

in any of his subsequent writings — not even in his detailed *Diary*, where he speaks of so many others to whom he was far less indebted. How explain this strange silence? I know of no completely satisfactory explanation, but shall suggest what I hope is not an utterly unreasonable conjecture. Kino's final corrections of his *Diary* date from 1708 to 1710, well within Philip V's reign. Unlike earlier sovereigns of Spain, Philip does not seem to have favored the house of Aveiro, especially as the Duchess had made every effort to safeguard the Portuguese title and family inheritance in the land of its origin. It would have been most impolitic and imprudent of Kino to mention in a book dedicated to a Bourbon king, the name of a Portuguese noblewoman who was not held in high favor by the new dynasty.

His interest, however, in the missions of China and of the Orient in general never waned. In all the various plans which he worked out for the development of the vast regions in Sonora, Arizona, the two Californias, and adjacent territories, he invariably considered them as stepping-stones to the distant lands of the Orient (consult *Memoir*, II, pp. 259-261; *Kino Reports*, pp. 120-123; *Kino's Plan*, pp. 31, 33). Keeping in mind the tragic and disastrous rites controversy which so clearly led to the destruction of the Chinese and other Oriental missions, Kino considered that he had been providentially assigned to the more fruitful mission territory. He devoted all of chapter IV, book II, part IV (*Memoir*, II, pp. 143-146) to give expression to his conviction: « Comparison of these new American Missions of this unknown North America with the Asiatic missions of the Mariana Islands and of Great China ».

The correspondence is brought to a close with the *Memorandum* in the Duchess's writing; it is an eloquent plea to resume the California enterprise. It is undated, but obviously was written after she received Kino's reports from Mexico City indicating the suspension of all efforts to continue with the settlement of the peninsula.

### III. The Duchess: A Biographical Note<sup>37</sup>

#### (1) « Mother of the Missions »

At a time when Spain and Portugal found it increasingly difficult to finance, in accordance with the Patronato Real,<sup>38</sup> the vast number of missions in their own territory and beyond their dominions, many missionaries turned to the Duchess of Aveiro for effective assistance. China, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, and especially the Marianas received her generous financial help. She set aside property to help educate future apostolic workers, and she encouraged the more enterprising and intrepid missionaries to strive to re-enter forbidden Japan.

For nearly half a century she assisted the missionaries and inspired them to write numerous reports and personal letters, which, despite the toll of time, still constitute a vast fund of

<sup>37</sup> As there is no biography or even mediocre study of the life and work of the Duchess of Aveiro, the present Introduction will strive to outline her life and indicate all the letters and documents by her, to her and about her which have come to my attention, giving in a few brief phrases some idea of their content, in the conviction that Kino's correspondence can be better appreciated in a fuller context than in isolation. This preliminary calendar of over two hundred letters and documents makes no pretense at completeness; from almost countless references, it is obvious that what is listed here is a small portion of the correspondence of one of the most influential figures of the latter 17th and early 18th centuries. The list was compiled from notes I jotted down in the course of several year's work on more general Mexican and Jesuit history, and from indications furnished to me by Father F. Rouleau, S. J. The numerous documents in the Central Jesuit Archives and the rare imprint in the Jesuit Historical Institute, both in Rome, were studied from the full and original texts; so also the manuscripts cited from the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City and the like-named Library in Madrid. A precious series of letters (originals and contemporary copies) was read in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Time prevented a longer and more fruitful search in the Vatican Archives than that which yielded only two pertinent items. Any list of such widespread correspondence claiming completeness would demand many years of research, especially as much of it is still inaccessible in private collections. Many of the known letters and pertinent documents have been scattered through the sales of antiquarians. The larger collections sold by Maggs Brothers I studied from their catalogs nos. 432 and 455, available to me in Rome; the remaining catalogs of pertinent material I consulted at their headquarters in London (50 Berkeley Square). Many other documents are listed with a brief outline of their content in *Bibliotheca Missionum*, especially volumes V, VI and XXI. From the Real Monasterio de Guadalupe I secured the only recorded copies of the *Breve noticia* and *Romance Heroyco*.

<sup>38</sup> On the Patronato Real see SHIELDS, *King and Church: The Rise and Fall of the Patronato Real*.

historic, geographic, ethnologic and other scientific data. She not only sent missionaries across the oceans, built and maintained seminaries, she also encouraged and financed the publishing of learned works on mathematics, theology, literature, natural sciences, etc.

Her home in Madrid became the information center for the foreign apostolic work effected by missionaries from every country of Europe and of the mission areas themselves. «Mother of the Missions» was not an empty but a well-deserved title. She herself summed up her ambition in life and the times — when she said that she hoped to build as many Catholic churches as Elizabeth of England had destroyed or confiscated.

Her interests were manifold. She had considerable linguistic ability, reading Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian and Latin with facility, and German to a slight degree; she was not, however, very successful in writing in any language except in her native Portuguese. She is credited with being a painter of no little talent.

As we have indicated, the Duchess was a person of considerable influence at the courts of Madrid, Lisbon and Rome, as also at the headquarters of not a few religious Orders. This will become more evident as we glance at the correspondence which reached her through the years, but first a word about her place in Portuguese and Spanish nobility.

## (2) Portuguese and Spanish Titles<sup>39</sup>

María de Guadalupe de Lencastre, sixth duchess of Aveiro, duchess of Arcos and Maqueda, oldest daughter of Jorge de Lencastre (first duke of Torres Novas and oldest son of the third duke of Aveiro), and of his second wife, Ana Henriques de Cárdenas (daughter of the duke of Maqueda), was born on January 11, 1630 in Azeitão, Portugal. Thus, by birth she was a Portuguese of the highest nobility, and descendant of the famous English adventurer, John of Gaunt; hence the name Lencastre (Lancaster). On the death of her uncle, Pedro de Lencastre, fifth duke of Aveiro, the fate of the title was uncertain until by official Portuguese decision

<sup>39</sup> Our principal sources are the monumental SOUSA, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (20 vols), and the *Breve notícia*.

it was conferred on María de Guadalupe, on October 20, 1679; thus, she became the sixth duchess of Aveiro.

By October of 1663, she had already come to stay in Spain, when the goods of her eldest brother, Raimundo de Lencastre, in the service of Spain and charged with treason to Portugal, were confiscated by the Portuguese Crown, and his titles as fourth duke of Aveiro and of Torres Novas were taken away from him.

María de Guadalupe married in 1665 the Spanish duke of Arcos, sixth of that title, Manuel Ponce de León de Lencastre. Joaquín became the seventh duke of Arcos, inheriting the father's title; Gabriel was given the title of the mother's house, thus becoming the seventh duke of Aveiro. Isabel married into the prominent Spanish house of Alba, her husband being the ninth duke of that title.

A pre-nuptial clause exacted by the Duchess stipulated that the Portuguese and Spanish titles were to remain separate: the oldest boy was to inherit the former; and the second, the latter.<sup>40</sup>

When her brother Raimundo was declared a traitor to his country in October of 1663 and lost his Portuguese titles to become the Spanish duke of Ciudad Real, the title of the Portuguese house was conferred on their uncle, Pedro de Lencastre. And when the latter died on April 1, 1673, goods and titles were again in litigation, until María de Guadalupe, on October 20, 1679, was declared victorious over other claimants. An essential condition of obtaining the title of duchess of Aveiro had been to come personally to Portugal and make obeisance to the Portuguese King. María agreed to do so. Her husband violently objected. This led at the beginning of 1678, more than a year before the final decision, to the legal separation of the couple, which seems to have been permanent.<sup>41</sup>

The Duke died on November 23, 1693.<sup>42</sup> The Duchess lived over twenty years longer, dying on February 9, 1715. She lies buried in the celebrated shrine of Guadalupe in the mountains of Estremadura, Spain.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> As indicated in the preceding paragraph, Gabriel inherited the Portuguese title and Joaquín the Spanish. See the documents in the Appendix of the Spanish edition.

<sup>41</sup> This tragic phase of the Duchess's life is revealed in her letters to the Jesuit General González, and discussed in his diaries.

<sup>42</sup> Cf GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, p. 238 n. 1.

<sup>43</sup> See BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 55 n. 2, and *Breve notícia*, especially pp. 80-92.

Despite the legal separation from the Duke, the Duchess kept the title of Arcos which she had added to that of Aveiro; the third title, that of Maqueda, came to her through her mother, the Marquesa de Maqueda.<sup>44</sup>

The unjust and tragic destruction of the house of Aveiro by the Portuguese prime minister Pombal in 1759 kept the title from surviving to the present.<sup>45</sup>

As we have seen, Gabriel, the younger son, became the seventh duke of Aveiro. Inasmuch as he did not marry and had no descendants, the title at his death on July 23, 1745, was again the object of prolonged litigation. It was not until September 30, 1755 that the Portuguese King, José, conferred the title on José Mascarenhas da Silva e Lencastre, marquis of Gouveia and count of Santa Cruz.<sup>46</sup> Jubilant in his victory, he could not dream what terrible tragedy was in store for him and all his dear ones. Above all, he could not have imagined to what length the ambitions of a Pombal could go.

José Mascarenhas had married into another powerful noble Portuguese house, that of Távora, by taking as wife on July 21, 1739, the daughter of the count of Alvor, Leonor Tomásia de Távora e Lorena. The couple was blessed with six children: two boys and four girls. No Greek tragedy could even remotely approach the terrible reality in store for the entire family and even their relatives.

On the night of September 3, 1758, an attempt was made on the life of the reigning sovereign, José, as he was returning from one of his nocturnal adventures. His prime minister, the notorious marquis de Pombal, grasped the splendid opportunity of breaking the might of the noble houses of Aveiro and Távora by accusing the head of the former of being one of the instigators of the attempt on the King's life, and utterly destroying morally and even physically his influential and illustrious lineage.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Consult BOLTON, *loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> See especially the documents in BIVAR GUERRA, *Inventário e sequestro da Casa de Aveiro em 1759*.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 408-412.

<sup>47</sup> It also gave Pombal (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello) the chance to start the inhuman and unjust destruction of the Jesuits; consult among numerous authorities: ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, vol. IV, parte I, pp. 280-326; CASTELLO BRANCO, *Perfil do Marquez de Pombal*, especially pp. 173-199; SILVA, *A execução dos Távoras*, especially p. 61 and following; the anonymous, *Processos célebres do Marquez de Pombal*, pp. 8-48.

The Duke of Aveiro was mercilessly tortured, his arms and legs being broken on the wheel in the presence of his oldest son Martinho, burned alive and his ashes thrown into the river.<sup>48</sup> Imprisonment was the lot of the rest of the family, even of the youngest, Francisca, nineteen months old. That Pombal's vengeance might have its fill, all the family's property including the baby's cradle was auctioned off publicly.<sup>49</sup>

The ducal palace was razed along with all the other buildings on the estate; the ground was plowed and sown with salt, and a pillar erected with the prohibition of ever building on the property again.<sup>50</sup>

Thus disappeared the Aveiro title.<sup>51</sup> A benigner fate awaited the lineage in Spain through the marriages of Isabel into the house of Alba, and of Joaquín who perpetuated the title of Arcos.

#### IV. Letters and Documents from and to the Duchess

These will be listed under the following three headings: (1) Letters and Documents of the Duchess and Replies; (2) Letters and Documents from Father Anthony Thomas S. J.; (3) All Other

<sup>48</sup> See SILVANO, *O Marquez de Pombal*, pp. 230-231; DUHR, *Pombal*, p. 86. A graphic representation of the torture and violent death of the Duke of Aveiro and of other nobles is given in CASTELLO BRANCO, *op. cit.*, between pp. 122-123; a partial list of Pombal's victims is attempted in SILVANO, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-270.

<sup>49</sup> J. M. Cordeiro de Sousa writes in his preface to BIVAR GUERRA, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8: «Se até a uma criancinha de 19 meses bárbaramente separada da pobre mãe — uma levada para o mosteiro das Albertas, outra encerrada no das trinas do Rato — se demorava a entrega do pequenino berço onde dormia! Quanto rancor, meu Deus! E quem sabe se o crime desse altivo Duque [de Aveiro] foi apenas o de ter defendido uma filha de certos galanteios perigosos». Probably, no tyrant in modern times amassed so vast a fortune at the price of so much suffering and blood of his victims as did Pombal; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 357-397; SILVANO, *O Marquez de Pombal*, pp. 237-281 (Como Pombal ajuntou sua fortuna colossal). Later Pombal was condemned and his victims declared innocent, although the Aveiros, as we have noted, were never restored to their state; cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 282-295.

<sup>50</sup> The name of the city of Aveiro was changed for a time to Nova Bragança. When Maria ascended the throne in 1777, she restored its original name (cf. PINHO LEAL, *Portugal antigo e moderno I*, p. 287).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *op. cit.* I, p. 269: «Desde então [i. e. 1759] deixou de existir o ducado de Aveiro».