the Sacred Heart of Jesus, entwined with a crown of thorns. The frescoed angels beneath each of these domes are probably the work of Indians, done under the supervision of the artist who painted the pictures in the church. They are of a flat, non-perspective design, much like the paintings of the untaught Indian artists of to-day. The medallion on the arch above the choir loft represents the Most Pure Heart of Mary, pierced with a dagger. The design on the arch beneath

the choir loft is the coat of arms of the Franciscan Order. The decorating of the walls beneath the choir loft seems never to have been completed. You will notice that nowhere else in the church are these large wall spaces left undecorated. The small wooden door to the left as you enter the building opens into the baptistry, which we shall visit later. The similar door, directly opposite, opens into a room beneath the uncompleted tower. The painting in the church, above this door, is a reproduction of the miraculous picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe. This picture formerly hung above the painted door out in the nave of the church; but at the time of the restoration of the Mission, it was framed and hung here.

Now let us retrace our way to the altar, examining the paintings and statues on each wall as we go. The small ornate basins in the walls of the building, beneath the choir loft, are the holy water fonts. The triangular painting of a man holding a crucifix represents St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan Order. The triangular painting opposite it represents St. Paschal Baylon. The door to our left admits to the Mortuary Chapel. The oval medallion above this door formerly bore some design, but it is now faded out. These old doors are worthy of careful examination. They are the original ones, held in place by rather crude iron hinges, and barred with a home-made and engraved iron bar. Notice the extreme scarcity of nails. The panels are put together by means of close-fitting joints and wooden pegs. It is interesting to note that opposite this door there is a painting

representing a similar door, put there, it would seem, for the sake of symmetry. The painting above this door represents St. Francis Xavier, the famous missionary among the tribes of the East Indies. The first statue in a niche, to our left as we go towards the altar, represents St. Matthew. The one directly opposite represents St. James the Less. The Spanish names can be seen more or less plainly at the base of each statue. The painting next to the statue of St. Matthew represents the Last Supper. On the opposite wall, is "The Descent of the Holy Ghost." The frames of these two pictures were never completed. The charcoal sketching of the design can still be seen. The next statue probably represents St. Barnabas, one of the Apostles. The lettering at the base of this statue has flaked off, leaving the name almost illegible. Opposite is the pulpit, which we shall examine later.

We are now entering the chapel at our left, the Gospel Chapel, or the Chapel of the Passion of Our Lord. (Plate XXI a) The first statue, very like those we have been viewing, is of one of the Twelve Apostles, either St. Thomas, or St. Philip. The large painting here represents the apparition of Our Lady of the Pillar at Saragossa. The smaller one above it is "The Presentation of the Child Jesus in the Temple." The next statue, a young man wearing the vestments of a priest about to say Mass, represents St. James of the Marches. We now face the chief altar of this chapel. The figure in the red velvet robe represents Our Lord when Pilate brought him out

before the mob and asked if he should release Christ or Barabbas. The Indians say that the figure on the bier represents St. Francis Xavier. There is a very interesting little legend connected with this statue. The statue in the white robe represents the Risen Savior. This statue, with others that we shall mention later, was originally in the missions nearer the border. After the Apache raids, and the ultimate destruction of San Jose de Tumacacori Mission, the Christian Indians rescued some of the statues and brought them to San Xavier del Bac for safe-keeping. The robe of the Risen Savior statue is of late Indian make. The statue in the niche, between the two altars, represents St. Bonaventure, a Franciscan cardinal of great learning. He is here represented as wearing the cap signifying that he holds the degree of Doctor of Theology. The statue on the pedestal is a modern statue of St. Francis Xavier. It was purchased for the mission by the late Bishop of Tucson, the Rt. Rev. Henry Granjon, D. D. It is used by the Papagos in their annual feast day celebration on December the third. The small wooden statue represents the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The other altar in this chapel is dedicated to St. Joseph, husband of the Blessed Virgin and foster father of Our Lord. This statue of St. Joseph, a wood-carving, is very old. The frescoes on the walls of this chapel are interesting. In this land of deserts it is often difficult to find flowers to adorn the altars. Therefore, the decorators of this building ornamented the altars with painted vases of

flowers. The frescoed angels back of each of these altars probably represent the archangels. Raphael with the fish, and Gabriel with the blossoming staff, stand on each side of St. Joseph. The angel with the chain, to the right of the statue of Our Lord, seems to represent St. Michael. The name of the fourth archangel is not mentioned in Scripture, but the Jewish Apocrypha calls him Uriel.

Now let us look up to the second tier of statues. The large figure in brown and gold, immediately above the statue of Our Lord, represents St. Francis of Assisi. The figure to St. Francis' left bears the name of St. Peter of Alcantara, while the one to St. Francis' right represents St. Peter Regalate. The statue in black and white, and with the little dog at its feet, above the statue of St. Joseph, represents St. Dominic, founder of the Dominican Order.

The medallions in full relief, above this second tier of statues, represent, beginning near the painting, "The Presentation in the Temple," first, St. Scholastica. Immediately above the statue of St. Francis of Assisi, is St. Catherine of Sienna; then St. Colette; and above the statue of St. Dominic, a Franciscan abbess.

The carved structure, closed by a heavy green curtain, is the confessional. (Plate XXIV) It was, in all probability, placed here when the church was first opened for services. The heavy oaken chair in it is worthy of close inspection. Notice that the small beam at the top of the green curtain is

carefully rounded off to prevent too large a bump forming on the father confessor's forehead should he forget to bow his head as he entered the confessional.

Note in this chapel the small figures before each niche, cherubs carrying cornucopias which form candlesticks. The cherubs in the lower tier of statues represent white angels, while the eight cherubs of the second tier seem to be of Indian origin. This is an interesting study in early visual education, for the purpose seems to have been to teach the neophytes that there are Indians, as well as Spaniards, in heaven.

As we leave this chapel, we find another statue of one of the Twelve Apostles. This probably represents St. Bartholomew.

THE MAIN ALTAR

The two large angels on each side of the sanctuary, and above the little railing (the communion rail), hold silken banners on the chief festival days. There is a tradition that these figures are portrait statues of the daughters of the man who made most of the brick for the building. The large lions guarding the gates to the sanctuary recall the lions on the Spanish coat of arms. These figures once held great candlesticks which are now in the sacristy. The figure to the left as we enter the sanctuary represents St. James the Greater. Immediately opposite, across the sanctuary, is a statue of St. Matthias. Above the painted door is a fresco representing "The Adoration by the Shepherds." The next statue, to our left as we stand before the altar, is of the Apostle St. Simon. The large figure above the main altar, clothed in the black velvet robe, represents St. Francis Xavier, the saint to whom the church is dedicated. The next statue represents St. Andrew, the Apostle. The fresco above the door is "The Adoration by the Magi." Above it, and above the cornice, is a painting long called "The Flight into Egypt," but now clearly seen to be "The Visitation." The statue above that of St. Francis Xavier represents the Blessed Virgin, Mother of Christ. It seems to be a copy of Murillo's "Immaculate Conception." To her left stands St. Paul. To her right, holding the keys,

is St. Peter. Above this, with hand raised in blessing, is a figure representing God the Creator. Springing from behind this, as a canopy over the sanctuary, is the ever-present motif of the shell. The small medallions probably represent St. Agnus and St. John, both of whom were beheaded. The key-stone-shaped fresco above the painted door is "The Annunciation."

The table and bench in the sanctuary, together with the statue of St. Francis Xavier on the main altar, are the oldest articles in the building. Tradition has it that they were used in the small adobe chapel that stood here before the erection of this present church.

Now let us look at some of the details of the reredos, the decoration back of the altar. We might state here that all the decoration in a Catholic church is supposed to culminate at the altar, where is offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. The altar recalls the early days in the catacombs when the persecuted Christians held their services under ground and secretly. Mass was usually offered up on the tomb of a man or woman who had been put to death in the persecution for the Faith. In memory of this, the Catholic altar always contains, in the middle of the table part, and just before the little door, a small stone slab in which is sealed a relic of a saintly martyr. The little door, highly ornamented on this altar, opens into a small receptacle called the tabernacle. Here is kept the Blessed Sacrament, or the Holy Eucharist, when the church is

used solely for religious purposes. The crucifix above the tabernacle is the original, hand-carved one. It, or the one that is kept in the sacristy, the room next to this part of the church, is likely the one used in the old chapel. In the decoration of the reredos there are thirty-eight figures of cherubs, and fragments of two more. All this decoration of the altar was once covered with gold leaf, much of which can still be seen. It seems queer that we should find here in this Spanish church, the French fleur-de-lis. The frieze, consisting of the Franciscan cord, the bell, and the pomegranate, extends around the entire church and terminates in the reredos, the cord falling in two tassels, one on each side of the statue of St. Francis. (Plate XXV) The space above the altar, and in front of the great shell, was originally frescoed with many angels, probably representing the heavenly choirs. All that is now visible of this fresco is an angel with a trumpet, and two angels carrying banners inscribed with the word, "Pax," the Latin for "peace."

CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF SORROWS

Now let us leave the sanctuary and enter the chapel on the left, the Epistle Chapel, or the Chapel of Our Lady of Sorrows. (Plate XXI-b) It gets this last name from the statue of Our Lady of Sorrows standing on the main altar in this chapel. Tradition has it that an Indian woman carried this large statue from Mexico on her back. There is a story that a young Indian bride promised her wedding dress to the statue of the Blessed Mother if a certain favor was granted. The prayer was answered in due time, and this statue has since worn the brown silk dress and the blue cape. Above this statue is a group representing the Crucifixion. The wooden cross is not fastened to the wall, but is resting against the edges of the deep, cruciform depression in the wall of the building. It seems to have been used in processions. The body, which is now badly broken and is kept at the monastery, was suspended by means of an iron hook. On either side of the cross stand the Blessed Mother, and St. John, the Beloved Disciple. There are seven swords pointing toward the Blessed Mother's heart, recalling Simeon's Prophecy in the Temple. The other altar in this chapel is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin under the title of the Immaculate Conception. The foot of the statue formerly rested upon a great snake, long since fallen away and now kept at the

monastery with many other interesting relics awaiting the building of a museum, when they will be exhibited to the public.

This statue of the Immaculate Conception is of great value in showing how the Padres constructed many of the statues in this outpost of the Missions. The head and hands of the figure are carefully carved, but the rest of the body is roughly modeled. This is then covered with coarse cloth, arranged in graceful folds, and the whole heavily painted. This gives an excellent effect of having been carefully executed from stone. The statue between the two altars represents St. Didacus. In the niche at the other end of the Immaculate Conception altar stands a figure of St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, or the Society of Jesus. It is probable that this statue was put in the niche after the statue of one of the Twelve Apostles had been broken. The figure at the other end of the altar of Our Lady of Sorrows represents St. Anthony of Padua, the famous Franciscan wonder-worker. Upon the arm of the statue there formerly sat a figure of the Infant Jesus, but one day, just before the Feast of St. Anthony, a thief stole the figure of the Infant. Beneath is a statue of St. Cajetan, or San Cayetano, as he is known in Spanish. This statue is one of the old ones saved from the Apache raids. The original robes of cloth and paint were so badly burned that the Indians dressed the statue anew. St. Cajetan was the patron of the Mission San Cayetano de Calabazas, near Nogales, Arizona, and it is almost certain that this old statue once occupied the

chief place in that church of Spanish days. (Plate XXII)

The large painting in this chapel represents Our Lady of the Rosary. Immediately above it is "The Hidden Life of Our Lord."

The statues in the second tier represent, beginning nearest the picture of "The Hidden Life of Our Lord," St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen; then St. Benedict of San Fradello; and in the niche above the Immaculate Conception altar, Blessed Bernardine of Feltria. The four full relief medallions, above this second tier of statues, are representations of (above Blessed Bernardine of Feltria) St. Rose of Viterbo; St. Agnes of Prague (or probably St. Margaret of Colonne); St. Clare of Assisi; and St. Elizabeth of Hungary (with the fish).

The pulpit, near this chapel, is the original pulpit. It is not known by whom it was carved. Its construction is unique in that it has no nails in it. (Plate XX) The closely-fitted joints are held together by wooden pegs. A sermon is preached from this pulpit every Sunday, and on the principal feast days. The missionary preaches in English, and an educated young Indian translates the sermon, sentence by sentence, into the Papago language. Occasionally Fray Bonaventure, of Santa Catherina Mission, at Topowa, comes here and preaches in the Papago language. Selections from the scriptures are read in both English and Spanish each Sunday. Many of the old Indians understand the Spanish language.

We are now standing beneath the dome, which towers over fifty-four feet above the floor. The paintings on the

pendentives, or triangular surfaces just under the drum, represent four of the Doctors of the Latin Church. (Plates XVIII and XIX) The one above the pulpit represents St. Thomas Aquinas; to the right of this, in the red robes of a cardinal, St. Jerome; then St. Gregory the Great; and lastly, St. Augustine. The rays coming from the dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost, represent the wonderful learning of this bishop. Notice that his biretta, or cap, hangs upon his crosier.

The pictures between the four windows in the drum are: above the sanctuary arch, "The Good Shepherd"; to the right of this, with crucifix, skull, and scourge in hand, St. Margaret of Cortona; St. Francis Solano, missionary among the South American Indians; and St. Rose of Viterbo.

The interior of the dome was formerly entirely covered with paintings, but the large crevice in the south side of it has permitted the rains to deface the pictures so that only a few of them can be deciphered. (Plate XXIII) Immediately above the painting of the Good Shepherd is a fresco showing St. Francis of Assisi receiving the Stigmata. The Latin words, "Vim Amoris," coming from the crucified Savior to the saint, mean "the strength of love." To the right of the Stigmata, is a painting of St. Clare of Assisi, holding the monstrance. The figure to the left of the Stigmata, holding the small church, was long called St. Hedwig, but this is not the correct title of the picture. The figure represents a Franciscan man, apparently a cardinal, and possibly St. Bonaventure, a stabilizer

of the Order.

The figure in the top of the dome is the coat of arms of the Franciscan Order. The Franciscan cord is looped all about in the dome. There are also several designs representing pilgrims' staffs and bishops' mitres.

THE SACRISTY

The small room off the left of the sanctuary is called the sacristy. In this room the priest and the other ministers put on their robes for the different services in the church. On the inside of one of the doors opening into the church is carved this inscription, "PEDRO BOJ^S ANO DE 1797." (Plate XXVI) Tradition has it that this is the name of the man, Pedro Bojorques, who did the woodwork of the church, and the date records the year of its completion. This would seem to be borne out by the few records and traditions available. In the corner opposite, and to the right of the door opening out into the cloisters, is an old lavatory. The small reservoir held the water, which ran from the bowl beneath, through a small spout, and out under the building. This lavatory is still in use. The decorations above the small window are the original ones. The red, white, and blue were put there when this was Spanish land. The large fresco is one of the most remarkable in the church. It represents the crucifixion. At the right stands the Blessed Virgin, opposite St. John. At the foot of the cross Mary Magdalene kneels. The painted drapery hangs as though the heavy red curtains had just been pulled apart for us to view the great tragedy. (Plate XXVII) The triangular painting at the right probably represents St. Francis Xavier. At the other side of the

crucifixion scene is another triangular picture likely representing St. Dominic. On the opposite side of the window is a painting of St. Roch with his dog at his feet. The painting near the sanctuary door is of St. Isidore the Laborer. The oil painting in the heavy gilt frame is a very old picture of St. Ignatius Loyola. The name of the artist is unknown. The frame was made recently. The long staves covered with varicolored tissue paper, and made of cactus ribs, are the old candlesticks that the lions at the sanctuary gate formerly held. The Indians give them a new coat of tissue paper each year for the feast of St. Francis Xavier on the third of December. The wheel with the five small bells is used to announce to the congregation that services are about to begin. There is only one of the original bells left, the others having been stolen.

THE BAPTISTRY

Now let us go down the aisle and enter the small door to our right. The room here, eleven feet one inch square, is the baptistry, where Indians have been baptized for perhaps a hundred and twenty-five years. The window, heavily barred and once protected against Apache raids by heavy shutters, faces directly south. Notice the curious, elliptical shape of the opening in the wall through which steps lead up to the window. The large fresco covering the north wall, has been whitewashed at some unknown date, and only the part of the picture that was behind a cupboard escaped destruction. The picture represents the Baptism of Christ by John the Baptist. This is one of the best executed frescoes in the church. The quaint imitation tile wainscoting that is used throughout the building may be seen here to advantage. The innumerable names written and scratched in the plaster do not represent the names of the ones who have been baptized here. They are merely the signatures of people as uninteresting as their penmanship. The builders of the church, and the artists who painted the wonderful pictures were too humble to leave us their signatures. What shall we say of the authors of these names? The cabinet in the west wall, closed with heavy doors, is used as a receptacle for the articles used in baptism. The floor of this room is a sample of what the floor of the entire

building looked like before its renovation in 1906. As it was rapidly wearing down into holes and soft dust, it was necessary to cover it with the present wooden floor. The old baptismal font stands in the center of the baptistry. The pedestal of molded plaster holds a bowl hammered out of a single sheet of copper. The decoration is all hand-tooled work. The letters, "J H S" in the cover, are an abbreviation for the Greek of the word "Jesus."

THE CHOIR LOFT

As we go up the narrow flight of steps in the tower, let us note how they are constructed. The bricks are fashioned so as to give the maximum height to the ceiling with a minimum amount of material. As we ascend the steps, we come to a small room at the left. This room, absolutely devoid of decoration, further bespeaks the unfinished condition of the Mission. This storeroom opens into the choir loft, where we find seven of the best preserved of all the frescoes. The four triangular paintings represent the Four Evangelists, with their symbols. The eagle represents St. John; the ox, St. Luke; the cherub, St. Matthew; the bear, St. Mark. The large painting above the door represents St. Dominic receiving the Rosary from the Blessed Virgin. It is noticeable that in this picture the little dog with the firebrand in his mouth is at the side of St. Dominic. Opposite this is a fresco of St. Francis of Assisi in a fiery chariot. Above the beautiful shell-surmounted window is a picture of the Holy Family. In the center stands the Child Jesus. At his right stands his Mother, and at his left, St. Joseph, his foster father. Beneath the picture is a queer decoration in imitation of plaited wickerwork. The shallow dome above the choir loft is finished to represent drapery caught up with a great cord, a decoration found in all the other small domes. The beams projecting from the walls near the floor

were rests for the choir stalls. Notice the nicely painted upholstery for the backs of the seats, and the ubiquitous shell motif. The plastered-up doorway formerly admitted to the stairs leading down into the monastery dining room. It is a custom in the Franciscan Order to adjourn to the chapel immediately after meals and offer up some prayers. It seems probable that the Fathers at this Mission came up here to the choir loft for their prayers. In the early days of the American period, the tiny room, corresponding to the storeroom we just came through, served as a chapel for the Sisters of St. Joseph who taught the Indian school. Many visitors wandered into this chapel, and unintentionally interrupted the Sisters' devotion, and it was deemed advisable to close this door permanently.

From our position in the choir loft we get an excellent view of the entire church. Let us examine a few more details before we view the whole church. The small monogram above the figure of the Most Pure Heart of Mary (which we saw from the floor of the church) is the "I H S." It has the same meaning as the "J H S" on the baptismal font. The very dim fresco above the Sacred Heart of Jesus, on the next arch, represents Veronica's Veil. If we stand at the window in this choir loft and look towards the altar, we get a fine view of the main altar, framed by the four receding arches. We may also note other admirable architectural features. The windows are all placed in the position that the clerestory would occupy in the Gothic style. This permits a soft lighting,

without allowing the sun to shine directly upon the worshippers at any time during the day. The windows measure four feet by two and a half feet on the outside, and seven feet by four and a half feet inside. This gives a large, diffused lighting area on the inside, but makes a smaller opening on the exterior for the ever-alert Apaches to shoot through. If you are visiting the Mission during the summertime, you will notice how very cool the air is within. This is due to a feature found in all pueblo Indian and early Spanish architecture. There are very few openings near the floor. This allows the cool, heavy air to settle here, while the hot, light air rises and goes out through the windows high above the seats of the congregation. This, combined with the factor of protection in time of attack, is the probable reason for the pueblo Indians' reaching their homes through an opening in the roofs.

THE TOWERS AND THE ROOF

Now let us go back through the small room adjoining the choir loft, turning to our left as we reach the stairs. As you mounted the steps, your elbows rubbed against the walls. So have thousands of other elbows done, and this has smoothed and worn away the red bricks, made and burned right here in this village many, many years ago. Ascending the narrow, tomb-like stairs, we suddenly come out upon a sheltered balcony, the main bell-tower. The three bells here are all that is left of the wonderful chime of perhaps six, or even more bells. These three, gently swaying in the parching summer winds, and shivering in the desert winter blasts, still call to worship the faithful Papagos, as they called their ancestors in the vanished days of the Spanish Friars. The two bells in the south arch are of superior workmanship, their Spanish crown designs seeming to indicate that they were imported. The larger of these two is inscribed "SAN JUAN BAPTISTA," showing that it is dedicated to St. John the Baptist. The other of these two bears an inscription that is all but illegible. The words, "SAN PEDRO," are barely readable. However, we have made a plaster cast of the inscription, and the letters seem to be as follows: "SAN PEDRO A.ECH AAD. 1788." This may be translated to read: "St. Peter, Apostle. Cast in the year of Our Lord 1788." The lone bell in the west

arch seems to have been cast right here in San Xavier del Bac. It is greatly inferior in tone and workmanship to the other two. The name was written in the natural order in the mold. Consequently, the inscription on the cast bell is backwards. If we follow the letters from right to left, we find, "S.FRA,^{co} XA BY ER. A.A.D. 1807. TI." This means "St. Francis Xavier, the year in the years of Our Lord, 1807." It is uncertain what the "TI" means. These bells were not rung as our bells are. Instead of the bell being moved, the clapper is propelled against the bell. This gives a peculiar tolling effect, or, as the Indians sometimes ring them, an imitation of the drumbeat. From the arch beneath the San Xavier bell, we get a good aeroplane view of the Mortuary Yard and Chapel. Notice also the structure of the massive flying buttresses that help support the towers. Their great mass does not detract in the least from their gracefulness. In fact, they seem at first sight to be put there merely for the sake of ornament.

Now let us pass around this small balcony, and ascend another flight of stairs. We shall go out upon the roof later. This ascent brings us to the highest point able to be reached by ordinary means. Let us stand in the middle of the octagon and see the eight splendid views framed by the eight arches. Through the first large arch towards the east we see through two arches of the other tower, and on to the Grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes. To the right of it, through the small arch, we see the tiny, match-box jail. To the left of the

large arch through which we saw the Grotto, is seen the Santa Catalina Mountains, far across the Papago fields and the Santa Cruz valley. The view through the north arch reveals the Tucson mountains, the small, sharply-pointed peak to the extreme right being Sentinel Peak upon whose summit the students of the University of Arizona have constructed a giant "A." Through the small arch to the left of this we see a very rugged mass of mountains. At the foot of the solid rock core, there is a small copper and silver mine. The large west arch frames a picture quite different from the others. Far, far through the purple haze of the desert, we faintly descry the dim outlines of what appear to be small mesas. They are in reality the Coyote mountains, many miles away. In the foreground is the cemetery, where are buried not only Papagos, but many Yaquis and Mexicans. To the left, only about a mile away, is Black Mountain. The Indians from the village moved up there and lived during the devastating Black Vomit, a plague that almost annihilated the village about seventy-five years ago. The remains of their huts are still to be seen up on the mountain top. There are also some very interesting pictographs on the large boulders on its summit. The small arch to the left of this one looks out over a low, broad-topped mound. Here, just about sunset each evening, one may see a single Indian, or a small group of Indians, standing, silently gazing over the village and the foothills below. This is almost a ceremonial with them. In answer to the question why they do it, we must answer in the language

of this land of mañana, "Quien sabe." Behind this mound, and at the foot of the mountain to the left, is the old pagan Indian burial ground, the Hehein. A low wall of rocks was erected in the form of an ellipse. In this enclosure the body was placed, mesquite poles laid across the walls and a layer of rocks piled on top to keep out the prowling coyote of the desert. Most of the poles have decayed now, leaving merely a low mound of rocks to mark the burial site. The Indians of the present day carefully guard this old burial ground of their ancestors, and resent any intrusion from visitors.

Through the large south arch we get the finest view of all. This looks directly up the Santa Cruz valley, into old Mexico. In the distance, to the right, are Twin Buttes, lying like the ubiquitous Spanish lions guarding the entrance to the valley. To the left, Old Baldy, the highest peak in southern Arizona, rears his hoary head. At his base stand the crumbling ruins of another old Spanish Mission, San Jose de Tumacacori. The lavender haze that veils his head shades off, until at zenith it is almost a sapphire hue.

We may notice that before each of the arches the floor is worn down into a shallow cavity. It is here, before this south arch facing Mexico, whence came all news to the laboring missionaries, that the floor is worn deepest. It is easy to see in fancy the sentinel, pacing from arch to arch in time of danger from the Apaches, halting a moment before this southern arch to look for messengers or reinforcements from the mother

country. Or perhaps as the good Franciscan Father strolled from arch to arch, rapt in meditation, or saying his rosary, he stopped for a moment and looked wistfully toward the other missions, the homes of his fellow missionaries whose company would be a rare holiday treat for him. As we look out across the broad valley, we shall likely see wind-blown columns of sand, the desert "go-devils," sweep across like the ghosts of the vanished Apache warriors.

As we descend and come out upon the roof of the church, we pass the upper part of the facade and get a good view of the life-size statue of St. Francis of Assisi. We know it is meant for the Saint of Assisi, and not the Jesuit, because of the Franciscan cord that the figure wears. Although the entire upper part of the statue is gone, this cord proves conclusively that, though the building was dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the figure that surmounted it was that of St. Francis of Assisi. If we wish, we may go into the other tower, but we will find it exactly like the one we just came from, except that it was never completed. Many romantic stories have been manufactured to account for its unfinished state, but these are as unreliable as they are fantastic. The most plausible reason is that the scant funds became exhausted, and work had to be suspended. Then came the confiscation of the mission property under the guise of "secularization," and the unfinished tower has stood even to this day a monument to the poverty of the missions. The six small turtle-back domes, with the beautiful hemispherical

dome rising from the octagonal drum in their midst, represent the exterior of the domes we saw so lavishly ornamented within the church. The central dome, a perfect hemisphere, rests upon a drum nine feet in height. Four cruciform windows in this drum illuminate the interior of the dome. The gracefully curved parapet goes up at intervals of ten feet, forming minarets at whose bases are two lions' heads. The total number of lions' heads around the parapet is forty-eight.

THE COURT AND CLOISTERS

The original mission buildings consisted of only the church proper and the wing of rooms extending at a right angle from it. These were connected with the church by a small room very like the baptistry, and opening into the church through a door just beneath the picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The ceiling of the cloisters is just as it was in the mission days. The heavy, hewn mesquite beams support a layer of the woody ribs of the giant cactus. On these is plastered a thick coating of adobe mud. During the restoration in 1906, a metal roof was placed over the entire living quarters. The wing parallel to the church was built in the 80's, and is used as class-rooms for the Papago school.

This school dates from 1874. In Archbishop Salpointe's "Soldiers of the Cross," we find the following: "In 1874, the Sisters of St. Joseph were called by Agent R. Wilbur, with permission from the Department of the Interior, to teach a school at San Xavier for the Papago Indians. This school, which at the beginning had to be taught through the medium of an interpreter, was giving surprising results when, on the 1st of April 1876, it was closed by order of the government owing to the consolidation of the Papago agency with that of the Pimas." Sister Euphrasia and Francesca were the first to be stationed at this mission school. In 1889, the school was re-established under the

patronage of Mother Katherine Drexel, whose work among Indian and Negro missions extends to every portion of our country. Mother Superior Florence, and Sisters Agnes and Bernardette, were in charge of the school during the first few months. Then Mother Aquinas was stationed here. For several years, she and Sister Agnes were the only teachers among the San Xavier Papagos. The Mother Superior's story of the pioneer days reads like a romance. Many were the times when the little community did not know where their next meal would come from. Their labors in "Americanization" among these real Americans were truly herculean. Mother Aquinas tells an interesting story of being awakened late one night by an Indian man and his wife to play the part of Portia. The man and wife had had a heated argument as to which was saying a certain prayer correctly. To settle it, they walked a mile across the village and asked Mother Aquinas to be the judge. The case was decided in favor of the husband, and peace was restored.

THE GROTTO OF OUR LADY OF LOURDES

The little mountain just east of the Mission is known as the Mount of the Holy Cross. It is a custom among the Indians, doubtless derived from the practice of St. Peter of Alcantara, to erect a large cross on a hill near the church. The mount chosen here is of volcanic origin, two craters being plainly visible on its summit. When Father Kino first came here, poisonous gases issued through these craters.

The chief interest in the Mount of the Holy Cross lies in the Grotto dedicated to Our Lady of Lourdes. This is an exact replica of the famous shrine in France. Before the time of the reconstruction of the Mission in 1906, the Sisters had a tiny grotto in their yard. The reconstruction and the extension of the school buildings necessitated the removal of the shrine. Bishop Granjon promised them that another would be erected in its stead. A year later, an expert miner was secured, who blasted out a grotto that is the exact size of the grotto at Lourdes, France. Monsignor Louis Duval was commissioned to bring a replica of the statue from France, and thus this shrine was built here in the desert. It was dedicated in 1908, the fiftieth anniversary of the miraculous apparition at Lourdes.

The Grotto, facing directly north, contains an altar surrounded by fourteen stars, set in the pavement. The front

of the altar is ornamented with the cord motif, and with the "Maria" monogram encircled by a rosary, and surmounted by a crown. Votive lamps and candles are placed behind the wrought-iron fleur-de-lis screen.

All during the months of May and October, and on several feast days, services are held in this Grotto. It is at all times a restful and holy spot:

The holy time is quiet as a nun,
Breathless with adoration.

The hot desert wind is tempered as it sweeps leisurely across the Papago wheat fields. The mourning dove chants her evening requiem for the dying day. And from the arm of the cross, high upon the summit of the Mount, a mocking bird pours forth his daily office of praise and thanksgiving.

SUMMARY

The Santa Cruz valley was probably first visited by Europeans in 1539 when Esteban and Fray Marcos de Niza made their remarkable journey across what is now Arizona to New Mexico, on their search for the Seven Cities of Cibola. Fray Marcos guided General Francisco Vasquez Coronado across it the following year. No further exploration was made until January 1691, when Padres Kino and Salvatierra visited the Indian villages of Tumacacori and Guevavi. During the next seventy-six years, the Jesuits established extensive ranches and farms throughout the valley. Churches were built at Guevavi, Sonoita, Tumacacori, Arivaca, Tubac and Bac. In 1751 the Pima nation, at the instigation of Luis of Saric, revolted and killed two Jesuit padres in northern Sonora, and many Spaniards. The two missionary fathers in the Santa Cruz valley escaped death, however.

In 1767 the Jesuit Fathers were expelled from all Spanish countries, and the Franciscan Friars were given the care of the missions of Pimeria Alta. The missions reached their Golden Age at that period. Several new churches were built, and the missionary frontier pushed northward. The presidio which had been established at Tubac after the Pima Revolt was moved to Tucson in 1776, and the northern portion of the Santa Cruz valley, protected against Apache raids, was

colonized.

In 1822 Mexico gained her independence from Spain, and all native-born Spaniards were put out of public office. This in effect meant the expulsion of the Franciscans. The secular clergy from Magdalena, Sonora, were placed in charge of the missions of southern Arizona. Due to the scarcity of priests, this meant the practical abandonment of the missions. They quickly fell into decay, until today, only three of them are standing, namely: San Cayetano de Calabasas, San Jose de Tumacacori, and San Xavier del Bac. The sites of Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi and San Jose del Tucson are marked by a few delapidated walls of adobe mud.

Thus arose, flourished, and declined the Spanish effort of colonizing this farthest rim of Christendom.

CONCLUSIONS

The mission system as exemplified in the Santa Cruz valley is typical of the Spanish method of peaceful occupation of a country, using the fathers of their religious orders to lay the foundations, and then supplanting them by the secular clergy and lay control.

None of the mission sites, with the possible exception of Calabasas and Tubac, ^{is} ~~are~~ on ^{its} ~~their~~ original locations. Guevavi was moved from the valley to a promontory above the Santa Cruz river; Tumacacori was moved in Franciscan times from the east side of the river to its present location on the west side; San Xavier del Bac was moved from the river bottoms to the mesa where the most beautiful of the Spanish missions now stands. Even the little church of San Jose del Tucson eventually fell into disuse as the town grew up about the Spanish presidio east of the Santa Cruz.

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Tumacacori Mission

Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi

East side

Window in west wall of
Guevavi Mission

Door in west wall of
Guevavi Mission

a

San Cayetano de las Calabasas

b

Holy Water Font
Calabasas Mission

Drain from roof
Calabasas Mission

Carved beam or viga. Now serving as lintel above door.

Calabasas Mission

San Jose del Tumacacori Mission

Facade

Tumacacori Mission

Interior

Tumacacori Mission

Detail at top of reredos

Tumacacori Mission

Roof of sacristy. Tumacacori Mission.

Bell arch showing construction
of keystone.

Tumacacori Mission

Window in second floor of bell tower.

Tumacacori Mission

Dome above sanctuary

Tumacacori Mission

Mortuary Chapel
Tumacacori Mission

San Francisco Xavier del Bac Mission

East side

Doctors of the Church

Saint Jerome

Saint Augustine of Hippo

Doctors of the Church

Saint Gregory

Saint Thomas Aquinas

Pulpit

San Xavier del Bac Mission

a

Gospel or "Ecce Homo" Chapel. West Transept.

San Xavier del Bac Mission

b

Epistle or Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel. East Transept.

San Xavier del Bac Mission

Statue of St.Cajetan or "San Cayetano"

San Xavier del Bac Mission

Interior of dome above intersection of nave and transept.

San Xavier del Bac Mission

Confessional and chair.

San Xavier del Bac Mission

Frieze

San Xavier del Bac Mission

Sacristy door

San Xavier del Bac Mission

Painting on sacristy wall
San Xavier del Bac Mission