

CORRESPONDENCE OF KINO

I

Kino writes his first letter to the Duchess, Cadiz, August 18, 1680. It is his only extant message to her in Italian. Father De Angelis had advised Kino to get in touch with her, if he wished to be assigned to the missions of the Far East. He expresses his willingness, subject to Superiors' approval, to join De Angelis in his expedition to the lands in the South Pacific. Shipwreck in the harbor of Cadiz; uncertain wait in the city. Other missionary expeditions.¹

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Christ Jesus be with you!

Father Teofilo de Angelis² came from Salamanca to Seville via Madrid,³ where he spoke with your Excellency. He told me about your saintly and apostolic efforts and the heaven-inspired desires

¹ An autograph letter of Kino to the Duchess, the only message of the entire series written in Italian. The original manuscript is preserved in the Huntington Library (HM 9986). *Bibliotheca Americana*, pp. 1-2, offers the letter for sale, gives a few extracts in English and reproduces (Plate D) in facsimile the first page of the document.

² Teofilo de Angelis S. J., whose real name was Piccolomini, was born in Siena, Italy, in 1651, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1673. As will be mentioned in the course of the letter, he sailed for the Mariana Islands (in 1680), where he died a martyr's death in 1684. See STRETT, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XXI, p. 51.

³ De Angelis was returning from Salamanca, where he had completed his theological studies and was also ordained to the priesthood. He had sailed with Kino from Genoa to Cadiz, but missing the 1678 fleet for the Indies, he was forced to wait until the departure of the next, which did not leave until 1680. See GOBIEN, *Histoire des Isles Marianes*, pp. 323-331.

to effect the discovery of those unknown southern lands⁴ in order to send to their inhabitants the light of the Gospel.

Father Teofilo also told me that he mentioned my name, and expressed the desire of having me as his companion in this new enterprise and for the expedition. He accordingly advised me to write to your Excellency and to our Reverend Father General⁵ to volunteer for this mission. And although Father Teofilo mentioned me in his letters to you and in those which he wrote to Father General, nonetheless what I stated in my letter to Rome was expressed with that indifference which befits a missionary who has already been assigned his field of apostolate.

Now that Father Teofilo has departed for the foreign missions⁶ without being able to know Reverend Father General's decision concerning our expedition to the southern lands, I take this opportunity of sending a brief message in order to express my high esteem for your Excellency and see whether Our Lord still wishes me to bring to Father Teofilo a favorable reply in regard to his and my participation in the exploration of the unknown southern lands.

But first I want to explain why I and eleven other missionaries are staying on in Europe while eleven others (among them Father Teofilo) have set out with the fleet for the Indies.

After sixteen of us missionaries, nearly all from German lands, remained two years in Seville (the same ones who two years previously had reached Cadiz from Genoa in company with Father Teofilo just after the fleet had set sail), we boarded the Nazarene⁷ on the 10th of last month in order to sail with the subsequent fleet for the Indies. On leaving the harbor the ship got stuck on the reefs near the Diamante⁸ with evident danger of sinking with all on

⁴ The Palaos Islands to the south of the Marianas, called by the Spaniards Nuevas Filipinas, and known today as the Caroline and Marshall Islands. See our Introduction, note 6.

⁵ Gianpaolo Oliva, who governed the Society of Jesus from 1664 to 1681; see ABZ IV, p. 14*.

⁶ See above note 3.

⁷ The *Nazareno*, to give the ship its Spanish name, formed part of the West Indian fleet and was bound for Vera Cruz, Mexico.

⁸ See BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 53: "In order to avoid the large obstruction called the Big Diamond, the pilot ran the ship on a sand bar and the wind finished the work by driving it on another rock." Actually, the pilot of the ill-fated Nazarene ran the ship on the sand bar in an unskillful attempt to stay clear not only of the Big Diamond rock but also of an onrushing ship, as we learn from an eyewitness, Father Johann Ratkay; see his diary in *Welt-Bott*, I, number 28, p. 77. Additional details are recorded by GOBIEN, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

board. But by God's grace and the mediation of Saint Francis Xavier, the sea grew calm and we were able to return safe and sound to our college in the city at about eight o'clock in the evening.

Father Procurator⁹ of the Indies went about many hours that night inquiring about the chances of reembarking, but when he learned that the Nazarene would not be able to sail before several weeks, he returned to the college and at two o'clock in the morning had us awakened so that we could secure passage on other ships of the fleet, which we reached at seven o'clock in the morning. Nearly all of us were without a coat, hat or breviary — just as we were when rescued from the wrecked Nazarene. After much pleading and imploring, only eleven missionary priests were taken on board the ships of the fleet; we remaining twelve missionaries (three of the party are novices) had to return to our college in the city, arriving there at noon.

At first they held out hopes to us that the ship would be gotten off the reef and we would be under way in a few days to catch up with the fleet; but these hopes proved futile. Except for Father Thomas Revell¹⁰ and me who will remain to work in the Cadiz college, the other missionary priests and the Procurator have returned to Seville. Although three days have elapsed since they completed repairs on the Nazarene, it is now thought that it will join the galleons in their voyage to the Indies. As they ply the route to Colombia,¹¹ it will be of no benefit to us, inasmuch as we must get to Vera Cruz.¹²

The ships of the Windward fleet¹³ offer us another possibility

⁹ Pedro de Espinar S. J.; cf. COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 436; and *Mex.* 3, ff. 98-106, 112v-113v, 203, 215. He succeeded Father Francisco Florencia of the Mexican Province.

¹⁰ Thomas Revell was born in Brussels, Belgium in 1643. In 1661 he joined the Order in Austria and pronounced his last vows on August 15, 1683, after coming to Mexico in 1681. We find him with Salvatierra in the new mission of the Chinipas from 1684 to 1690. See my *Kino Reports*, p. 11 n. 8. From the present letter of Kino it is evident that Revell did not come to Mexico until 1681, but HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre*, p. 202 is very wide of the mark in stating that "Revell left for the Indies in 1686, probably South America."

¹¹ Kino writes, "Nuevo Reino de Granada," the correct term for the area that corresponds in part to modern Colombia in South America.

¹² Mexico.

¹³ On the Barlovento (Windward) Armada (Fleet) see HARING, *The Buccaneers*, pp. 109, 251 n. 1, 261. This fleet, named after the *Islas de Barlovento*, had been reactivated in 1683; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 109.

of reaching the Indies in a few months without having to wait two years for the regular fleet; still another possibility is to sail on one of the ships that ply the Honduras route. Whatever lies ahead, we shall receive it as coming from the hands and will of God.

If your Excellency can give us any help, counsel, information or notice of any ship bound for New Spain, I most humbly beg of you not to fail to let us know and thus afford us this consolation.

I shall strive to amend to the best of my ability my failure to write to you sooner, as Father Teofilo¹⁴ insisted. If you have already added a message for Rome to Father Teofilo's letters, I shall always be happy to hear and accept with deference our Father General's every wish and decision in order to still be able to inform Father Teofilo at the first opportunity offered to me.

We are awaiting the some fifty or more Jesuits for our Paraguay missions to come here from Seville in three or four weeks. They will sail in the ships bound for Buenos Aires.¹⁵

A word about Puerto de Santa María near Cadiz. It was thought that the harbor city was the victim of an epidemic. Although it has been given a clean bill of health, the Cadiz merchants are still reluctant to deal with those of the port.

In conclusion, I repeatedly commend myself to the good prayers of your Excellency and express my highest regards. I pray that you be given all heaven-sent happiness and prosperity with which the divine goodness and might of Our Lord is wont to bless His friends.

Cadiz, August 18, 1680.

I remain,

Your Excellency's most devoted and affectionate servant in Our Lord,

Eusebio Francisco Kino, S. J., missionary to the Indies.¹⁶

¹⁴ Father Teofilo de Angelis (Piccolomini); see above, note 2.

¹⁵ In La Plata, as Argentina was then called.

¹⁶ Kino addresses the letter: «To the most Excellent Lady, my Lady, the Duchess of Aveiro and Arcos, whom may Our Lord watch over through many years. M. real, Madrid.» Kino never met the Duchess; it was De Angelis who spoke to her about him and who gave him her address.

II

Kino writes in Spanish to the Duchess from Cadiz, September 15, 1680. He acknowledges the receipt of her three letters and extends a word of greeting in German to her from his companions. The missionaries marking time in Cadiz, hope to set sail before the year is out. Kino would gladly work in the Marianas, had another destination not been assigned to him; but should De Angelis's letter to the Jesuit General secure authorization for the southern expedition, he will enthusiastically participate in it. Scraps of news: pirate raids, epidemic in Puerto de Santa María, missionaries for Paraguay. He asks that his enclosed letter be forwarded to the Jesuit General.¹

Your Excellency:

May the peace of Christ Jesus be with you!

Recently I received three letters² from your Excellency. I am most grateful to you for the kindness expressed in them to me and to my fellow missionaries en route to the Indies, to whom I was mindful of extending your Excellency's cordial greetings; they, in turn, send their best wishes and most deferential thanks.³

¹ This autograph letter of Kino to the Duchess is preserved in Huntington Library (HM 9980). A few extracts in English translation were published in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 3. Kino wrote the greater part of the letter in Spanish.

² These letters are not known to be extant.

³ The latter part of the sentence is in German and underlined: *denen ich ser schenen grues so ihnen ir Durchleicht hawen sagen lassen auf das fleisigste hab. Alle befelen sich deroselben mit höchster un demüetigster danch sagung.* All the letters are Latin characters except the Gothic «h» in *ihnen*. After spelling «haben» correctly, he wrote the word over, leaving it as «hawen.» On Kino's knowledge of German and his writings in the language, see the Introduction.

We are all well, God be thanked, except Father Paul Klein¹ (one of the four German missionaries who are living in Seville) who had to be bled recently. I trust that by God's goodness he will soon be enjoying perfect health and can happily join us in the bright prospects which by God's grace they offer us of still continuing this year our voyage to New Spain² in the Honduras ships, or in the dispatch boat³ which sails directly to Vera Cruz, or finally in the Windward fleet, about which your Excellency, to my profound consolation, informs me.

May we sail in the way that redounds to the greater glory of God and in accordance with His most holy will, for the eternal and limitless wisdom knows what is best in every contingency that can befall His creatures, and without whose decision not « a hair of our head shall perish. »

For my part I can not imagine enjoying greater consolation than that experienced in Spain and elsewhere through the words of the great saint and teacher of divine love, Saint Theresa, who says that hope attains to all it hopes for.⁴ In the same way the Divine Spirit sustains us by the promise that, « Every place that your foot shall tread upon, shall be yours. »⁵ And, of course, the variant reading, « Every place to which your hope shall reach, will be yours, » is even more inspiring. Nor can hoping and then

¹ One of the most eminent Jesuit missionaries to work in the Philippines. Born in Eger (Cheb), Bohemia on January 25, 1652, he entered the Society of Jesus on September 16, 1669. He made his religious profession on February 2, 1685. He died on August 30, 1717. HUONDER, *op. cit.*, p. 169 has him go to the Philippines in 1678; this is correct for the year of his departure from Genoa; as we shall see from Letter XIII, Klein did not reach his destination until mid-1682 at the earliest. On his long and effective apostolate in the Philippines, see COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 613, 686 (Index); for his numerous writings see the same author, *op. cit.*, pp. 625-626, 628; STREIT, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 338, 356; XXI, pp. 58, 63, 65-67; SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, II, columns 1197-1199, IX, column 47. In the Introduction we have discussed his part in the discovery of the « unknown islands of the south » and his pioneer report on them.

² Colonial Mexico.

³ A ship sent to carry mail or on a special errand. The term will recur frequently in the course of the present correspondence.

⁴ A scriptural allusion to Lk. XXI, 18 and Acts XXVII, 34.

⁵ The thought here attributed to St. Theresa of Avila (1515-1582) is found in several of her writings, e. g.: *Obras*, VII, p. 262, VIII, p. 439. In her poem « Eficacia de la paciencia, » popularly known as « St. Theresa's Book-mark, » she endows patience with the same effectiveness which elsewhere she reserves for hope: « La paciencia todo lo alcanza ».

⁶ Kino is referring to Deuteronomy XI, 24 and Josue I, 3.

attaining be less satisfying than attaining what can no longer be hoped for.

I am delighted at the news which your Excellency has received via Holland¹⁰ concerning the Mariana Islands; nor do I think that Our Lord will abandon that portion of His vineyard, enriched as it has been by the precious blood of martyrs. And although some may hold that it is not possible to continue in that mission field menaced as it is by such great dangers, it would be better to recall that all dioceses, provinces and countries converted to the light of the gospel of Christ, had at the beginning to endure difficulties, suffering and adversity; but those who realize that « Christ had to suffer and thus enter into His kingdom,¹¹ » will not be frightened by what has happened.

I also trust in the divine goodness and in the favors which the great and angelic Saint Francis Xavier¹² confers and will confer on those devoted to him that it will not be for want of Jesuit missionaries that others are sought for and sent to the missions.

In Germany the Jesuits have the highest regard for the Mariana missions, and long to be sent to convert their inhabitants. More than two hundred aspirants are seeking entrance into the Upper German Province.¹³ Our Lord will not be deaf to such fervent pleas of the many who truly prefer to suffer and work generously for their Savior and for the salvation of these natives than enjoy the bliss of heaven in the company of the angels.

All of us missionaries residing the past two years in Seville, would have considered it a special blessing had our superiors sent us to the Marianas. Obedience alone, which is « better than sacrificial victims,¹⁴ » could lessen the disappointment which some of us experienced when Rome assigned to us New Spain as our destination.

And because of this appointment I have not dared and will not dare ask to go elsewhere unless superiors order or request me to do so. I never lacked the desire or the courage; it was with

¹⁰ See our Index under « Routes ».

¹¹ A scriptural quotation from Lk. XXIV, 26.

¹² Apostle to the Orient, born in 1506, he worked in the East from 1542 until his death in 1552.

¹³ The Jesuit Province to which Kino belonged; see the Introduction.

¹⁴ The phrase is from St. Ignatius's *Letter on Obedience* (paragraph V), who took it from I Kings XV, 22.

that very intention that I studied mathematics,¹⁵ namely to use the knowledge, if God so wished, in the missions of the Orient. But all this in union with the deeds and merits of Christ Our Lord and of all the Saints, I have offered as a sacrifice to the ever wondrous divine goodness.

Nonetheless, I am deeply appreciative of and grateful for the exceptional kindness offered to me by your Excellency in your second letter¹⁶ of promising to secure passage to China from Lisbon. If perchance the letters written by Father Teofilo¹⁷ to Rome before his departure from Europe should secure authorization for me to be his companion in the voyage of the discovery of the southern lands close to the Marianas, this would be one of the greatest satisfactions of my life; but I do not request it; let my superiors so order me.

May the divine love fill the soul and heart of your Excellency and increase its celestial gifts in you so intent on the conversion of the Marianas and other regions both known and unknown. « May God strengthen what he has wrought in us¹⁸ » since according to the great Dionysius the Areopagite,¹⁹ « the most divine of all divine deeds is to secure the salvation of the neighbor for the glory of God. »

Within the last four days the Honduras ships came into port and brought the tragic news that the French, English and other pirates plundered Porto Bello and laid siege to Panama City; the raiders were planning to continue to Lima.²⁰ They also bring word that rich mines of high percentage gold have been discovered between Panama and Cartagena. Within the past three days three

¹⁵ See BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 35.

¹⁶ In the second letter of the three mentioned at the beginning of the present reply.

¹⁷ Father Teofilo de Angelis (Piccolomini); cf. the Index to the volume.

¹⁸ Kino is citing Psalm LXVII, 29.

¹⁹ The writings of an unidentified author of the V or VI century were formerly attributed to Dionysius the Aeropogite, converted by the Apostle St. Paul (Acts XVII, 34); cf. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, III, pp. 402-403; also my edition of KINO, *Saeta*, p. 167 n. 4.

²⁰ On these pirate raids see HARING, *op. cit.*, 224-231. The pirates started their raid on Porto Bello on February 17, 1680; after plundering at will, they set sail for Boca del Toro some fifty leagues to the north. There they careened and provisioned, and being joined by the other Jamaican privateers commanded by Sawkins and Harris, sailed for Golden Island, whence on 5th April 1680, with 334 men, they began their march across the Isthmus of Darien on the coasts of Panama and the South-Seas.

Vizcayan ships have put into port, which they say are part of the Windward fleet (or « Little Armada »).

Day before yesterday, an Augustinian friar abandoned his monastery two months after making his religious profession; some are wondering whether he left on board one of the English ships which set sail today from this harbor.

Puerto de Santa María, God be thanked, is free from the pestilence, according to the report of the delegates who visited the city recently.

We are awaiting the sixty missionaries destined for Paraguay. They are to come here from Seville in order to sail on board the Buenos Aires ships from the continent within a few days, as it seems. Some, however, say that their departure will be delayed for some weeks yet.

I beg of your Excellency to send the other letter to Father Tirso.²¹ Your Excellency will be so good as to pardon my forwardness in sending to you the parchment with that sacred Name for which you are expending such signal efforts « that it be made known to the gentiles.²² » And with this I commend myself most earnestly to your holy prayers and good works.

May God watch over your Excellency for many years to come and grant to you abiding happiness, as I pray of Him and desire.

Cadiz, September 15, 1680.

Devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

²¹ Tirso González S. J., one of Spain's most popular sacred orators, born in 1624, he was elected General of the Society of Jesus in 1687 and governed the Order until his death in 1705. See the Introduction.

²² A quotation from Acts IX, 15.

III

Kino writes in Latin to the Duchess from Cadiz, November 16, 1680, acknowledging her recent letter received during his annual Retreat. His desire to work in the missions of the Far East was the motive of his studying mathematics; resignation to higher will. He praises the Duchess's interest in the missions of the Orient and Marianas, whose progress seems assured by the coming of new missionaries. Workers destined for the Orient are to sail to Vera Cruz and reembark in Acapulco. Two German missionaries for Colombia. Enthusiasm in Kino's home Province for the foreign missions. He reveals his tragic hard luck in drawing « Mexico, » whereas Kerschpamer, his companion, had the good fortune of picking the « Philippines. » Kino hopes that being a better sailor than Kerschpamer, he may yet be sent to the Far East. Some famous missionaries in China are from Kino's home Province, Martini (Kino's relative) among them. A letter of recommendation to the Mexican Virreina. Kino's nationality, his religious vocation and age. Personal greetings.¹

May the peace of Christ Jesus which surpasses all understanding² be with your Excellency.

Eight full days ago I received your most kind and welcome letter.³ As at the time I was making the eight-day Spiritual Exercises of our founder Saint Ignatius,⁴ I put off until now reading and acknowledging it with gratitude to the best of my ability.

¹ This long autograph letter (HM 9985) was written by Kino in Latin. It is listed and published in part — a few brief extracts in English translation — in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 4.

² The familiar scriptural phrase is from the Philippians IV, 7.

³ Another letter from the Duchess which is not known to be extant.

⁴ The usual annual eight-day retreat made by all Jesuits.

I am particularly thankful for the apostolic zeal which you manifest for the salvation of the neighbor and of the souls redeemed by the blood of Christ. This is a zeal that is characteristic of a mother and sublimer than that of a father.⁵ Through it your Excellency has wished and still wishes me (despite my unworthiness) and many others to help reap the abundant harvests in China and the Orient.

As far as I am concerned, I admit that from my earliest years (but especially after reading the life and martyrdom of Reverend Father Charles Spinola)⁶ I longed to go to the missions of the Orient. Hence I often worked hard at mathematics.⁷ But if the all-good God determines otherwise, His most holy will be done; yes, may it be done in time and in eternity. In doing this will alone consists all the sanctification, all the happiness of each one. This will is always best; it ever seeks the best and highest goals. Granted that the latter be hidden from us at times, nonetheless at the predetermined moment, we shall recognize them as such.

With reason does your Excellency complain about the slight zeal and enthusiasm shown for the missions in the Mariana Islands and other regions; unfortunately, all too clearly verified in regard to the one mentioned by name in your letter is the saying « Wrath has its just complaints. » Yet the all-wise Lord may well intend to replace him⁸ with one far more devoted to a task of such importance to our Order.

Our hopes are also raised by the fact that Father Teofilo de Angelis, Father Carlo Calvanese⁹ and several German missionaries who are now on their way to the Philippines and Marianas, will shortly make good by their exceptional fervor and heaven-sent grace what seems neglected through the indifference of others.

⁵ An oft-recurring thought in Kino's writings; see my edition of *Kino, Saeta*, p. 65 n. 6, pp. 161-162, 168.

⁶ An Italian missionary to the Orient, born in 1584, he was martyred in Nagasaki, Japan, in 1622, and beatified in 1867; see *Synopsis*, columns 718-719.

⁷ See the Introduction.

⁸ Kino is alluding to the well-intentioned but incompetent governor of the Marianas, Francisco de Irisarri y Vivar, during whose office (1676-1678) numerous uprisings of the natives took place. See *Gobien*, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-267.

⁹ This was the name the Spaniards gave to Father Augustine Strobach; born in Iglau, Moravia, on March 12, 1646, he entered the Order on October 15, 1667. He made his religious profession on February 2, 1681. He met with violent death in the Marianas in 1684. See *Costa*, *op. cit.*, p. 618; *Huonder*, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

Most fortunate are these missionaries en route to the Church's vineyard in the Orient! If we can not follow and accompany them in body, we can do so in mind and unceasing prayer poured out to God. We most fervently wish the greatest success to them and to all their successors, yes and to all converts to the redeeming faith of Christ Jesus throughout the Orient and in the unknown land of the south.

The all merciful Lord knows what efforts I made in Rome and elsewhere to obtain a Portuguese grammar which would enable me while still in Germany to learn Portuguese or at least the key-elements of the language.¹⁰ My intention in so doing was to be able in time (if God and superiors so determined) to set out for the missions in the Far East from Portugal, the country so dear to my angelic patron Saint Francis Xavier and to so many others of his followers. Yet I repeat the will of the Omnipotent be done: this will alone truly makes good and repays all with the highest returns and in wondrous ways.

In a letter that reached me from Rome four days ago, our very Reverend Father General¹¹ and the assistant of Germany, Father Charles de Noyelle,¹² confirmed the permission given me of going either to Paraguay or Colombia. But after the chance of setting out for Paraguay went by, so that I neither could nor should leave for Colombia, [I shall board] the dispatch ship which will leave from Europe with the galleons and will bring me, God willing, to the port of Vera Cruz. This would be in accordance with the plan for our destination disclosed to us by our Reverend Father Procurator of the foreign missions,¹³ who wants the missionaries who have been appointed to the Philippines and the Marianas to catch up with those on their way in the fleet sailing to Mexico, so that the former can still board the ship with the latter at Acapulco bound for the Philippines.

In the same letter sent from Rome I learned that Reverend Father Anthony Maldonado,¹⁴ the Colombian Procurator, recently

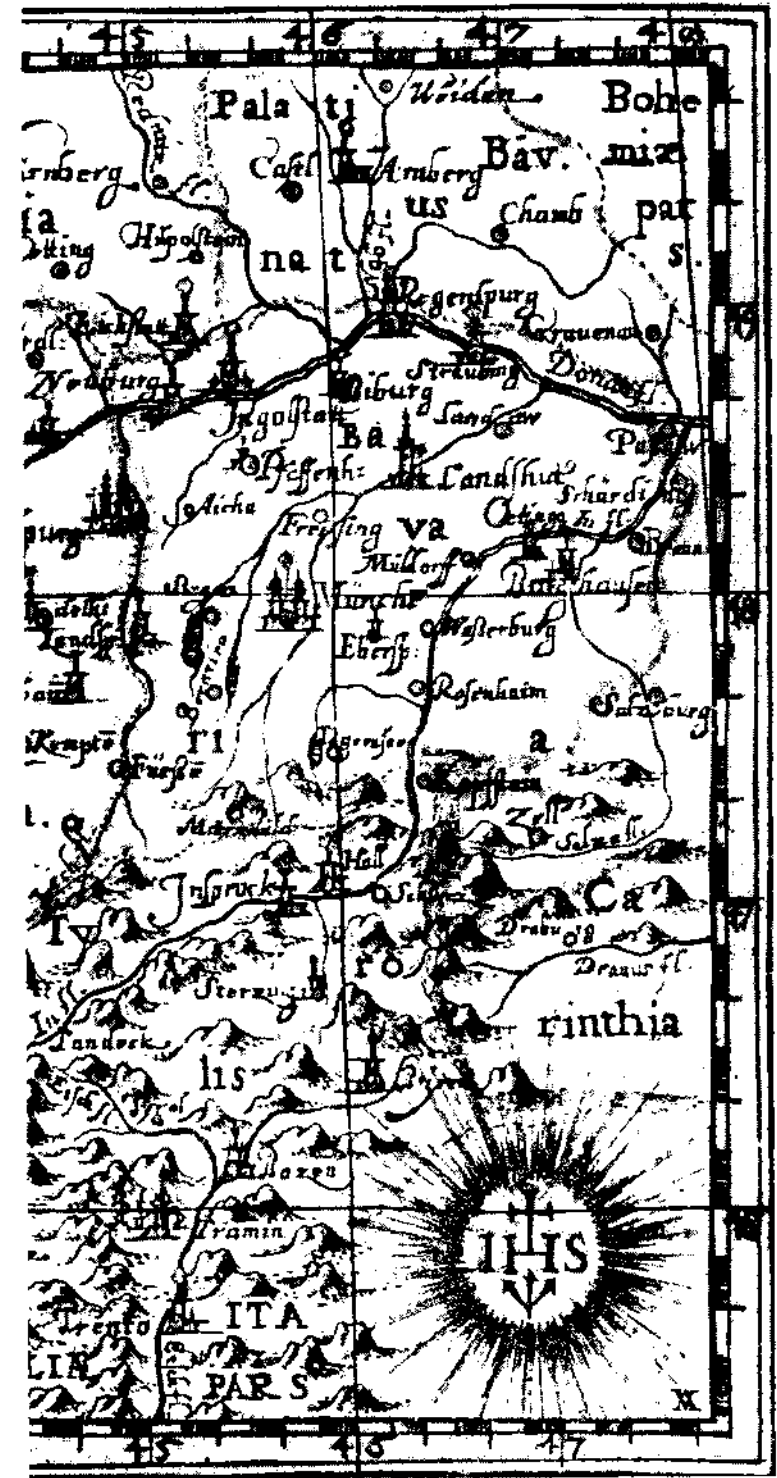
¹⁰ See the Introduction.

¹¹ Gianpaolo Oliva; cf. the Index to this volume.

¹² Assistant to the General for the German Provinces (1661-1682) and later General of the entire Order (1682-1688); cf. *Synopsis*, columns 608-618, 634.

¹³ Pedro de Espinar; cf. the Index to this volume.

¹⁴ Chosen by the Province of Nuevo Reino de Granada (Colombia) as its representative to Rome and Madrid. Born in Cartagena, Colombia, in 1630, he entered the Order on April 18, 1645.



by Kino's teacher, Adam Aigenler, S. J.

obtained two missionary priests, Father Gaspar Beck¹⁵ and Christopher Riedl,¹⁶ who belong to the same Upper German Province which is sending me. On board the galleons which will bring them, God willing, to Colombia, he is taking with him both of these missionaries as also several other priests whom he secured here in Spain.

This Upper German Province of the Society has somewhat more than eight hundred members and some thirty schools. The number of those seeking entrance into the Order, usually secular students, comes to about four hundred each year. From among them some fifteen to eighteen novices are accepted yearly for our novitiate. Likewise, this Province has at present (and such is usually the case) over two hundred volunteers for the foreign missions. All of them desire most ardently to devote themselves to the difficult missions of the Indies and to the harvest of souls there, as occasion offers and superiors decide.

This Jesuit Province¹⁷ includes Bavaria, Tyrol, Switzerland, Swabia and the Palatinate; and yet the Province of Bohemia with its twelve hundred members and the Austrian with its fourteen hundred are even larger, although both suffered heavy losses last year, since so many Jesuits generously tended to the plague-stricken. But as a matter of fact, both of these Provinces together do not have as many volunteers for the foreign missions as that of Upper Germany.

The omniscient Lord is my witness that I report correctly when I say that in the latter Province the volunteers for the missions are given the very best preparation through the exact observance of the regulations and rule of our Order. Very many (and this is particularly so of the mission-aspirants) are men devoted to the cross of Christ, ready to undertake arduous tasks for His glory and the salvation of souls. Such do not seek out bodily comforts through the food they eat, the clothes they wear, or the dwelling where they live. They gladly put up with the

¹⁵ Beck or Pöck was born in Rothenburg, Germany, on January 6, 1640, and entered the Society of Jesus on October 31, 1662. He was slain by the wild natives of the Orinoco on October 15, 1684. See HUONDER, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁶ Riedel, Riedl, or Rüdell was born in Arnsdorf (Salzburg principality) on February 20, 1648, and joined the Jesuits on November 9, 1665. He too worked in the Orinoco missions, where he drowned sometime after 1687. Cf. HUONDER, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹⁷ On this and the following Provinces, see CARREZ, *Atlas*, maps 8, and 9.

discomfort of cold or heat, hunger or thirst. They prepare themselves for all else that may face them on the foreign missions. They have learned to make known Christ — the suffering Christ — not so much by words as by the whole tenor of their life, yes and by charity unfeigned. Would that I had shown myself a better and a more docile pupil of such eminent teachers!

Two years ago, two of us belonging to the Upper German Province, namely Father Anthony Cereso¹⁸ (Kerschpamer is his real name) and I, both of us Tyrolese, were designated missionaries. Tyrol is one of the imperial domains. The Spanish king¹⁹ and our Reverend Father General²⁰ stipulated that all the German missionaries should come from either some imperial province or from a region under Austrian rule. Our Father General's letter to Father Provincial of the Upper German Province regarding our destination in the foreign missions contained the following order: « Your Reverence will send Father Anthony Kerschpamer (now Cereso) and Father Eusebio Kino to Genoa. One is to be assigned to Mexico and the other to the Philippines, just as you decide or they prefer. »

Accordingly, Reverend Father Provincial left the choice to Father Anthony and me to determine who should go to Mexico and who to the Philippines or the Marianas. Because of the hope that I then entertained (and had done so for many years) of continuing from the Philippines to China, I wanted to be assigned to the Philippines and have Father Anthony sent to Mexico. Nonetheless, I told Father Anthony to choose the mission which he preferred; he insisted that I make the first choice. After contending for some time in this pious effort to give the other the preference, we thought of drawing lots to decide our destiny. Accordingly, « Mexico » was written on one slip and « Philippines » on the other. On drawing lots, Father Anthony got the « Philippines, » and I « Mexico. »

¹⁸ Born in Salurn in the diocese of Trent on March 3, 1643, he entered the Society of Jesus on September 20, 1661. See my *Kino Reports*, p. 13 note 3.

¹⁹ Charles II, who governed from 1685 to 1700; during his minority (1685-1675), Mariana de Austria was regent of the nation.

²⁰ Gianpaolo Oliva; a copy of his letter intended for the Provincials of Austria, Flanders, Belgium, Bohemia and Upper Germany, is reproduced in HUONDER, *op. cit.*, p. 211; it announces the favorable decision of the Spanish government to allow missionaries from the countries mentioned by Kino to work in the Spanish oversea dominions.

At first this seemed a hard blow because the hope that I had entertained of using my mathematical knowledge in China was thereby shattered, but soon peace came to my soul on pouring out fervent prayer to the Lord and by entrusting my destiny to my patron, the angelic Saint Francis Xavier, and to Saint Ignatius and to Mary, wondrous beyond measure, the all-understanding Mother of God. But from this drawing of lots — or rather from this decision of God's wondrous power determining our destiny — does it happen that Father Anthony rather than I is the one who is going to the Orient.

I have commended the outcome to God and continue to do so, in order that if in the voyage to Mexico Father Anthony should become ill and I keep on enjoying good health (as a matter of fact, I have proved thus far a better sailor than my companion); well, in that case, I would ask, with due deference, of my Mexican superiors to let me take Father Anthony's place in going to the Orient while he recovered his health in Mexico and replaced me in the missions of the Mexican Province. Nonetheless, may the will of the Lord be done; yes, I repeat, may His will be done.²¹

Even if I should remain in Mexico, I would not cease as long as I lived, to commend most frequently to the all-merciful Lord both China and the Marianas, whither I long to go; and I would strive by all the means at my disposal to obtain from God and men the sending of reinforcements of holy missionaries to those regions so dear to me.²² And I hope that in place of my one poor self many missionaries from my Province of Upper Germany will be sent — men endowed with a knowledge of mathematics, with natural and especially supernatural gifts and with an Ignatian and Xaverian zeal. Father Anthony Cereso now on his way to those eastern missions, will strive to accomplish the same.

Reverend Father Anthony Maldonado is delighted at obtaining two missionary priests²³ from the Upper German Province for that of Colombia. In several letters he asked very Reverend Father General for Father Anthony Cereso and me, convinced as

²¹ This phrase repeated so frequently by Kino in his letters is from sacred scripture, e. g. Mt. VI, 10, XXVI, 39, 42, 44, etc.

²² See the Introduction for Kino's life-long interest in the missions of the Far East.

²³ Fathers Beck and Riedl; see above, notes 15-16.

he was that we would not be able to set sail very soon for Mexico and the Philippines.

I also most respectfully beg of your Excellency, and plead by the mercy of Our Savior, that, when the occasion arises of securing missionaries from Germany, as many as possible be chosen from the Upper German Province. The intense longing that impells many to work and suffer for Christ Our Lord and the good of the neighbor and the salvation of souls, deserves such consideration.

Members²⁴ of this Province were Father Adam Schall, renowned throughout China, and Father Martin Martini, a relative of mine. Eight years ago this same Province sent two other missionaries to accompany Father Intorcetta²⁵ to China, namely Father Beatus Amrhyn and Father Adam Aigenler. The first was Father Anthony Cereso's theology teacher or professor, the other was my instructor in mathematics. Both, however, closed their earthly life with a most edifying death on the high sea before reaching Goa.

I am most grateful to your Excellency for the generous recommendation of me to the Mexican *Virreina*,²⁶ which you promise in your letter. Such an introduction will redound at some time, as I trust, to the advantage of the needy. One must make use of both hands and both arms — the material and the spiritual — to effect the salvation of the neighbor and the conversion of souls, the most divine of all divine endeavors.

I am happy to answer your Excellency's questions about my nationality and country. I am a Tyrolese from the district of Trent,²⁷ but I am at a loss whether I should consider myself Italian or German. The city of Trent is for the most part Italian in language, ways and laws, even though it is within at least the outermost rim of Tyrol. Tyrol belongs to Germany; and, particularly significant, is the fact that our school at Trent belongs to the Upper German Province, although the Jesuits conduct the classes

²⁴ On the Jesuits mentioned in this paragraph, see our Index under their names.

²⁵ Father Prospero Intorcetta.

²⁶ María Luisa Gonzaga, Condesa de Paredes, Marquesa de la Laguna; her husband governed Mexico from 1680 to 1686. The viceregal couple were accompanied by 80 servants — 63 men for the Viceroy and 17 women for the *Virreina* — and a chaplain, Fray Francisco Jiménez; documents in AGI, *Contratación* 5443 and 5540A.

²⁷ Kino was born in Segno, near Trent; cf. the Introduction.

and usually preach in Italian. For the past eighteen years of my life, however, I lived in almost the heart of Germany;²⁸ in 1665 I was received at Freiburg (Breisgau) into the Society of Jesus.²⁹ I am now thirty-seven years old.³⁰

²⁸ Ever since he attended school in Hall, Austria. A word about Kino's linguistic ability. He spoke Italian at home, and perfected his knowledge of the literary language in pre-college schooling (in Segno and Trent) so that he wrote it with propriety. His one Italian letter from Spain, after some two and a half years in that country, suffers from confusion with similar words in his new language. On the other hand, Kino never so completely mastered Spanish that he could use it without bringing in Italian idioms and constructions. In our essay, *Kino, Historian's Historian*, p. 155, we had occasion to observe: "As to his use of Spanish — a language which he presumably did not begin to study until he was thirty-four years old — it is important to consider that Kino early enjoyed a mastery of two allied languages, Italian and Latin. He learned to write Spanish, therefore, in a remarkably short time; and a detailed study of the matter might well show that precisely because Kino made little effort to master the literary Spanish then in vogue, his writings present less difficulty to the modern scholar than had he striven for the prevailing Gongorism with its inflated style and stilted form of expression. That Kino strove instead for clarity and precision is evident from his numerous corrections, re-writings and new corrections. He early made it a practice to write pairs of synonyms, one above the other, presumably to be checked by one whose native language was Spanish. Even in his very last writings there are scarcely anywhere more than a few lines left unamended." Kino spent more than fifteen years in the German-speaking lands and communities of Tyrol and Bavaria, making his college and seminary studies in his second language. We have very few texts to go by in order to pass judgement on the accuracy and propriety with which he wrote in German. The sentence he wrote to the Duchess from Spain (Letter II, note 3), shows that Spanish has already affected his German spelling. He wrote Latin with amazing ease, discussing in colloquial style the most unclassical and everyday themes. But it, too, was influenced by Spanish spelling and an interlarding of terms and phrases borrowed from his new language. It is not easy to determine how many Indian languages Kino knew; he dealt with the natives of more than a dozen different tribes, but with many he had to content himself to speak in little more than signs. Admiral Atondo (Document XXIII) attested to the diligence used and the success attained by Kino in the study of the *Didiu* language of California (cf. Bolton, *Rim*, p. 140). For nearly a quarter of a century Kino had to use the Pima language daily. Father F. X. Mora, ever blind to his fellow missionary's good qualities, charged that he had a rather imperfect knowledge of the language of his flock (op. cit., p. 334). If ever an accusation was refuted by facts it was that unfoundedly made by Mora. Kino, unaware that he did not know Pima, won over many Pima chieftains and the numerous members of their tribes, instructed native children and adults in the tenets and ritual of the new faith, taught in the mission school, and preached uncounted sermons in the language. The grammar of the *Nebome* (*Névome*) language is certainly not to be attributed to Kino, who never had an opportunity to learn the language of a territory not his (op. cit., p. 606). Kino was frequently referred to as a German in the sense that he had joined a German Province of the Society of Jesus.

²⁹ Kino entered the Order at Landsberg near Augsburg in Upper Bavaria on November 20, 1665; see my *Kino Reports*, p. 4.

³⁰ Born on August 10, 1645, he was obviously some three months more than thirty-five at the time of the writing of this letter.

I should like to commend myself most respectfully to the good prayers of your Excellency and those of your sons and daughter. For my part I send them every blessing and wish for them all true happiness resulting from love of Christ Our Lord and pray that the spirit which characterizes their mother be reproduced in them; and this for the glory of the Almighty, their own salvation and that of many others, for the benefits of entire communities and for the great happiness of the entire Church and the Society of Jesus. In order to be daily mindful of the prayerful wishes I have just expressed, as soon as I read your Excellency's letter, I wrote the childrens' names³¹ on the picture so sacred to me which I keep in my breviary. But that they also deign to remember me in their good prayers, I am sending three other pictures for your Excellency's three children. I should be happy to know their titles and age.³²

Again and again I respectfully commend myself to their fervent aspirations and prayers to the merciful Lord; and wishing them anew every happiness, I promise to apply the Mass which, God willing, I shall say on the feast³³ of Saint Francis Xavier, to the intentions of your Excellency for the protection of your devoted family.

Cadiz, November 16, 1680.

Devotedly yours in Christ,

Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J., foreign missionary.

P.S. I would deeply appreciate receiving the news-items about China in order to forward them to the Upper German Province. Day before yesterday lightning struck the flagship of the galleon fleet, killing a man and injuring three others; the ship was not damaged. The galleons are being quickly made shipshape, but nonetheless it is doubted that they can get under way before March.

³¹ Their names - Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel - will recur frequently in the course of these letters.

³² Joaquín was born on July 22, 1666; Gabriel, on August 9, 1667; and Isabel about 1669. See the documents on the Aveiro family in the Appendix of the Spanish edition.

³³ His feast, now commemorated on December 3rd, was formerly celebrated on the 2nd of the same month.

IV

Kino writes to the Duchess from Cadiz, December, 6, 1680, acknowledging receipt of her letter and enclosure. He discusses Father Verbiest's letter urging that missionaries be sent to China; he hopes that the message will help him secure authorization to go to the missions of the Orient. News about the missionaries who are waiting in Cadiz. The best routes to the Orient. He is grateful to the Duchess for her intercession in his behalf.¹

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Christ be with you. A most joyous Christmas and all good wishes for the New Year.

Yesterday, to my intense joy and the consolation of the college community, and, as I trust, of others also, I received the most cordial and in every way welcome letter of your Excellency. Enclosed was the no less welcome letter of Father Ferdinand Verbiest, Vice Provincial of the Chinese missions.² With these letters was a holy picture of the peerless Mother of God, crowned with stars, and represented as nourishing her Creator and God become man for us. For all of which I give to your Excellency the most heartfelt thanks. I promise to offer for your intention the Mass which I shall say, God willing, on the octave of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.³

¹ This autograph letter of Kino to the Duchess is in Latin; it is preserved in the Huntington Library, where it is designated HM 9984. A few extracts in English translation are given from it in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 5.

² Kino is referring to Verbiest's letter to the Jesuits in Europe, dated August 15, 1678 from Peking, China. It has been published frequently; there is a modern critical edition of it in *Correspondance*, pp. 230-253.

³ The feast is commemorated on December 8th; the octave, on the 15th.

A word about the pious motto, « You will be given, Rudolph, what you choose. »⁴ Since I resolved to depend completely on the will of God and my superiors, if I desired ought but what they determined, I would fear that what I chose would be foredoomed as something human, not divine. Further, I can here narrate as apropos — if I remember the story correctly — what a pious canon of Milan in a friendly conversation answered a certain Italian bishop who said that, if he became pope, he would canonize the pious old canon. The latter, with no less piety than spirit, replied: « That would be fine for your Lordship, yes and fine for me too, since your Lordship would be pope and I would be a saint. » In the same way, while your Excellency foretells martyrdom for me and a strenuous apostolate in Japan and China through the words: « You will be given, Rudolph, what you choose, » I answer: « That would be fine for your Excellency and for me too, since your Excellency would be a prophetess and I in time would be a martyr. »

But perchance she is more than a prophetess who with the other Mary « chooses the better part, »⁵ namely the sublime task of extending the divine glory throughout the world, so that we joyfully admit that the arm of the Lord has not yet been shortened. By His wondrous and most holy disposition, it once came about that even to the leaders of the Apostles (« whose words should go out to the ends of the earth »⁶) the mysteries of our redemption and the Lord's resurrection were first proclaimed by Mary Magdalen.⁷ Christ Jesus the eternal and most holy spouse of all our souls redeemed at so great a price, illumines with His light, adorns them with His grace and enkindles them with ever more intense divine love. May His most holy will be done throughout eternity, in all things and by all, and may none resist it.

⁴ Evidently the Duchess had used the phrase in her last message to Kino, referred to at the beginning of this letter, to suggest that Jesuits are usually assigned to the work for which they show preference. The inference is obvious: if Kino wants to work in the Orient, he should inform his superiors of this preference. Kino counters with the statement that he has resolved to renounce any preference and to depend wholly on the appointment decided on by his superiors.

⁵ The scriptural allusion is to Lk. X, 40; the « other Mary » is the sister of Martha and Lazarus.

⁶ The quotation is from Psalm XVIII, 5.

⁷ Kino is alluding to John XX, 1-18.

As for the apostolic letter⁸ of Reverend Father Ferdinand Verbiest, well, I know men who could not restrain their tears on hearing it read. I shall see to it that information about the letter be sent to Germany and Italy, and that our fellow missionaries staying in Seville derive no less consolation from it than we who are in Cadiz.

Our four fellow missionaries, companions of Reverend Father Anthony Maldonado,⁹ left Cadiz for Seville day before yesterday; eight days earlier they had come into this port on the ship Santa Rosa. They will now wait for the galleons which are expected to set sail this coming February or March. The names of the four missionaries are as follows: Father Gaspar Beck, a German; Father Christopher Riedl, a German; Father Domenico Maria Lanzemani,¹⁰ a Neapolitan; the fourth is the companion¹¹ of Reverend Father Anthony Maldonado, whom he brought with him from Colombia to Rome.

It is said that from Belgium are awaited four to six other missionaries likewise destined for Colombia. Of the four German missionaries staying in Seville and destined for the Philippines or Marianas, two especially are splendidly prepared for the Chinese missions: the first is Father Paul Klein¹² who has a command of languages, mathematics, medicine and other branches of learning; the second is Father Adam Gerstl,¹³ an exceptionally fine painter, eminent musician, skilled in nearly all the mechanical arts such as sculpture, metallurgy, statuary, architecture, and so on.

I, too, am of the opinion that the route to China by way of Spanish America and the Philippines is somewhat easier and

⁸ See above, note 2.

⁹ For Fathers Maldonado, Beck and Riedl, see the Index under their names.

¹⁰ Domenico Maria Lanzemani, born in Gaeta, Italy, in 1653, entered the Society of Jesus on April 7, 1672.

¹¹ Father Manuel Rodríguez S. J.

¹² See the Index.

¹³ Born in Steiermark, Austria, on June 12, 1646, he entered the Order on October 21, 1664. His letter written from Puebla, Mexico, on July 14, 1681, to his father, was published in the *Welt-Bott*, I, number 31, pp. 90-102. BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 72, has Gerstl proceed to China, and HUONDER, *op. cit.*, p. 107 thought he was destined for the West Indies. Both were in a way correct: « China » in opposition to « Gran China » is taken to mean the Philippines, and « West Indies » (Indias Occidentales) is the common Spanish term for their oversea dominions in the western hemisphere. After a short stay in Mexico, Gerstl proceeded to the Philippines, where he died (in Manila) on August 28, 1691.

pleasanter than the one used via the Cape of Good Hope, across the equator, through the East Indies, Goa and so on.¹⁴ Likewise I also think that on the other hand the voyage from China to Europe would more probably be easier via the East Indies than by way of Spanish America. It seems to me that the reason in both instances can be that the motion of the ship and the sailing would always be more in keeping with the « prime mover » ever revolving from east to west.

Let us implore the Lord of the harvest to send laborers.¹⁵ I for my part, as I have said, will strive to remain indifferent and alert at the merest sign of my superiors' will, in the hope that the all merciful Lord will bring to pass quietly but mightily whatever is pleasing to it; for no one can resist His will.

That I may ever accomplish all this most perfectly, I respectfully and enthusiastically commend myself to the devout prayers of your Excellency and to those of your three children, whom I repeatedly and affectionately in the love of Christ Jesus press to my heart, praying for a most happy New Year and expressing my most heartfelt gratitude, especially for those words of your Excellency, so filled with maternal affection:¹⁶ « I repeat that I will take up the matter with the Procurator at Lisbon,¹⁷ for he is very devoted to me, » etc.

May God Our Lord keep your Excellency in perfect health and for long years, as I pray and earnestly desire.

Cadiz, December 6, 1688.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J., foreign missionary.

P. S. Your Excellency's letter cannot portend but what is favorable, inasmuch as I received it on the solemn feast of my angelic patron, the great Saint Francis Xavier, a few hours after I had said the mass of his feast,¹⁸ offering it, as I had promised, in accordance with your Excellency's intentions.

¹⁴ On the routes to the Orient, see the Index under « Routes ».

¹⁵ An obvious scriptural allusion to Mt. IX, 37, and Lk. X, 2.

¹⁶ Kino is citing verbatim the Duchess's words contained in her recent letter.

¹⁷ Father Manuel Dias S. J.

¹⁸ See above, Letter III, note 33.

V

Kino writes to the Duchess from Cadiz, December 14, 1680, acknowledging receipt of her recent letter with enclosure for Mexico. His attitude toward mission assignment. He has high hopes to be sent to the Orient because of Verbiest's letter. Enthusiasm in his home Province for the Chinese missions; mathematical, scientific and character training in preparation for same. News items.¹

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Christ be with you, and again a most Joyous Christmas!

Day before yesterday I received your most cordial letter with one enclosed for Mexico; I shall make every effort to have it reach safely the addressee. I am most desirous of repaying the favors showered on me from every side, the thoughtfulness shown to me and the fervent prayers in my behalf by which your Excellency deigned to commend me on the feast² of Saint Francis Xavier to the Almighty, and in particular for the promise of giving me an intention, despite my unworthiness, on the annual feast day of the same Saint. Although I shall henceforth not fail to give your Excellency a daily remembrance,³ nonetheless on the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary,⁴ I shall offer in gratitude annually, as long as I live, my mass, the recitation of the canonical hours and the merit of the religious activity of the

¹ The autograph original (HM 9983) is entirely in Latin. It was offered for sale in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 6, where a few exceptionally brief extracts are given in English.

² Celebrated formerly on December 2nd.

³ See the close of Letter III.

⁴ December 8th.

entire day for your welfare in accordance with your intention. The debt resulting from my promise, as expressed in my letter of eight days ago, I shall strive, God willing, to pay by offering tomorrow the mass destined for you and your worthy family.

By going to the foreign missions, I earnestly desire to effect my eternal salvation, but not less so the conversion and salvation of the pagan natives. Above all I shall strive with God's grace to accomplish His will and that of superiors. And while the efficacious prayers of your Excellency will secure for me the grace of thus obeying, your Excellency will find in me, in time and throughout eternity, one most devoted to you in Christ Our Lord, one desirous of repaying all with generous interest, wherever, howsoever and whenever it may please an all good God and His most holy and eternal will to send me.

When I think of Japan and the victories won there by the grace of Our Lord and by the love of God, I take pleasure in your Excellency's recent letters which speak of Japan. When I turn my thoughts to China, I rejoice over having devoted myself so enthusiastically during several years to mathematics and other subjects which can prove advantageous there; so much did I long to go there that I experienced a thrill in living in those rooms of our schools⁶ whose windows faced the east and was consoled by merely looking frequently during the day towards the Orient, which in time would be converted to God. But the offering I once made, I now renew as a complete sacrifice to the divine will, which of itself so quietly and efficaciously determines all.

If ever in my life I was delighted by a letter from the foreign missions, it was the so zealous one of Reverend Father Verbiest⁶ forwarded to me by your Excellency. It rightly urges that all possible assistance be sent forthwith to China, so sorely in need and yet better disposed than ever to receive missionaries.⁷ Inasmuch as during the past few days I commended to the eminent and angelic Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, to the all holy Mother of God and of the living, Mary Immaculate, and to the all good and mighty Lord, it is not unreasonable to think that if the Chinese missionary enterprise (considering its extent and importance) were

⁶ For the schools where Kino lived as a Jesuit, see the Introduction.

⁶ Cf. the preceding letter.

⁷ Verbiest's letter is a plea to European Jesuits to come to work in China.

recommended to the royal officials by those enjoying their friendship and esteem, at least a few influential persons at court would request of our Reverend Fathers Provincial to offer to the very Reverend Father General some of their subjects for the missions of China.

There are certainly very many men in my own Jesuit Province of Upper Germany who are most desirous of going to China, and they are undoubtedly most apt candidates because they are thoroughly versed, especially in mathematics and various branches of science; above all, they are richly endowed with the religious virtues demanded by Father Verbiest.⁸ I am convinced that in no other Province of the Society are there so many Jesuits as in the Upper German Province who devote so much attention to mathematics, and this particularly in order to go some day to the Chinese missions.

Of the men whom I knew personally, I could easily name thirty or more who are thus prepared; God willing, I shall point them out at the opportune moment. As they see at every turn in the libraries and elsewhere in the Province the pictures representing Fathers Adam Schall and Martin Martini, they believe that they are unmistakably called to follow them by volunteering for China, although at the same time they submit their intense apostolic aspirations to the decisions of superiors. Perhaps the moment has now come when an all wise God deigns to grant the fulfillment of their desires.

This seems to be the reason why so few of our men in the Upper German Province have died in recent years, or why so few have been dismissed, whereas the neighboring Austrian and Bohemian Provinces lost and are still losing so many through an epidemic.⁹ By keeping the Upper German Province immune from losses, God perchance wants it to show itself all the more generous in sending reinforcements of missionaries to China. May the all holy will of the Almighty be done — the will which guides the destinies and hearts of men.

Your Excellency in your apostolic zeal and, as you think best in the Lord, will deign to commend me and these intentions to

⁸ See the text of the letter in *Correspondance*, pp. 230-253.

⁹ On the epidemic to which Kino is referring, see DUHR, *Geschichte*, III, 746-750.

the all good and merciful God, as I earnestly and respectfully implore.

A mission field of such bright prospects as depicted by Father Ferdinand Verbiest¹⁰ demands that all diligence, application and effort be exerted as soon as possible. God be praised and blessed throughout eternity, who has given to China and other mission areas, in your Excellency an intercessor and patroness with more than a mother's concern. May another Mary, the mother of the only begotten son of God, in union with the celestial court, obtain for you the gifts of heaven — peace and joy —, and keep you safely with your devoted children and family.

Cadiz, December 14, 1680.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J.

P. S. Puerto de Santa María has recovered its normality since Saint Francis Xavier's day and after making the solemn promise of annually celebrating his feast and honoring him as its patron. The city is now considering the founding of a Jesuit school there. Day before yesterday Father Carlo Francesco Panigatti,¹¹ a missionary of Colombia, arrived from Milan and Genoa. Monday he will proceed to Seville in order to continue his fourth year of theology until the galleons weigh anchor.

VI

Kino writes to the Duchess from Cadiz, December 28, 1680. He awaits proximate departure for Mexico. He quotes Father General's letter in high praise of the Duchess's generosity toward the foreign missions. He hopes for favorable reply regarding appointment to the Chinese missions in consequence of Father Verbiest's letter. Observation of comet; it presages disastrous events.¹

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Christ be with you. A most auspicious New Year!

Most likely, during the past three weeks, your Excellency has received two letters from me.² While hope is held out to us that, at the beginning of next month, the galleons and also our dispatch boat will set sail, God willing, for New Spain, we are entrusting the entire enterprise to the goodness of God.

A letter from Reverend Father Assistant of Germany,³ received by me this morning but written on November 9th, before he could have gotten Reverend Father Ferdinand Verbiest's message,⁴ contains the following passage, which I quote verbatim: «The zeal for souls that inspires her Excellency, the Duchess of Aveiro, merits the highest praise and esteem, and which, undoubtedly, will receive from God a most generous reward. In the present circumstances, I do not think that our Reverend Father General will be sending additional missionaries to China. I earnestly

¹ This autograph letter (HM 9982) was written in Latin. A few extracts in English are given in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 7, where it was first offered for sale.

² Kino is referring to his messages to the Duchess dated December 6th and 14th (Letters IV and V of the present volume).

³ Consult the Index, under «Noyelle, Charles de.»

⁴ See above Letters IV and V.

¹⁰ See his letter in *Correspondance*, especially pp. 245-247.

¹¹ Born in Pavia, Italy on October 8, 1650, he entered the Milan Province of the Order on January 31, 1668.

pray that God will decide all in regard to your Reverence, in accordance with His greater divine glory and to the advantage of your Reverence. I extend every good wish to you ». Thus far, Reverend Father Assistant's letter of November 9th.

In the meantime, Reverend Father Assistant will have received my letter and those of others. Also very Reverend Father General will have read the pleadings, wishes and longings expressed in Reverend Father Ferdinand Verbiest's letter⁵ and, perchance, at Rome they will decide to send missionaries to assist the afflicted and needy Chinese missions. The will of God be done; yes, I repeat, the will of God be done, because our sanctification consists in accomplishing it.

Already on the 5th at six, seven and eight o'clock, we beheld here a huge comet,⁶ which I do not doubt was clearly visible in Madrid, but probably disappeared there beyond the horizon an hour earlier than here. On the 23rd of this month, it was first clearly visible to us who are staying in this college; although some had already detected it three or four days earlier.

I have no doubt that this is the same comet which many say they saw before sunrise (between four and five A. M.) some four or five weeks ago. They beheld it in the east with its nebulous train pointing westward. Those who claim that it can not be the same comet, give as their reason the difference in the hours of their visibility and the difference, too, in the position of the train of the two bodies.⁷ But against such reasoning is the fact that as Venus is the same planet which precedes or follows the sun at different times of the year, and hence is designated Lucifer (or the «light-bringer») in the summer when it precedes the sun, but is called Hesperus in the winter when it follows the sun, as does the nearby comet; so our comet, which four or five weeks ago preceded the sun in the morning, rising before the sun was up, was seen with its train pointing almost due west; then by its own motion or lag it came to follow the sun in the evening and turn its train in another direction, namely northwards.

⁵ Cf. the text in *Correspondance*, pp. 230-253.

⁶ As we have indicated in the Introduction, the information about the comet communicated in his letters to the Duchess is developed at great length in his treatise.

⁷ Kino discusses their identity in chapters II and VII of his treatise and prefixes a special chart to the volume to establish his contention.

That the comet's own motion or lag displacing it from west to east and at the same time diagonally northward was at the rate of almost four degrees daily, I could observe here on the preceding five days, namely on the 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th of this month. Consequently, whereas I calculated that the comet's head on the 24th of this month appeared to us in Cadiz from the occiput of Sagittarius, on the 27th I ascertained that the comet's head had reached the foot of Antinous, so that it seems most likely that in five or six more days it will have ascended to the Dolphin and Aequiculus; and, thus, for several weeks yet, it will enter on a much higher course. We have established that the train of the comet covered some fifty or more degrees, and hence was one of the largest ever seen, extending as it did from the head of Sagittarius to the wing of Cygnus, and hence from the tropic of Capricorn to the tropic of Cancer and beyond.

Concerning the distance of this comet from the earth,⁸ its size, its exact position⁹ and for what regions (especially European) it seems to presage and threaten disasters,¹⁰ I shall strive to make clear on proximate and better occasions. Our lot is in the hands of the Lord.

By means of this letter I most respectfully and devotedly commend myself to the devout prayers of your Excellency and of your three children most beloved in Christ Jesus, expressing every good wish for a happy New Year and pouring forth an earnest prayer for every blessing from the heavenly Father of light.

Cadiz, December 28, 1680.

Most devotedly in Christ Our Lord,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J., foreign missionary.

⁸ I leave to astronomers the task of checking Kino's accuracy; he calculated that the comet was 1,150,000 Spanish leagues or 989,000 German miles from the earth (chapter VI of his treatise).

⁹ Its position on various dates is indicated on a special chart and discussed in chapter III of the treatise.

¹⁰ The greater part of the treatise (chapter X consisting of 22 pages) is devoted to determining whether the comet presaged good or evil; see the Introduction to this volume.

VII

Kino writes to Father Luis de Espinosa, S. J., at Seville, from Cadiz, January 8, 1681, acknowledging his recent letter. More about the comet: its description, course, duration, disastrous consequences.¹

Dear Father Luis;² the Peace of Christ Jesus be with you!

Your Reverence will pardon me for not being able to answer, as I wished, your letter, which I received three days ago with very special consolation for me, since it was from your Reverence; at the time I was making the three days of recollection for the renewal of vows.³

I am deeply grateful to you for the kindness which you show me in wishing me years of happiness ahead, which I now feel will be such; and I pray and truly desire the same for you. I should be happy to know that your Reverence were enjoying

¹ This autograph letter (HM 9981) of Kino to Father Luis de Espinosa S. J. at the Casa Profesa in Seville, was written in Spanish. It is listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 8. On Kino's knowledge of the language, see Letter III, note 28.

² Father Luis Espinosa S. J. was born in Montilla, Spain, in 1636, and entered the Order in 1652. He made his religious profession on August 15, 1670.

³ Inasmuch as Kino had not yet made his final and solemn religious profession (it will not take place until August 15, 1684 in San Bruno, California; see below, Letters XXVI and XXVII), he had to renew the simple vows pronounced at the close of his noviceship. This he did twice a year, making a preliminary three-day retreat before each renewal. During these days the novit was not to write or receive letters.

good health; I would gladly expend my own in assisting you. Padre Luis may be assured that there is no danger of my ever forgetting him.

We saw the comet and have been daily following the course it has been taking. It has traversed the constellations of Sagittarius, Antinous, Dolphin, and is now crossing Pegasus. Yesterday evening at six o'clock its position was the breast of Pegasus. Its train extends sixty degrees across the sky and has an upright length of 328 degrees with a northern declination (distance from the equator) of 17 degrees 18 minutes.

The daily distance covered by the comet since December 24th was from four to five degrees. Its direction was from southeast to northeast, with a slight declination eastward. It seems that the comet will persist for many days yet.

I estimate its distance from the earth at 3,000 leagues or more, and the length of its train at 5,444 leagues, which is more than thrice the earth's radius.⁴

As to what you ask and bid me tell you, I say that all is subject to God; but, naturally speaking, it seems to me that so huge a comet (I do not know whether man has ever beheld another like it and so vast) portends, presages and forewarns many disasters, and, as your Reverence very correctly remarks, its effects will hardly be beneficial. This signifies many calamities for Europe and means, in particular for three or four countries, unproductiveness, famine, storms and several earthquakes, disturbances on a vast scale, fevers, epidemics and numerous deaths, especially of eminent persons. May Our Lord look on us with eyes of compassion!

The fact that the comet is so colossal means that its evil effects will be all the more universal and affect more people and countries. The fact that the comet lasts so long, as it has already lasted (this is the same comet which was seen some six or seven weeks ago at four or five A.M.) and in my opinion will persist for some time yet, indicates that the disasters resulting from it will plague mankind for many years to come.

⁴ As will be recalled from the preceding letter, Kino found the distance far greater when he came to write his treatise on the comet.

May Our Lord bless your Reverence with great happiness, as I pray and earnestly desire. I commend myself to your holy sacrifices of the mass and to Father Superior of the Professed House and to Father Martín Zuaznabar.⁵

Cadiz, January 8, 1681.

Devotedly and cordially yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J.

VIII

Kino writes to the Duchess from Cadiz, January 11, 1681, acknowledging receipt of her recent letter. He deplores forced delay of missionaries bound for Colombia, and invokes her intercession in their behalf. Rumors regarding departures. He requests several gross of small crosses. Additional details about the forecast.¹

Your Excellency:
The Peace of Christ Jesus be with you!

Three days ago I received with sincere gratitude your most welcome and cordial letter,² characterized, as usual, by zeal for the glory of God. I pray the all bountiful Lord to continue to ever enrich and bless your Excellency with most generous celestial gifts. For my part I shall not be satisfied to designate the feast of the Immaculate Virgin and Mother of divine love in order to be specially mindful of your Excellency as long as I live, but, God willing, every day and wherever the divine will and obedience shall send me, I shall endeavor to the best of my ability to ever commend your Excellency and dear children to the heavenly Father of light, yes and to the all venerable Mother of God, as your Excellency recalls.

It would be regrettable if due to indifference for the conversion of the natives — an indifference that can blunt some people's conscience — the missionary expedition to Colombia were abandoned with the result that most of the apostolic workers destined to go

⁵ Father Martín Zuaznabar, born in Rentería in the diocese of Pamplona, Spain, in 1614, entered the Society of Jesus in 1628. At the time of Kino's letter to him, Zuaznabar was the secretary to the Provincial of the Andalusian Province, Father Juan de la Fuente, and in April of 1683 he was appointed superior of the Professed House in Seville.

¹ The entire letter (HM 9983) was written by Kino in Latin. A partial summary in English is given in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 9.

² The letter is not known to be extant.

there would be forced to remain here in Spain with no little loss to Christianity and the missions of Colombia. Hence it would be impossible to deplore sufficiently if that individual (mentioned by your Excellency in your letter to me about two months³ ago as being little enthusiastic about the missions) or Father Anthony Maldonado,⁴ Procurator of Colombia, still staying on in Madrid, as far as I know, had to attribute the difficulty of sending the missionaries on hand to the Province of Colombia to lack of money to cover the expenses of the voyage and the journey to the missions.⁵ But are not far greater expenses incurred if the contingent of missionaries must be maintained here in Spain for two more years?⁶

After commending in your devout prayers this problem to the Lord, do inquire, if your Excellency so thinks fit, about all this, as I respectfully beg of you, and endeavor to expedite their voyage so that the undertaking be not abandoned or delayed to the detriment of men's salvation.

It is openly rumored here at Cadiz that the galleons will set sail towards the end of the present month of January, but many others are of the opinion that they will not be getting under way in less than six or seven weeks and perhaps not until March.⁷

Father Procurator⁸ has arranged for those of us who remained from the Nazarene⁹ to sail, God willing, on board a dispatch boat which will accompany the galleons that will be leaving Europe for Vera Cruz.

A few days ago I asked one of our Fathers for permission to secure some thirty or forty dozen small Spanish or Caravacan¹⁰ crosses, which, according to what I am told, are sold in large numbers in Madrid. I would gladly pay for them, as I did two

³ See above, Letter III.

⁴ Consult the Index under his name.

⁵ Theoretically, the expenses of the missionaries to the Spanish oversea dominions were taken care of by the government. The arrangement was the cause of numerous and prolonged delays; it was sufficient for the royal officials involved to state that no money was available for the purpose; the whole project would then be investigated with the obviously protracted loss of time.

⁶ That is until the departure of the next fleet.

⁷ They set sail on January 27, 1681; see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 65, 72.

⁸ Father Pedro de Espinar; consult Letters I and III.

⁹ See above, Letter I.

¹⁰ From the city of Caravaca in southeastern Spain, in the province of Murcia.

and a half years ago, when I bought many such small crosses in Alicante; at that time they sold at one *patacón*¹¹ per eighteen dozen. Unless your Excellency should happen to be impeded by far more important business, I should most respectfully ask that you have one of your servants buy me a supply of these pious objects to the amount of two or three *patacones* and have them sent here. I shall immediately have the sum refunded by the Reverend Father Procurator¹² of the Province residing at Madrid and shall give money to the Procurator of this college or send it to Madrid when I think of sending to your Excellency and dear children before my departure from Europe some rings of Saint Francis Xavier. But I would not wish to put you to any trouble when you already have so much to do; have that done which can be easily attended to and within the space of a few weeks.

From my letter written to you two weeks ago¹³ and from other sources your Excellency will know about the large comet which we beheld here in the evening from five until ten o'clock and later. I think that it could be seen from almost every part of the earth. I observed the comet's course in the sky almost daily except the last three when an overcast sky kept us from seeing the comet; nonetheless, I believe that during these last three days the comet ascends by its own motion towards the arctic pole with a slight declination eastwards, and is about to cross the tropic of cancer. And although the length of its train since January 5th, when it extended almost seventy degrees, has been diminishing, nevertheless I believe that the comet will last all this month of January and a considerable part of next month.

On the 8th of the present month we observed the head of the comet at the breast of Pegasus and hence it extended upright measuring from the tip of Aries along the equator 333 degrees 35 minutes with a northerly declination of 19 degrees 13 minutes. I could determine that the comet moved on this day (as on others also) five degrees. Its train extended as far as the head of Perseus, and hence its longitude was 57 degrees.

¹¹ A silver coin weighing one Spanish ounce (*onza*).

¹² Here "Procurator" has the meaning of "treasurer". Father Luis Suárez S. J. was the treasurer of the Toledo Province and Brother Diego de Arce S. J. of the Cadiz Colegio.

¹³ Kino is referring to the preceding letter, written on December 28, 1680.

More about the comet's daily motion, its distance from the earth's equator and from us, its size, its tragic and disastrous forboding (in my opinion) of considerable evil, of numerous and disastrous events, of unproductivity, diseases, storms, of the death of many persons, and perchance of national upheavels — about all this, if you so wish, I shall report to the best of my limited ability.¹⁴ Our destiny, of course, is in the hands of God. From His paternal protection and benign providence they can hope the best whom His divine love vivifies, animates, sustains and nourishes.

That this divine love ever increase in the apostolic soul of your Excellency is the prayer I utter to Him who came to cast fire on earth and desires nothing more than that it be enkindled in every being which is the image of the first-begotten Son of God; may the heavenly seraphim ever favorably promote its accomplishment. I most respectfully and insistently commend myself to your Excellency's devout prayers and aspirations to God.

Cadiz, January 11, 1681.

Yours most devotedly in Our Lord,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J., foreign missionary.

P. S. As I was penning these lines, I learned that the missionaries succeeded in effecting their departure¹⁵ for Colombia.¹⁶

¹⁴ The result of Kino's study of the comet was his treatise entitled *Exposición Astronómica*, published in Mexico City in 1681. For its complete title see our Bibliography under Kino's name.

¹⁵ See above note 7.

¹⁶ Kino addressed the letter: «A la Excel.ma Señora, mi Señora Duquesa de Abeiro y Arcos, g[uar]de Dios muchos años, en Madrit.»

IX

Kino writes his last letter from Europe to the Duchess from Cadiz, January 26, 1681. His missionary party will be sailing with the Viceroy and his entourage. A brief word about the comet: its brightness is waning; its course. Brother José Gregorio asks to be remembered to the Duchess. Kino's farewell message. Gratitude and greetings. Please forward the enclosed letter.¹

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Christ Jesus be with you and all consolation of divine love!

Already eight days ago the galleons seemed in every way on the point of speedily setting sail, so much so that I almost wondered whether I should bid a fond and deferent farewell to your Excellency, but certain business matters caused their delay and are continuing to do so, even though the Viceroy² and his wife had already boarded their ship and we missionaries three days previously had sent our things and baggage aboard, we shall likely not be sailing for three or four days. In fact, our departure may be postponed for a longer period if the strong north wind now blowing persists; if we could once get out of port, it would carry us swiftly to the Canaries and beyond.

The missionaries bound for Colombia are eagerly awaiting their Reverend Father Procurator.³ It is reported that he has already gotten to Seville from Madrid.

¹ This brief autograph letter (HM 9990) was written in Latin. It is offered for sale partially translated into English in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 10.

² The Peruvian Viceroy, Melchor de Navarra y Rocafull, Duque de la Palata, Principe de Masa; cf. ALCEDO, *Diccionario geográfico-histórico* IV, pp. 189-190. As we pointed out earlier, the Mexican Viceroy, Conde de Paredes and Marqués de Laguna, sailed in the 1680 fleet.

³ Father Antonio Maldonado, S. J.; cf. Letter III, note 14.

I have nothing further to observe about the comet except to note that it is daily diminishing and will disappear, as I suggested last week, in the early days of February. Its present course is from the constellation of Andromeda to that of the northern triangle designated Deltaton. Fear of the epidemic continues to abate, but it has not completely vanished.

My devoted Brother José Gregorio⁴ wants me to be certain to commend him to your Excellency, and so likewise most of the other missionaries, profoundly grateful as they are for the tireless zeal displayed in behalf of the welfare, progress and needs of the missions, for which they know how apostolically your Excellency spends herself. May Our Lord most abundantly reward your Excellency here and throughout eternity for such splendid and efficacious efforts, and for an apostolate the most divine, by which the salvation of the neighbor is so zealously effected.

After expressing my thanks for the most cordial and thoughtful kindness so generously extended to me by your Excellency despite my unworthiness, let this message serve as my farewell from Europe to you. And thus as I am bidding goodbye, or am on the point of doing so, I beg of the heavenly and eternal Father of all to preserve in the love of His only begotten Son, chosen from among countless, and to bless with all true prosperity you and your devoted family. And likewise I press to my heart your dear children, Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel, in the profound love of Him who is the source of love, promising to be ever mindful throughout the life of your Excellency and of them, especially in the sacrifice of the Mass.

Cadiz, January 26, 1681.

Most devotedly yours in Christ,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J., foreign missionary.

P. S. Some say that the galleons will not be sailing for considerable time yet.⁵ Be so good as to forward the enclosed letter to Rome by the next mail.

⁴ The Jesuit scholastic, José Gregorio, S. J., who writes Letter XII.

⁵ They set sail the day after Kino wrote this letter; see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 65, 72.

X

Kino writes a brief note to the Duchess, from aboard ship near the Canary Islands, February 24, 1681. A full account of the voyage is contained in the enclosed letters; after perusing them, please seal and forward. A fuller report will follow from Mexico.¹

Your Excellency:

A most Joyous Easter! The Peace of Christ Jesus be with you!

Your Excellency will deign to learn about our long voyage from the brief messages enclosed, which, accordingly, I have left unsealed. I most respectfully beg that after you have read them and come to know about our trip, you will not mind sealing them and forwarding them by post to Rome.² Your Excellency will pardon the inconvenience which I, in reliance on your goodness, am causing.

¹ This autograph Latin letter (HM 9973) is the briefest of the messages sent by Kino to the Duchess. Kino would have been flattered to know that it was offered for sale (*Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 11) for £ 52 10s, or some three dollars per word. On the sum paid for Kino's letters, see our Introduction, note 155.

² The Jesuit General Charles de Noyelle acknowledged their receipt in his letter to Kino, dated January 2, 1683: "On February 14, 1682, I answered your two letters; the one written from the Canary Islands on February 24, 1681, the other from Mexico City on July 6th of the same year. In this second message you mentioned other packets which you had sent via Madrid; these I received along with your letter dated June 2, 1681. Further, I have seen the long and detailed account which you made of the entire journey, which is a source of no little consolation and edification. All the copybooks and letters for Father Wolfgang Leimberer have been sent to him in Germany, where they will be highly treasured." For the entire letter see my *Kino Reports*, pp. 12-15.

I shall endeavor, by God's grace, to send from New Spain a more detailed account of our voyage. Meanwhile, I most respectfully commend myself and all the other missionaries, especially Brother José Gregorio,³ to the prayers of your Excellency and to your dear children.

Aboard our ship near the Canary Islands, February 24, 1681.

Most devotedly in Christ,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J. on his way to the foreign missions

XI

Kino writes to the Duchess from Mexico City, July 4, 1681. Father Mansilla dispatched all of Kino's letters by diplomatic pouch. Unless the fleet sails sooner than planned, Kino will let the Duchess know to what mission he has been assigned — the Orient, Mexico or California. Favorable attitude of Father Mansilla and Vidal towards the missions. Mansilla is trying to effect Kino's passage to China, but the California expedition may need him. The one hope is for Kerschpamer to remain in Mexico and for Kino to take his place in the Orient. At the shrine of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Earthquake in Mexico.¹

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Christ Jesus and the Love of Our Lord be with you!

A month ago, within the first days of my arrival in Mexico City, I wrote to your Excellency, giving you an account of our entire trip and voyage to the missions.² Quite likely, that letter will reach you at the same time as this one. I entrusted all my letters to Reverend Father Baltasar de Mansilla,³ Procurator of the Philippines and Marianas, to put them in a mail pouch sent from Mexico to the Spanish court in Madrid.

Reverend Father Baltasar de Mansilla is favorably interested in the eastern missions, especially the Marianas. When in the preceding month of March he sent those missionaries who had ar-

¹ The original Latin autograph (HM 9972) is Kino's earliest extant message to the Duchess from the New World. It is listed with accompanying brief extracts in English in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 12.

² The letter is not known to be extant, nor that of similar contents sent to the Jesuit General on June 2, 1681; see preceding letter, note 2.

³ See the Introduction, note 26.

³ See Letters IX and XII.

rived here in the fleet ten months previously,¹ he wrote to the Reverend Father Superior² of the Mariana Islands to keep for that mission as many as he wished. He will write to the same effect regarding the other missionaries (who two months ago came here with me on the dispatch boat), when he sends them, God willing, to the Orient. As is evident, he makes every effort to help the Marianas.

Reverend Father Baltasar is also trying to get me to China. Accordingly, a few days ago, he spoke about the matter to Reverend Father Provincial³ of the Mexican Province in the endeavor to secure me for his own eastern missions. Reverend Father Provincial, who is planning on sending me to California in the company of a veteran missionary,⁴ when within a few months (if God so wishes) ships, soldiers and a goodly contingent set out to explore more carefully than heretofore that extensive island or peninsula,⁵ has not yet given his final decision to Reverend Father Baltasar. He will probably do so when Father Antonio Cereso⁶ comes here from Puebla in some two or three weeks.¹⁰ Although he is the one designated for the Philippines, he will quite likely remain in the Mexican Province because of the great difficulties which he experienced during the voyage; and so, perhaps, I can manage to be sent to the Orient in his place.

In the meanwhile, I dare not prefer, ask for or desire one mission rather than another, lest I be reminded: « You know not what you are asking for. »¹¹ But until then, I am earnestly commending every day this intention to Our Lady of Guadalupe, so that superiors decide what is most pleasing to the all good Lord. And when for this purpose I go every week to say Mass at the sacred shrine of the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, Our Lady of Guadalupe,¹² I am careful to commend, as well as I can, the inten-

¹ In the fleet that sailed from Cadiz in July of 1680; see above, Letter I.

² Father Gerard Bouwens S. J.

³ Father Bernardo Pardo, Provincial from September 20, 1680 to September 11, 1683; see ABZ IV, p. 14*.

⁴ Matías (or Pedro Matías) Goñi S. J.; see the Index to the present volume.

⁵ See our Index under « California ».

⁶ Consult Letters III and XIII.

¹⁰ See below, Letter XIII.

¹¹ A scriptural allusion (Christ's words to James and John) to Mt. XX, 22 and Mk. X, 38.

¹² On the famous shrine near Mexico City, see CUEVAS, *Album histórico guadalupano*.

tions of your Excellency, of your husband and of your three dear children, Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel.

I am writing this letter on her feast;¹³ and, hence, I am sending her an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe and a pious chain; I would have the latter be a symbol of her close attachment to Our Lord. The other four images I should like to give to the other four members of your devoted family, namely, your Excellency, his Excellency, and Joaquín and Gabriel, so dear to me in Our Lord. All five images were placed against the sacred picture itself of Our Lady of Guadalupe. I acquired them when I went out of the city to say Mass in the shrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary. While I said Mass on the altar of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, I kept all five images on the altar, on the very corporal where the sacrifice of the Mass under the species of bread and wine takes place — the price of our redemption.

For several days now I have not seen the *Virreina*,¹⁴ but soon I shall be seeing her, God willing. Just a few days ago, when we celebrated in our church the feast of Saints Peter and Paul,¹⁵ apostles, his Excellency, the Viceroy, deigned to add to the solemnity by his presence.¹⁶

On June 23rd, at six o'clock in the evening, we experienced a severe earthquake.¹⁷ Many public processions with prayers have taken place to secure rain. I suspect that the exceptional drought is one of the results of the comet;¹⁸ torrential rains occasionally follow a drought. May the divine clemency in its compassion protect us and ever keep us from harm!

We are awaiting the return soon of Reverend Father José Vidal from Puebla, where he conducted a mission.¹⁹ To his exquisite kindness and goodness I am deeply indebted, as also to Reverend Father Baltasar de Mansilla.

¹³ Saint Elisabeth of Aragon, now celebrated on July 8th.

¹⁴ The wife of the Conde de Paredes, Viceroy of Mexico from 1680 to 1686; see Letter III, note 28.

¹⁵ Commemorated on June 29th. The principal Jesuit college of the Mexican Province bore their name; see indices of ABZ.

¹⁶ It was customary for the Viceroy and his retinue to attend the more solemn functions of the college; cf. ABZ I, p. 142; JACOBSEN, *Educational Foundations*, ch. VI.

¹⁷ ROBLES, *Diario*, I, p. 299, records a series of earthquakes beginning on Monday, June 23, 1681 and ending on Wednesday, June 25th.

¹⁸ See the Introduction, II.

¹⁹ On the Puebla mission and Father Vidal's return to Mexico City, see Letter XIII.

If your Excellency has sent to Cadiz the Caravacan crosses which I humbly requested while I was still in that city,²⁰ our devoted Brother Marcos de Sotomayor²¹ will reimburse you. He went to Madrid as the companion of the two Reverend Fathers Procurator²² now on their way to Rome. I earnestly commend all of them to your Excellency and myself to them, wishing them a safe trip.

Unless the fleet leaves from Vera Cruz earlier than scheduled,²³ I shall attempt to soon let your Excellency know in another letter²⁴ to what mission my superiors are assigning me. Whether they are sending me to the Orient or whether they are keeping me for the missions here in New Spain or California, I shall always remain most deferentially devoted to your Excellency, ever mindful of you in my prayers and sacrifice of the Mass. The very presence of the sacred image of the Blessed Virgin Mary signed by you, which you so kindly sent to me in Cadiz from Madrid and which I now carry in my breviary, will readily remind me to give you a daily intention.

To the fervent prayers of your Excellency, of your dear children and of your entire devoted family, I earnestly commend myself and the missions of the oriental and western worlds, especially those of limitless China.

Mexico City, July 4, 1681.

Most devotedly yours in Christ,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J.²⁵

²⁰ Consult Letter VIII, note 10.

²¹ Brother Marcos de Sotomayor was born in Guatemala City in 1652 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1674.

²² The Mexican Jesuits who met in Mexico City from November 3rd to 7th chose as their representatives to Rome and Madrid, Fathers Pedro de Echagoyan, rector of the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo, and Bernabé Francisco Gutiérrez, Province treasurer. Accompanying the three Jesuits from Mexico was the slave Antonio Maldonado, who received his freedom from the Jesuit General; the document is reproduced in ABZ IV, p. 524, note 15.

²³ The fleet weighed anchor on August 4, 1681; news of the departure reached Mexico City on the 8th. Cf. ROLES, *Diario*, I, p. 301.

²⁴ Kino's next letter to the Duchess (of which we have any record) is dated June 3, 1682 (reproduced below as Letter XIV). Those, however, of Brother José Gregorio (Letter XII, October 9, 1681) and of Father Paul Klein (Letter XIII, February 16, 1682) keep her informed about Kino.

²⁵ Kino addresses the letter: "A la Exc.ma Señora Duquesa de Aveiro y Arcos, que Dios guarde muchos años, en Madrid. M. R."

XII

Brother José Gregorio writes to the Duchess from Mexico City, October 9, 1681. A special dispatch boat is bringing word to the King of the death of the bishop of Oaxaca. Gregorio's letter is especially to let the Duchess know that Kino has been assigned to the California expedition. The Manila Galleon is overdue. Greetings.¹

Your Excellency:

Although my note must be brief, I can not fail to write a word of greeting to your Excellency, inasmuch as I am told that there is an opportunity of sending letters to Spain on the unscheduled ship that is sailing to inform his Majesty about the death of the bishop of Oaxaca.²

I already informed your Excellency about our arrival in New Spain by sending you word through the Fathers Procurator of this Province.³ In the present message the only bit of news which I can give is that Father Eusebio Kino has been appointed to the glorious missions of California. He will be leaving this week, or the next at the very latest,⁴ and I believe he will be taking with him two priest companions.⁵ Father Eusebio by rea-

¹ This autograph Spanish letter is not listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*; nonetheless it is preserved in the Huntington Library (HM 22488), although it forms a different series from most of the other letters; see the Introduction, V.

² Nicolás del Puerto, who died on August 13, 1681; news of his death reached Mexico City on the 19th. See ROLES, *Diario*, I, p. 302.

³ Fathers Echagoyan and Gutiérrez, as stated in the preceding letter, note 22. Brother Gregorio's earlier message to the Duchess is not known to be extant.

⁴ The precise date when Kino left Mexico City in order to join the Atondo expedition is unknown; cf. BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 92. Father Klein (Letter XIII) writes: "... the expedition got under way about October 15, 1681."

⁵ The two priests appointed as companions to Kino were Matías Goñi and Antonio Suárez; the latter did not cross over to California and was later substituted by Juan Bautista Copart. See my *Kino Reports*, pp. 4, 19 n. 3.

son of his knowledge of mathematics is a very capable and appropriate missionary for that country since he will be able to survey it.

No news has yet been received from our own Philippines and Marianas, because the Manila Galleon has not arrived.⁶ To those of us who are residing in this country but destined for those missions, this is already a long delay. As soon as the ship puts in, I shall try to secure all the news and reports available, and forward them to your Excellency, although Father Procurator Baltasar de Mansilla and Father José Vidal will undoubtedly also attend to this.

Your Excellency will pardon my presumption in sending the enclosed. Your generosity towards me, and the desire I have that they reach the addressee, inspire my boldness. Your Excellency will receive the enclosure as from a native of the Marianas, for then I can be certain that it will be welcome. Do pardon my brevity; the carrier of this letter will be leaving Mexico City tomorrow and, as I am in Retreat,⁷ I can not write at length as I should like.

Hence I come to a close, asking Our Lord to keep your Excellency in accordance with His omnipotence and my wish.

Mexico City, October 9, 1681.

Most devotedly yours,
José Gregorio.⁸

⁶ Word did not reach Mexico City until Sunday, December 21st, that the Manila Galleon was in the Puerto de Navidad, and the 28th that it was at Acapulco; at ten o'clock that morning the church bells of the Capital broadcast the joyous news. See ROBLES, *Diario*, I, p. 307.

⁷ On the meaning of the term, see above Letter III, note 4.

⁸ See our Introduction, note 101.

XIII

Father Paul Klein writes from Mexico City to a fellow Jesuit in Bohemia, February 16, 1682. He gives an account of the ministry performed by Father Thomas Revell and himself; the former has left for the Sinaloan mission of Tepahue. Kino is taking part in the expedition to California. Brother Simon of Bohemia is wanted as a valuable helper to the northern missionaries. News about apostolic workers appointed to the Orient. The successful mission held for the bishop of Puebla. The Manila Galleon completed a successful voyage. Status of the Mariana missions. No news from China. Hopes for an entry into Japan.¹

Reverend Father in Christ:
The Peace of Christ be with you!

By means of the present letter I should like to inform your Reverence about my impending departure from New Spain for the Philippines, and, at the same, give you a very brief account of our stay here.²

As soon as we obtained from the local Chancery faculties to hear confessions, I and Father Thomas Revell³ moved to the Professed House in Mexico City (where I am writing this letter) and applied ourselves to the usual priestly ministries. At present I am

¹ This autograph Latin letter (HM 9971) is listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 13. The letter is obviously written to a fellow Jesuit in his home Province of Bohemia; *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 13 has Klein writing it "to the Father Provincial" and BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 614 "to the Father Superior at Ingoistadt [Germany]."

² Klein had come to Mexico in the fleet that sailed from Cadiz in July of 1680; see above, Letter I.

³ See above, Letter I, note 10.

still here; Father Thomas remained until about September 17th when he returned to the college of Saints Peter and Paul to better prepare for his trip; from there he went shortly afterwards to the 'Tepahue mission' and is already the rector (or soon will be) of the recently established center.

Father Eusebio Kino set out with him, but with an entirely different destination, namely California, where with two other Fathers he is to found a new mission.⁵ The two rather large ships will soon be setting sail for California; they are to bring there the missionaries and a contingent of soldiers to explore the region and determine whether it is an island or peninsula. As a matter of fact the expedition got under way about October 15, 1681, and our Simon Boruhradsky⁶ (here called Simón de Castro) for whom the Procurator of the Tarahumara missions, Father Bernardo Rolandegui,⁷ put in a fervent plea with the Provincial to secure, will be following them shortly. Rolandegui who had been summoned here by superiors will soon be returning to his mission field with new helpers. He asked to have our Brother Simon so that the missionaries would have one who could help them in matters temporal, such as tending to the crops and herds, to the building of residences and churches, in order that they can devote more attention to the conversion of those pagan tribes.

In the meantime, since our arrival, we have been residing in various of our houses here, as I wrote, and devoting ourselves, as far as possible, to working for the salvation of souls. Fathers

⁴ Tepahue or Tepahui, a Jesuit mission center in Sinaloa; cf. ABZ IV, p. 523.

⁵ Kino had been designated to go with Revell to the Tarahumara missions, but the Mexican Provincial (Bernardo Pardo) later changed Kino's appointment so that he could accompany Atondo. The source of this information is the register of the Jesuit Generals' letters to the Mexican Province (Mex. 3, ff. 184v-185, 200-200v). Revell worked among the Varohio Indians (Mex. 3, ff. 249-249v).

⁶ Born in Bohemia on November 26, 1650, he entered the Order on October 24, 1671. BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 65, tells how not-so-simple-Simon made the 1680 ship to Mexico. See my *Kino Reports*, p. 20 n. 4.

⁷ One of the most eminent missionaries and superiors of the Mexican Jesuits. Born in Saragossa, Spain, in 1648, he entered the Order in 1665. He made his religious profession on February 2, 1683. In 1706 he succeeded Salvatierra as Provincial, governing the Mexican Jesuits until his death on November 3, 1707. See ABZ IV, especially p. 211 n. 25; I have tried to bring out his participation in the California enterprise in my edition of *Piccolo* (cf. index, p. 470).

Cuculinus⁸ and Kerschpamer⁹ are in Puebla, where the Society of Jesus, with the help of the Bishop¹⁰ of the place, is conducting a mission with such good results and attendance of the people as are seldom seen in Europe; especially as regards the frequenting of the sacraments and the number of general confessions and the other means by which God is wont to awaken and draw sinners unto Himself. His Lordship preached the first sermon to the people; and then, throughout the mission, both in the cathedral and in our church, has faithfully assisted us, so much so, that almost always, from early morning until evening, he is seen hearing confessions, and has joined in all the penitential ceremonies which have been held. Such high esteem for the ministry of the Society has resulted in Puebla that it has completely wiped out the dissensions created by the former bishop of that city, Juan de Palafox.¹¹

At the close of the mission, the Fathers were summoned to Mexico City by the Philippine Procurator,¹² but as the Puebla Rector¹³ insistently called them back, they returned hurriedly and remained until February 6th. Summoned once again to Mexico City, they were here on the 8th. They are to leave in a few days, ahead of us, for Acapulco, and in company with the bishop of Sinopolis,¹⁴ who will be setting out for the Philippines with us in order to take over the first vacant see there. Towards the end of the month the rest of us will be following the same route. The ship that is to take us left the Philippines at the beginning of July and, after an entirely prosperous and fast voyage, entered

⁸ Matthias Cuculinus S. J. was born on January 17, 1641 in Müglitz, Moravia, and entered the Order in 1661. He worked as a missionary in the Marianas until his death there on December 14, 1696. See *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XXI, pp. 54-55.

⁹ See Letters III and XI.

¹⁰ Manuel Fernández de Sahagún y Santa Cruz, informed of his appointment on June 2, 1676, governed the diocese of Puebla until his death on February 1, 1699. See ABZ IV, p. 11*. Three autograph letters of the Bishop thanking the Jesuits for their help, are reproduced in ABZ IV, pp. 460-462.

¹¹ A considerable portion of ABZ III is devoted to this prelate.

¹² Father Baltasar de Mansilla S. J.; consult the Index to the present volume.

¹³ Father Francisco de Florencia S. J.

¹⁴ Bishop Juan Durán, Mercedarian, titular of Sinopolis, became auxiliary bishop of Cebú; see COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 489, 495; MURILLO, *Historia*, p. 342; RUBIO, *El Arzobispo*, p. 384 n. 41.

the harbor on December 21, 1681.¹⁵ They say that it will be returning on March 18th.

It met on the way the ship that sailed from Mexico the previous year; from the letters written by several of our Fathers we learned that our companions had a good voyage up to that point, that five of our men had remained in the Marianas,¹⁶ namely Fathers Augustine Strobach, John Tilpe, Charles Boranga, Diego Zarzosa and Teofilo de Angelis, and that the Islands are gradually accepting the faith and are furnishing somewhat more abundantly needed provisions, so much so that the Islands could come to the generous assistance of the ship passing by there, supplying it with pigs, poultry products and fruit.

The enclosed report will give you the remaining news about the Marianas. Your Reverence will be so good as to share the account with Fathers John and Mathias Tanner,¹⁷ William Froulich, George Weiss and James Gratz, and with all our other Fathers; I simply cannot write all of them at present.

The ship brought no news about China. There is a report — but unconfirmed — that Japan is again accessible. What is certain is that the harbor-prefects are showing themselves less severe in investigating those entering the country.¹⁸ Hence the hope that the country will be opened up to us.

The immediate departure of the postman does not allow adding anything more. Consequently, I close commending myself to your Reverence's holy sacrifices of the Mass.

Mexico City, February 16, 1682.

Devotedly yours in Christ,
Paul Klein S. J.

¹⁵ The letters had been taken off the ship when it reached the Mexican port of Navidad and reached Mexico City on Wednesday, December 24, 1681; on December 28th word reached the Capital that the galleon had docked in Acapulco. See ROSLES, *Diario*, I, p. 307.

¹⁶ The five had sailed from Cadiz in the fleet of July, 1680; see above, Letter I.

¹⁷ Eminent Jesuit historian and theologian, rector of the college and university in Prague, superior of the Professed House and Provincial. He was born in Pilsen, Bohemia on February 8, 1692. His numerous writings are listed by SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque*, VII, columns 1858-1861.

¹⁸ This information is repeated in several letters of Father A. Thomas S. J.; see the summary of his letters in the Introduction, IV.

XIV

Kino writes to the Duchess from Nuestra Señora del Rosario en route to California, on June 3, 1682. He recalls earlier letters written to her. He has been assigned to California expedition; he is delighted with appointment. The bishop of Guadalajara to which California belongs, has promised to help the missionaries in the new territory. The bishop sends his regards to the Duchess. Kino has sent her copies of his treatise on the comet. Greetings to the family. The first «city» to be established in California will be named for the Duchess, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de las Californias.¹

To her Excellency, the Duchess of Aveiro and Arcos.

Your Excellency:

The Peace of Our Lord be with you!

I would be overjoyed to have this letter and those enclosed find your Excellency in perfect health, as I earnestly pray and and desire is the case; mine, God be thanked, is good. I should be happy to place myself completely at the disposal of your Excellency.

I wrote to your Excellency from the Canary Islands, Puerto Rico and Mexico City. May it please Our Lord that my letters should have reached Madrid.² My superiors, even the Viceroy himself and the bishop of Guadalajara³, are sending me to the new

¹ This letter (HM 9997) written entirely in Kino's hand and in Spanish, is listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 14, where several extracts in English are given.

² Only two of these letters seem to have survived: Letters X and XI of this volume.

³ Kino's Provincial Superior was Bernardo Pardo (Letter XI, note 6), the Viceroy was Tomás Antonio de la Cerda, Conde de Paredes (Letter III, note 26), and the bishop of Guadalajara was Juan Santiago de Garavito (ABZ IV, pp. 9*, 13*-14*).

conquest and the new missions of the extensive kingdom of California, which is, in my opinion, the largest island in the world.

I am deeply indebted to Father Baltasar de Mansilla⁴ for the efforts he made to have me go to China proper,⁵ a mission which for many years I have desired so intensely, but I hold as certain that it is the divine will that I go to California and thus may the all holy will of Him who knows best what behooves us be done. I admit that I am going with the greatest satisfaction.

During these past days, the bishop of Guadalajara said that as soon as he hears that we have started to win over and convert souls and establish settlements in California, he will cross over personally to visit the missions and help us « to take in the catch,⁶ » inasmuch as he designates himself and really is the bishop of California.⁷ In that capacity he has kindly made me his vicar.

And when I mentioned your Excellency to him, and the thoughtful kindness which you extended to me at Cadiz through your letters, and told him about your interest in the comet and the missions and other matters, he asked me whether you Excellency had given me any messages for his Lordship. I answered that your Excellency had not, because neither you nor I supposed that I would get to Guadalajara. He asked me, if I should write to your Excellency, to extend to you his best remembrances and regards, as I now do as well as I can, and should wish to be able to do with the exquisiteness due to such an apostolic and zealous prelate.

A few days before leaving Mexico City, I wrote a book there on the comet⁸ and left eighty and later twenty copies (one hundred in all) of the treatise with Father Francisco de Castro⁹ who, assisted by Father José Vidal, was to forward them to your Excellency in Madrid. Have the copies distributed among your friends

⁴ Procurator of the Philippine Jesuit Province, resident in Mexico; cf. our Introduction, note 26.

⁵ « Gran China » in the Spanish text; the Philippines were not infrequently called « China ».

⁶ A scriptural phrase from Lk. V, 9. No bishop came to California until after the Jesuit expulsion in 1768; see my *Kino Reports*, p. 16 n. 2.

⁷ The jurisdiction of California — whether it belonged to the diocese of Guadalajara or to Durango — was long and warmly contested; see Boulton, *Rim*, pp. 97-99, 599, 618.

⁸ Kino is alluding to his *Exposición Astronómica*, published in Mexico City in 1681; see our Introduction, II.

⁹ Born in Madrid in 1619, he entered the Order in 1642. He worked for many years in the Sinaloan missions. He died in Mexico City on September 6, 1687. Kino writes him several times from California (Letters XVII-XIX).

in Spain and Portugal and wherever your Excellency wishes. It was to your Excellency that I was on the point of dedicating the treatise.¹⁰ It would give me special satisfaction to know that they had reached you. If they have arrived, or when they do, I ask you to do me the favor of sending a half dozen of them to Seville to Father Pedro de los Escuderos S. J.,¹¹ and another half dozen to Father Assistant of Spain,¹² whom I shall write telling him to what acquaintances in Rome he is to give them. Your Excellency will pardon my forwardness and the trouble I am causing you.

A summary of the treatise, an account of what has been happening to me since I sent you a letter with the fleet, and also our present status — all this your Excellency can learn from the enclosed letter to Father Wolfgang Leimberer.¹³ I ask that after reading it, you send it to Father Charles Noyelle¹⁴ in Rome, as also the drawing¹⁵ of the comet's course, so that he will forward it, as I requested of him, to Germany.¹⁶

In whatever foreign mission I may happen to be, by God's grace, I should be happy to be able to do your Excellency a favor, mindful of you and of my dear Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel, especially in the Masses promised¹⁷ on the feasts of Saint Francis Xavier and the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady.¹⁸ And in turn I earnestly commend myself to the good prayers of your Excellency.

¹⁰ The Spanish text reads: «... un librito del cometa... que estube para dedicárselo, pero, etc.». The sentence is incomplete; obviously, Kino intended to give the reason why he did not dedicate to the Duchess the treatise on the comet.

¹¹ Pedro Escuderos, born in Seville on March 18, 1661, entered the Order on February 26, 1679. In 1684 we find him at the colegio de San Hermenegildo.

¹² Kino had in mind Father Juan Marin, assistant to the General for the Spanish Provinces from 1679 to 1682, when he was succeeded by Pascasio Casanueva; see my *Kino Reports*, pp. 15 n. 6, 84-89; *Synopsis*, column 634; *ASTRÁN, Historia*, VI, p. 869.

¹³ See my *Kino Reports*, p. 10 n. 5: « Wolfgang Leimberer was at this time socius (assistant) to the Provincial of the Upper German Province (*Ger. Sup.* 27, p. 1); he had taught Kino philosophy at Ingolstadt in 1669 (*Ger. Sup.* 25, p. 41). »

¹⁴ At the time Kino wrote this letter, Noyelle was Vicar General of the Order; on July 5, 1682 he was elected General. See *ABZ IV*, p. 14^a.

¹⁵ This particular drawing by Kino is not known to be extant; as we discussed above in the notes to Letter VI, he prefixed just such a chart to his treatise on the comet, published in 1681.

¹⁶ Noyelle wrote Kino on July 30, 1684 to assure him that he had forwarded all as requested; see the text of the letter in *Kino Reports*, pp. 16-19.

¹⁷ See Letters III-V.

¹⁸ On the 3rd and 8th December respectively. The rest of the paragraph in the original document is in Latin.

aspirations to God and apostolic zeal in effecting the salvation of others.

I earnestly pray and desire that Our Lord keep your Excellency and entire family, so devoted to Our Lady of Guadalupe, long years in the midst of prosperity and an increase of heavenly gifts.

From this Real de Nuestra Señora del Rosario,¹⁹ June 3, 1682.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino

P. S. The city which by God's favor and that of the Blessed Virgin we shall found in California within the next three to five months, will be called, by God's grace, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de las Californias.²⁰

¹⁹ Commonly called «El Rosario», a mining center inland from Mazatlán on the road from Tepic; see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 112-113; the map is reproduced at the end of *Kino Reports*.

²⁰ The little settlement was so called (see Letter XVII). For such boundless optimism Kino should be given a high place on the roll of California boosters. To term a few primitive huts a city sprang from hope for the future rather than from observation of reality!

XV

*Kino writes to the Duchess from Chacala, en route to California, on November 3, 1682, a note to accompany the hundred copies of his treatise on the comet. A brief account of the expedition to date. Greetings to the family.*¹

The Duchess of Aveiro.
Your Excellency:

I am sending this note with the hundred copies of the treatise on the comet² of 1680 and 1681, which I believe is the same as this one which we saw in this present year of 1682, and which traversed the other four astronomical zones, as, in part, your Excellency will know from a lengthy account I wrote to you four months ago³ and, in part, shall write tomorrow, by God's grace, in another letter longer than this one.⁴

On October 28th of this year of 1682, we left on the *capitana*, *almiranta* and *balandra*⁵ to sail the Pacific;⁶ and, on November 3rd, after a successful but long voyage of seven days, we reached

¹ This brief letter (HM 9975) is entirely in Kino's hand and in Spanish; it is offered for sale in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 15, where a few brief extracts in English are given.

² See the preceding letter, note 8.

³ Kino's previous extant letter to the Duchess was written on June 3, 1682 (number XIV in this volume), exactly five months before the present one; it mentions the book on the comet but does not contain the discussion referred to here by Kino.

⁴ It is not known whether Kino ever wrote this letter; none is extant for «tomorrow» (November 4, 1682).

⁵ On the meaning of the terms see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 96, 100-101 (the Admiral's ship, the Captain's — both frigates — and a two-masted boat).

⁶ «South Sea» in the Spanish text (*Mar del Sur*).

this port of Chacala,⁷ situated at 21 degrees 35 minutes latitude, near the city of Compostela.⁸

Here we are taking on a supply for a six month's voyage, although with a favorable wind we can cross over from here to California [in a few days].⁹ I commend California and myself to the fervent prayers of your Excellency and to your family so devoted to Mary and the angels: Gabriel, Joaquín and Isabel. May the divine goodness and boundless liberality of God keep all of you in true happiness through many years, as I pray and desire with all the strength of my soul, in the love of Christ Jesus who died for us.

From this port of Chacala, November 3, 1682.

Devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino

⁷ Chacala, Nayarit; it is just south of Matanchel; see the map cited in Letter XIV, note 19.

⁸ See the same map for Compostela.

⁹ The time needed for crossing over to the peninsula varied greatly, as can be seen from Kino's letters.

XVI

Father Francisco Jiménez writes to the Duchess from Mexico City on December 11, 1682. He had news about the Duchess from the Viceroy's wife. He wrote to the Duke of Arcos. Report from Bishop Barrientos, who, en route to the Philippines, stopped off in the Mariana Islands. The Viceroy is effectively supporting the California enterprise. Efforts to retake New Mexico. Peace in Mexico. The Viceroy and his wife are kind to the poor Indians.¹

Your Excellency:

Through the letters of her Excellency the *Virreina*,² I have been informed that you are enjoying perfect health, for which I render frequent thanks to Our Lord and shall continue to do so in my prayers.

I wrote to his Excellency, your husband,³ a paragraph which you will see and on which you will take such action as you think

¹ Only the closing words and signature are in the hand of Father Jiménez. The letter (now HM 9967) was offered for sale in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 16, where a few extracts in English are given. The writer of this letter does not seem to be the Jesuit Francisco Jiménez who approved Kino's biography of Saeta in Mexico City in 1686 (Kino, *Saeta*, p. 54 n. 7), but rather a Franciscan of the same name. As we indicated in Letter III, note 26, the chaplain who accompanied the viceregal couple to Mexico in 1680 was a Francisco Jiménez. The fact that the writer of the letter states that he has served the viceregal couple and shall do so until Providence arranges for his retirement to his monastery, points to a court chaplain rather than to a Jesuit engaged in school work. The writer's allusion to the victims of the Pueblo revolt « religious of our Father Saint Francis », and his signature « Fr. » [Fray], reveal a Franciscan Friar rather than a Jesuit Priest.

² The Condesa de Paredes, wife of the Mexican Viceroy (1680-1686); see above, Letter III, note 26. From ROBLES, *Diario*, II p. 33, we know that letters reached Mexico from Spain on December 7th.

³ The Duque de Arcos; the original text reads: « Al Duque, mi señor, escribí un párafo ». The letter alluded to is not known to be extant.

best, for I need heed no one else; consideration for your Excellency is all that matters. For quite a few years now I have been serving the viceregal couple and shall continue to do so until Our Lord determines that I should retire to my cell or whatever may be best.

The news about this country and its people your Excellency will learn from a more eloquent pen than mine. All that I can now report to your Excellency is that I have a letter from his Lordship, Bishop Barrientos.⁴ He writes that on passing the Marianas, he was brought for Confirmation some servants and very many children. The servants of the religious did not know how to make the sign of the cross or any part of the catechism. He tells me in his letter that it was with intense sorrow that he continued on to his bishopric in the Philippines⁵ seeing in how deplorable a state those Islands are.

As for California the Viceroy has exerted great effort to bring about its conquests and at the moment he is sending reinforcements of men and ships;⁶ God grant to him signal success in everything.

As for the province of New Mexico after the terrible disaster occurred in which the rebelling Indians won over their ferocious nomadic neighbors and after slaying as many as twenty-two Franciscans,⁷ the Viceroy rushed to the area soldiers and money in the hope of restoring order, but up to the present this has not been secured. Accordingly, he has ordered a garrison to be established and a city⁸ that is on the river's banks to be fortified.

This country, God be thanked, is enjoying profound peace and content. It would be impossible to exaggerate, your Excellency, how much the people love the viceregal couple who are so kind that I think that, since the discovery of America, there have not

⁴ The Dominican Bishop Ginés Barrientos, titular of Troy and auxiliary to the Archbishop of Manila. See COSTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 477, 479, 497-500; RUBIO, *El Arzobispo*, p. 384 n. 41; MURILLO, *op. cit.*, p. 342; FERRANDO, *Historia*, III, p. 445 ss.

⁵ As indicated in the previous note, Barrientos was not immediately given a bishopric to govern, but was made the auxiliary to the Archbishop of Manila.

⁶ See the Introduction.

⁷ On this revolt, see BANDELIER-HACKETT, *Historical Documents*, III, pp. 3-4 (bibliography), 19-20 (summary of the tragic events), 327-385 (text of the pertinent documents).

⁸ El Paso, present Juárez, Chihuahua, on the right bank of the Río Grande, not El Paso, Texas, which was founded on the left bank of the river and very much later. BANDELIER-HACKETT, *op. cit.*, III, p. 20 n. 74, cite a royal decree for the erection of the El Paso presidio (dated September 4, 1683).

been other rulers who have been so humane to these poor Indians, reduced as they are to a virtual state of slavery. May God Our Lord repay their charity and true zeal.

I have no other news to give to your Excellency. I merely add that Our Lord seems to wish to reward our rulers, inasmuch as the *Virreina* has been enceinte two months.⁹

Your Excellency, I must send by the present fleet¹⁰ some trifles to my devoted friends. God bring the fleet safely to Spain and may He keep your Excellency in all prosperity as I ardently desire. Remember me to my devoted friends.

Mexico City, December 11, 1682.

Devotedly yours,

Fr. Francisco Jiménez [rubric].

To her Excellency, the Duchess of Aveiro.

⁹ The child of the viceregal couple, a son, was born at eight o'clock in the evening on July 5, 1683. The bells of the Capital's churches broadcast the news; those of the Cathedral tripled their joyous peals. The next day a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral. On the 14th the child was baptized by the Archbishop. Three months later, October 15th, the same prelate confirmed the child; the solemn ceremony took place in the Palace; Father Baltasar Mansilla took part as sponsor for the child (*padrino*). See ROBLES, *Diario*, II, pp. 49-50, 56.

¹⁰ The dispatch boat («aviso» as opposed to the «flota») set out on Saturday, January 23, 1683. See the entry in ROBLES, *Diario*, II, p. 36.

XVII

Kino writes to Father Francisco de Castro from California on April 20, 1683. Chronological account of the California expedition from March 18th to April 17, 1683; that is since the departure from the harbor of the Sinaloa River. Description of the area around La Paz; the attitude of the natives.¹

My dear Father Francisco de Castro, may the Peace of Christ be with you!

After sailing from the bar of the Río de Sinaloa, we remained becalmed five days near the hills and islands of Saint Ignatius,² but on the 25th of the same month of March, the feast of the Annunciation of Our Lady, God was pleased that we should succeed in sighting California without losing from view the Sinaloa region

¹ This Spanish letter (HM 9995) is entirely in the hand of Kino. He addressed it to Father Francisco Castro; the latter, on forwarding it to the Duchess, crossed out his own name. The compiler of the *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 17, conjectured that the letter had been addressed by Kino to Father Francisco Jiménez (Jiménez): BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 105, 111, 115, 123, 599-600, thought that the letters were addressed to Martínez. The compiler, misled by the previous letter (number XVI of this volume) which was signed by Father Francisco Jiménez, on seeing Padre Francisco in this one, thought they were one and the same. Bolton, knowing that copies of the present letter were made for Father Martínez, concluded that Kino had written the original message to Martínez; he failed to notice that the copies were sent to Father Juan Martínez, not to a Father Francisco Martínez (non-existent). From the copy in the Jesuit Roman archives I published the Spanish text with an English translation in *Kino Reports*, pp. 28-31. A second contemporary copy is preserved in the Huntington Library (HM 9997), also addressed to Father Juan Martínez, misread by the compiler of the *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 19 as Father Julio Martínez. Extracts in English of both letters are given *op. cit.*, pp. 17-19, without noting that the messages are identical; the last page of the original letter is reproduced in facsimile in Plate II of *op. cit.*, facing p. 7. In the original letter, the dates are also given in the margin of the diary-like letter.

² The Isla de San Ignacio is still so designated; it is in the Gulf of California, just north of Río de Sinaloa and south of Punto Ignacio. See the detailed AAA. *Automobile Road Map of Lower California*.

and the same hills of Saint Ignatius, inasmuch as the distance across is not more than thirty-five leagues.

On March 31st, the day on which we finished a novena to the glorious Saint Joseph, we sailed up the large bay called Nuestra Señora de la Paz, which has its entrance along the 24° 55' latitude.³

The next day, the 1st of April, we travelled southward and got as far as the mouth of the port of La Paz. Some went ashore and found a delightful spring, wood in abundance, an area covered with reeds, signs of Indians etc.

On April 2nd, nearly all of us went ashore. We fashioned a very large cross, which we erected on a slight eminence. We then returned to sleep on board ship.

On April 3rd, we went ashore again; but, to our keen disappointment, without seeing any Indians.

We went on Sunday in two launches further up the estuary of the port of La Paz, which is on the 24° 10' latitude, but still we neither met nor saw any Indians. That evening a great quantity of fish was caught with a net. And inasmuch as much smoke was sighted, although well in the distance, we began on Monday to build a small church, and a diminutive fortress or block-house of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.⁴ From that time on, we began to sleep and live on shore.

Tuesday morning, while nearly the entire crew was clearing a small elevation and felling trees for our buildings, we heard the shouting of some Indians who were coming to this port.⁵ All the soldiers took up their weapons. The Indians approached with much shouting, armed with bow and arrows, daubed with paint as a sign of war (defensive at least), and making gestures for us to leave their country. We tried to make them understand that we came with peaceful intentions and asked them to put down their weapons, assuring them that we would do the same, but they were unwilling to do so.

Father Goñi⁶ and I then went up to them and gave them some maize, hard-tack and necklaces, but they refused to take them

³ Modern reckoning shows Kino's latitudes slightly too far north. See Ives, *Navigation Methods of Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J.*, pp. 213-243, and the same Author's *California no es ysla*, pp. 189-199.

⁴ This is the city promised by Kino in Letter XIV, note 20.

⁵ The incident mentioned here is recounted with a wealth of details in Letter XXIII.

⁶ Father Pedro Matías Goñi S. J.; see the Index to the present volume.

from our hands and asked that we put them on the ground; later they began to accept them from our hands. Soon we got along with them on most friendly terms. They gave us roasted *mezcales*,⁷ small nets very well woven, bird plumes which they wore on their head, and other objects.

We showed them a crucifix, and on another day an image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, but they gave no sign of actually having or ever having had any acquaintance with these objects or with matters concerning the Catholic religion. That evening they went away very contented, though some of our men suspected that they were not to be trusted.

Wednesday, we continued to fell trees and very large palms to lay out and build the diminutive fort in the form of a crescent, as also our small church.

Thursday, a huge amount of fine fish was caught, making possible a generous allowance for the entire crew for three days.

Friday, the Indians returned accompanied by many others, more than eighty in all, in a peaceful and very friendly mood, asking for maize (*aguax* in their language), which for them is a rare delicacy and which they eat as though it were candy. After receiving maize and being taught to make the sign of the cross, they went inland at sunset to sleep on the hill, saying that they would return on the morrow. They did return, and we found them even more friendly and better disposed to learn.

We set up a shield (a sort of leather buckler) at which they shot their arrows, which shattered without penetrating. Then our soldiers fired an arquebus and the bullet pierced the shield, which amazed and frightened the Indians no end. That evening they went to their settlements.

Palm Sunday, we blessed and distributed many lovely palms. Monday and the days following, we continued to work on the construction of the small church and fort or block-house. The *Capitana* was repaired in order to be able to cross over to Yaqui for supplies and horses.

Tuesday, the Admiral sent some soldiers inland to see whether there were any river, lake or settlement. Since they went on foot, they did not go inland more than three leagues. They found

⁷ Species of agave cooked for food; see my *Kino Reports*, p. 28-29 n. 6.

neither river nor Indian settlement, but from a hillock they sighted some columns of smoke, a lake, and some attractive plains. God willing, we shall soon go more than twenty leagues inland.

Wednesday, many of the Spaniards went to confession. Thursday, others likewise went to confession, and the Admiral, captains and many soldiers and sailors received communion. That evening more than forty Indians came to see us. Most of them had not come the other times. They learned to make the sign of the cross with extraordinary docility and friendliness. We gave them maize, *pinole*⁸ and *pozole*.⁹ They went to the hill to sleep beneath the trees. A sermon was preached to the Spaniards.

Friday, the Indians came back with a small load of wood, since they noticed that we gave gifts to those who had brought us wood. At noon they returned to their settlements. That evening another sermon was held on the Passion of Our Lord.

Holy Saturday, we sang the litanies and said the Mass customary for that day. At the *Gloria in excelsis* and five other times during the Mass, the musketry was fired, and bells were rung,¹⁰ with much rejoicing.

The land is good, as is also the climate; there is an abundance of fish, wood, birds, deer, rabbits etc. We have planted maize, melons and watermelons etc. We hope that all will produce well, and trust that within a few months we can begin to administer baptism, since these Indians seem to me to be the most tractable, affable, cheerful and jovial in all America etc.

From this Real de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and port of La Paz in California,¹¹ April 20, 1683.

Devotedly in Christ,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

⁸ The flour of roasted corn; see my *Kino Reports*, p. 30-31 n. 10.

⁹ Corn meal mush; *op cit.*, p. 31 n. 11.

¹⁰ Silent since mass on Holy Thursday.

¹¹ The Huntington and Roman copies destined for Father Juan Martínez add the place from which the letter was written.

XVIII

Kino writes to Father Francisco de Castro from La Paz, California, on April 23, 1683. He asks that the contents of his letter be forwarded to several others, the Duchess of Aveiro among them, and promises to write to them later. He is composing a more extensive account of the enterprise. He lists others whom he wants informed.¹

My dear Father Francisco de Castro, may the Peace of Our Lord be with you!

I beg of your Reverence to extend my best wishes and to give this bit of news about our arrival in California to Father José Vidal² (and if you so wish to the Duchess of Aveiro), to the Fathers Procurator,³ Father Antonio de Covarrubias,⁴ Father Zappa,⁵ Father Salvatierra⁶ and to all at the college of Saints Peter and Paul.⁷ I shall try to write them from here in three or four months when, God willing, the flag-ship will cross over from here to Cha-

¹ This autograph letter in Spanish (HM 9992) is written to Father Francisco de Castro. The beginning of the letter and the envelope are addressed: « A mi Padre Francisco de Castro de la Comp. de IESUS, etc. en S. Pedro y S. Pablo en Mexico. » In letter XVII « Castro » has been deleted and in this one « de Castro », but in both instances the name is still legible. The compiler of *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 20, has the message addressed to Father Francisco Ximenes, and Bolton, *Rim*, p. 600 (also, several times in the text; see Letter XVII, note 1) calls him Martínez.

² See above, Letter XI.

³ Fathers Echagoyan and Gutiérrez; see Letters XI, note 22, and XII note 3.

⁴ Father Antonio Covarrubias, born in Zacatecas, Mexico in 1656, entered the Order in 1672. He was ordained about the time Kino asked to be remembered to him. He died in the Jesuit college in Guadalajara, on January 2, 1689.

⁵ Father Juan Bautista Zappa, born in Milan, Italy on December 31, 1651, entered the Order at the age of 16. He accompanied Salvatierra to Mexico in 1675. He died near Mexico City on February 13, 1694. He was one of the outstanding sacred orators of New Spain. See ABZ IV, pp. 108-109 n. 24.

⁶ Gianmaria (Juan María) Salvatierra.

⁷ Principal Jesuit College (in the Capital).

cala or Matanchel. Then I shall send you some large shells of mother of pearl; in fact, I already have some of them here among my things.

I am continuing with the composition of a booklet⁸ on this enterprise and this country etc. and am adding a map.⁹ In accordance with superiors' preferences, I shall be sending it in a few months, when it will be possible to include an account of some baptisms¹⁰ etc.

May Our Lord keep you through the truly happy years which with all my heart I desire for you.

From this fort of Our Lady of Guadalupe and port of La Paz in California (Carolinas), April 23, 1683.

Devotedly in Christ,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

P. S. I would be most grateful if my dear Father Baltasar de Mansilla¹¹ forwarded this news to the viceregal couple and let them know that I shall be writing them, God willing, when the ship crosses over to Chacala. By then, quite possibly, I shall be able to inform them about some baptisms etc.

⁸ Not known to be extant.

⁹ Presumably identical or similar to the well-known 1683 autograph map by Kino, reproduced at the end of my *Kino Reports*.

¹⁰ See the Index under « Baptism ».

¹¹ Consult the Index to this volume.

XIX

Kino writes at considerable length to Father Francisco de Castro from San Lucas, Sinaloa, July 27, 1683. He summarizes contents of earlier letters and continues the account of events to time of writing. He is busy learning the native language, instructing the Indians, building fort, houses and church. Indians threaten the settlement; danger passes. Few pearls found. Several expeditions inland. Products of the land; crops planted offer good prospects. Salt discovered on island. Fishing. Springs. Waiting for the return of the flag-ship. Character of the natives. Their language; need of an interpreter. False charge against Indian leads to treacherous invitation and cowardly massacre of many natives.¹

My dearest Father Francisco de Castro, may the Peace of Our Lord be with you:

I have already written you three or four letters; nevertheless, as I am not certain that they reached you, I am repeating the fact that on March 25th of this present year of 1683 we sighted California and, after entering this extensive bay and port of La Paz on April 2nd, we went ashore and put up a cross and afterwards a small church. We also began the construction of this fort of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

The Indians came peacefully and in large numbers to see us several times, as I have recounted in greater detail in various letters² which I sent to New Spain, Sinaloa and Sonora by the flag-

¹ This letter (HM 9998) in Spanish was written partly and signed by Kino and written partly by an amanuensis. Kino addressed it, as he did the two previous ones, to Father Francisco de Castro. Again, the compiler of *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 21, conjectured that the message was destined for Father Francisco Ximénez, and Bolton, *Rim*, p. 600, has it sent to Martínez.

² The contents of this paragraph are developed in Letters XVII, XVIII and XXIII.

ship that left this port for Yaqui³ in order to bring us provisions and horses for the expeditions of California etc.

We are now furthering this enterprise by learning the native language, by treating the natives with kindness, by teaching them some of the prayers of our faith, by building for ourselves a few simple dwellings, and especially by protecting ourselves with a small but stout fortress which we have built close to the shore in the form of a crescent, strengthened by a moat around it and a trench of large and well-arranged palm-trunks. We were prompted to build this fortification by what happened on Pentecost:⁴ more than a hundred Indians (we thought that they were very many more) came in warlike fashion with much shouting and arranged into two groups. Their intent was to force us out of this land and seize our provisions; but by heaven's favor and the bounty of the Divine Spirit, the soldiers did not fire against the natives either the arquebuses or the *pedreros*, nor did the Indians shoot their arrows at us.

In the midst of all the hesitating and asking whether to fire or not at them until seeing an evident sign and act of hostility, one group of Indians entered as far as the trench, and although our brave soldiers had the mouth of their arquebuses right up against the chests of the natives and the latter did not budge (perhaps for lack of experience they had no adequate idea of the effect of our weapons), not a shot was fired. All of us consider it a very special favor of the Divine Spirit that the peace was not disturbed through hostility, which, under such circumstances, could break out, and that this entire enterprise was not pushed to the brink of ruin; for truly, « There is no salvation in war; we all implore Thee for peace, » a plea which Our Lord deigned to answer favorably, as one of the gifts of the Divine Spirit.

We gave to the Indians corn and other such trifles as necklaces, bands, little ribbons and small knives, just as on other days when they came with peaceful intent. Since then (true, many of the soldiers are on their guard, refusing to put any trust in the natives) we have remained, God be thanked, on peaceful and

³ This port served as the shipping center for the supplies furnished by the mainland missions to California. Salvatierra and Piccolo established San José de Guaymas (Guaymas today), north of Yaqui, as the regular shipping center. See my *Correspondencia del P. Kino and Piccolo* (index of both volumes).

⁴ June 6th.

very friendly terms with them; so much so, that they come frequently to this fort of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe bringing us gifts of *pitahayas*,⁵ *mezcales*⁶ and once also some small pearls⁷ which they do not value or prize, nor do they bother about searching for them, although the pearls are to be found in abundance and are of good quality in all parts of this bay. Many pearls have been gathered, of which some two hundred have been given as votive offerings to the Blessed Virgin. Many others are in the possession of various individuals.

But to be exact, except for a few pearls somewhat larger than chick-peas, almost all the rest are very small; but if the king, the viceroy or his officials send pearl divers who know how to dive for them in five, six, eight or ten fathoms of water, undoubtedly, they would prove a profitable source of revenue for the royal coffers, inasmuch as the pearls taken the past two months are from the shells lying on the seashore or in shallow water.

May Our Lord turn all to the advantage of the spiritual conquest of the more valuable pearls which are the souls redeemed by the precious blood of Our Savior. Of these latter, high hopes are inspired by the exceptional docility and affability of these Indians who recently came with their children to practically take up their abode with us, sleeping at night very close to this fort, a thing they had never done before. It seems likely that soon they will be coming with family and little children, and that within a few weeks we shall, by God's grace, be able to begin the baptism of their little ones. When the Angelus rings at noon and we kneel down to recite it, they too get down on their knees etc.

In the three or four expeditions which we have made inland towards the east, south and west, we have found some six or seven leagues of land with two or three good water holes. Although most of what we saw was mountainous, good lands for planting were not wanting. Undoubtedly when the horses⁸ get here and we can penetrate farther inland, better plains in the valley and, perchance, rivers too will be found. In the di-

⁵ Fruit of the giant cereus cactus; see my *Kino Reports*, p. 52 n. 17.

⁶ Cf. Letter XVII, note 7.

⁷ Consult the Index, s. v. Pearls.

⁸ To be brought over from the mainland missions.

rection of the opposite coast, a very extensive plain and green grove can be seen. Despite the dry season, the bit of maize, squash, watermelons and melons, as also a few tamarind-trees which we planted the past few weeks, are growing prettily, to the delight of the Indians, who are very fond of maize. By God's grace, as soon as the rainy season sets in, very much more will be planted.

On one of the islands in this extensive bay we found a fine salt-pit or lagoon of salt.⁹ The islet must be about two leagues in circumference and the lagoon about a quarter of a league. We named the island Santo Tomás de la Laguna, and from the time of its discovery it was dedicated to his Excellency the viceroy, Don Tomás de la Laguna¹⁰ etc. From this lake vast amounts of high quality salt could be obtained that would fill many ships. In this harbor and in this bay in general, there is a great amount of excellent fish, and much is actually being caught. For the abundant daily catches, nets, lines and fishbooks are employed.

The two water holes close to our fort furnish us with most abundant and perfectly safe water. Although we buried Don Lorenzo de Córdoba last week (may God grant him eternal felicity), his death was due to the sickness contracted in Chacala. All the rest of us, God be thanked, are well, even those who arrived here with ailments and sicknesses, although we are without hard-tack and meat until the flag-ship returns. Despite this want, our people play the harp and guitar, they sing, and most of the group entertains itself contentedly.

We enjoy a very good climate and, although it is a bit hot from ten o'clock in the morning until three or four in the afternoon, this is not more intense than in Sinaloa. The remaining eighteen or twenty hours of the day and night are very mild. The drinking water is so cool that all admit they have never tasted better, and in few places in New Spain have they drunk as good water.

There is also a great abundance of very good wood and timber to build huts, but of the little we have discovered we have not

⁹ Presumably the islet designated «La Salina» on Kino's 1683 map.

¹⁰ This is Kino's shortened version of the Spanish Grandee's interminable title: Tomás Antonio de la Cerda y Aragón, Conde de Paredes, Marqués de la Laguna, etc.

yet seen any timber appropriate for ship building, although it seems that such will not be lacking in a higher altitude or along the west coast which is no more than eighteen to twenty leagues from here.

The natives here are of a quick temperament and of a morally sound character, of good stature, energetic and healthy, very cheerful, pleasant and jovial. The men wear only a feather head-dress; the women wear skins that reach from the breast to the ground. The natives' complexion is somewhat lighter than that of the Indians of New Spain. Recently a lad who came here to see us was of rather ruddy complexion.

Their sustenance consists of shell fish and land products, deer, rabbits, and birds; all of which abound. During the past few days, one of the soldiers, authorized by the Admiral,¹¹ went with his arquebus to the hill and in a short time came back with ten doves.

The natives' weapons are bow and arrow tipped with flint heads, but without poison, which is unknown to them. When we set up a shield as a target, they could not pierce it; the arrow would merely shatter into bits. They marvel and are frightened when we show them that the bullet of an arquebus penetrates two or three shields. Some of their leaders bring us flutes made from reeds and which hang from their necks, but which they use only in battle and hence they do not like our guitars, harps or flutes. They prize very highly knives and any object made of iron, necklaces, and all strings of bits of things or bright ribbons.

The women and children are very shy. Their language is not very difficult to learn; it has all the letters of the alphabet except «s» and «f», but they pronounce the sounds charmingly in the saving name of Jesus and similar words in Castilian, even though they contain the letter «s». They are inquisitive about anything they see, asking what we call it in our language.

We have sorely missed (and still do) an interpreter;¹² had we had one, we would already have been able to deal with them and have baptized many of them. We commend all to the Lord and trust all will turn out satisfactorily, even though it takes a

¹¹ Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón; see our Introduction.

¹² In the Introduction we have discussed the problem of interpreters for the California enterprise.

bit more time, since I do not think that there is a competent interpreter to be found in all New Spain or California.

Thus far was the letter written by the end of June; and I intended to send it by the *Almiranta* which at the time was to cross over to Sinaloa for provisions, inasmuch as the *Capitana* had not returned from the Yaqui harbor, although it had been dispatched from here on April 25th to fetch supplies. But in the war council held about sending the *Almiranta*, it seems that the soldiers did not like the idea of remaining without a ship in sight. Accordingly, there was a difference of opinion joined to a sort of discontentment due to the prevailing scarcity of provisions. All this led to failure in sending the *Almiranta* to Sinaloa.

And then as the Admiral was informed that an Indian had struck one of the soldiers with a dart but without drawing a drop of blood, he ordered the Indian to be put into stocks and hauled on board ship. This led to a violent disturbance among the Guaycuro Indians, who are most warlike.¹³ In the meantime the Coras,¹⁴ who are very peaceful and tractable and enemies of the Guaycuros, told us that the latter had slain one of our cabin boys who was missing after fleeing in recent weeks.¹⁵

About July 3rd sixteen Guaycuros — their leaders and the bravest warriors among them — came to us; numerous others remained on the hill. It was feared that they came to capture one of our men or to free their own prisoner. Since they came in guise of peace and dissimulated their evil intent, the Admiral ordered that they be given *pozole*, a dish they relish very much; and, as they were seated eating it, in accordance with the decision taken in the war council, the *pedrero* and the small artillery piece were fired at them, killing ten¹⁶ of them. The rest fled despite

¹³ On the Guaycuro Indians, see VENEGAS, *Noticia*, I, pp. 63-70; DUNNE, BRLC, pp. 443-446; CLAVIGERO, *Storia*, I, pp. 106-111.

¹⁴ Consult the references given in the preceding note.

¹⁵ The boy (Zavala by name, a mulatto drummer boy) fled but was not harmed by the natives; see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁶ BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 118, writes: «A moment later three of the Indians lay dead»; Bolton mistook a blotched «diez» for «tres». VENEGAS in his unpublished *Empresas*, pp. 42-43, says that two versions were recorded of the event: (1) that the Admiral ordered the canon fired on a group of attacking natives, resulting in the death of twelve of them; (2) that Atondo treacherously invited them to partake of some *pozole*, and, while they were thus entertained, had the canon fired point-blank at them. BURRILL in editing Venegas's manuscript under the title *Noticia*, took over the first version and softened it to: «mató diez o doce, e hirió a los otros» (*op. cit.*, I, pp. 163-164).

their severe injuries. Since then, we are filled day and night with apprehension and anxiety, especially because of our uncertainty about the flagship and the sloop. The last four days no Indian has been seen.¹⁷

Thus far did I write while in Guadalupe of California on July 7th, when we were discussing the dispatch of the launch with letters and to find out about the flagship and sloop. But it was decided not to do so, as the soldiers did not want to remain without any ship in sight. All of us sailed aboard the *Almiranta* to the coast of Sinaloa,¹⁸ where we shall endeavor to obtain sufficient provisions in order to continue with the enterprise.

I am leaving with Father Rentero,¹⁹ Vice-Rector of Sinaloa, twelve large mother of pearl shells and, to use your Reverence's expression, « not dwarf but giant size, » in order that he send them to you in Mexico City as soon as feasible, since in California there are whole piles of shells containing many pearls.

Your Reverence will be so good as to communicate these few news items along with many remembrances to Father Vidal,²⁰ to the Duchess of Aveiro, to Father Baltasar de Mansilla and to Father Procurator General.²¹ They will pardon my not writing to each one personally as I should wish to do. I am continuing with the composition of the history of the enterprise and shall be sending it to your Reverence.

May God keep you through years of happiness as I fervently desire.

From this port of San Lucas,²² July 27, 1683.

Devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

¹⁷ What follows is in Kino's hand.

¹⁸ San Lucas; see the close of the letter.

¹⁹ Father Francisco Rentero, born in Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, in 1637, entered the Order as a priest in 1674. On the completion of his Jesuit formation, he worked for many years (from 1678 or slightly earlier) in the Sinaloan missions. He died in Mexico City (at the major college of San Pedro y San Pablo) during the 1693 epidemic.

²⁰ Father José de Vidal; see the Index to this volume.

²¹ Father Pedro de Espinar, as we indicated in Letter 1.

²² In Sinaloa; see above, note 18.

XX

Kino writes to the Duchess from aboard the Almiranta at anchor in the harbor of San Lucas, Sinaloa, on August 12, 1683. He recalls previous recent messages to her. First Spanish settlement in California named for her. He asks her to promote the enterprise. He sends map. He expresses hope that the copies of the treatise on the comet have reached her; evil effects of the comet experienced in Mexico. Encomium of Duchess for generous assistance to and unflagging interest in missions. He forwards regards of others and sends greetings.¹

To her Excellency the Duchess of Aveiro and Arcos.
The Peace of Our Lord be with you!

I would rejoice in soul to know that this letter finds you and your good family, so devoted to Mary and held by me in deep affection, in the enjoyment of perfect health; mine is good, God be thanked; I should be happy to be at the disposal of your Excellency.

At the beginning of 1683, while we were in the port of Chacala² on the point of embarking in order to cross over to California, and at other times during the past months,³ I wrote to your Excellency. I should be happy to know that they reached you. I now ask your Excellency in behalf of the spiritual welfare of California to consider the enclosed letter as addressed to you personally and, after extracting whatever news there is of interest

¹ The entire letter (HM 9978) is in Spanish and in Kino's hand. It is listed with a few extracts in English in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 23.

² Kino's message (Letter XV of this volume) of November 3, 1682 was written from Chacala.

³ Kino's subsequent letters do not seem to have survived.

to you, to forward it to Father Assistant, Juan Marín,⁴ in Rome. Be so good as to pardon my ingenuous imposition.

We named the first and so far only settlement in the vast island⁵ of California Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.⁶ It is situated close to the port and extensive bay of Nuestra Señora de la Paz. The reason for giving it the best of names, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, I explained in my letter of last year, namely that this sovereign Lady deign to accompany us in all things with her heavenly gifts and graces. Hence, I also beg of your Excellency to regard this spiritual enterprise as your own, and to promote it in Madrid as your devoted and experienced prudence dictates, so that the mission and the ensuing conversion of the world's largest island, populated in proportion to its size, be notably advanced.

The natives of this island possess such good traits that it seems that nowhere else in the world can the royal stipends and holy zeal of Europe etc. be better spent than at present in this vast region of California. Truly «nature hath endowed these California Indians with noble souls.» Enclosed is a small map⁷ of a part of California, namely the port of La Paz and Real de Guadalupe and vicinity. Your Excellency will pardon its imperfection; perchance, by God's grace granted through the intercession of the most Blessed Virgin, Our Lady of Guadalupe, I may be able in time to send you larger and better maps.

I would be happy if you have received the booklets⁸ on the comet (or comets), whose manifold effects we have continued to witness and experience; but the Lord's will be done, who will grant us the grace of soon returning to persevere in our enterprise, which,

⁴ Kino could not know that at the time of writing this letter Father Juan Marín S. J. who had been assistant to the General for the Spanish Provinces from 1679 to 1682, had been replaced by Pascasio Casanueva. See Letters XIV and XXXIV.

⁵ See our Index under California.

⁶ See the Index under «Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.»

⁷ This map is not known to be extant; Kino's 1683 map of California (reproduced at the end of *Kino Reports*) is far more extensive than the one mentioned here.

⁸ Very few copies of the treatise (*Exposición Astronómica*, published in Mexico City in 1681) have survived: Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City, Huntington Library, British Museum, and a few other proud possessors. Noyelle acknowledged the receipt of the treatise in his letter to Kino, dated July 30, 1684; presumably this was one of the copies forwarded to Rome by the Duchess (*Kino Reports*, pp. 16-19).

as I repeat, I earnestly pray your Excellency will regard as your own, inasmuch as each one is entrusted with his neighbor,⁹ the most divine of all divine endeavors is to work strenuously and vigilantly in behalf of the neighbor's salvation,¹⁰ and of our neighbor has that divine saying been written: «Pay to him the debt which you owe me.¹¹»

And how great is the debt that we owe to our Creator and Savior, to Our Lord and eternal divine Love? I cannot answer and I keep silent; especially, since I am writing this letter to your Excellency whom we honor as the eminent teacher and mother of the misisonaries as also of the recent converts or of those still to be won over to our holy faith. It was with such sentiments that Saint Paul wrote:¹² «Through the Gospel have I begotten you.» «And the descendants of the descendants and those yet to be born of them»¹³ constitute a vast family.

Father Matías Goñi,¹⁴ who is my companion on this mission, earnestly commends himself to your Excellency. Likewise, the bishop of Guadalajara and California¹⁵ asked me months ago to do the same for him. He made me his vicar on this enterprise, and he asked me that when I wrote to extend to your Excellency his regards. On my behalf and that of the California Indians, take to heart our interests, not as something separate and disparate but as one and the same, or so closely identified as to form but one, since it is with the same affection that I wish to love their souls as my own.

Accordingly, I commend myself and them to my dear Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel. Daily at Mass I am mindful of the children and of your Excellency in virtue of the pact which we made in Spain.¹⁶

⁹ An allusion to Ecclesiasticus XVII, 12.

¹⁰ Kino frequently cites the saying; it is from Dionysius the Areopagite; see above, Letter II, note 19.

¹¹ The thought, but not the words, in Matthew XXV, 31-46.

¹² In his First Epistle to the Corinthians IV, 15.

¹³ Kino uses the non-scriptural phrase (I do not know its source) in the general sense of «future generations», «generations yet to be born», etc. He quotes most of the same passage (both times in Latin) in the Prolog to his *Favores Celestiales* (*Memoir*, I, p. 97).

¹⁴ Consult the Index.

¹⁵ Juan Santiago de León Garavito, bishop of Guadalajara from 1677 to his death in 1694; cf. ABZ IV, p. 9*.

¹⁶ See Letter III.

May Our Lord keep your Excellency and my dear friends in Christ Jesus through years of happiness, as I earnestly wish; and may He grant us bliss in this life and throughout eternity « in the plenitude of grace which descends from the Father of light.¹⁷ »

From this harbor of San Lucas¹⁸ on the coast of Sinaloa, on board the *Almiranta*, August 12, 1683.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J.

P. S. To my friend Don Pedro Corbete cordial remembrances from me and California.

XXI

Father Mansilla writes to the Duchess from Mexico City, August 13, 1683, acknowledging receipt of vestments for the Marianas and her portrait. The Manila Galleon is late. Summary of previous letter. Competent governor needed for the troubled Mariana Islands; various possibilities and recommendations suggested. Trade between the Philippines and the Marianas should be encouraged. Dishonesty of governors of the Philippines; oppression of the natives. Payment of bribery is the only effective way of getting supplies to the missions of the Orient. Mansilla forwards Kino's letter from California.¹

Your Excellency:

While your Excellency honors and enriches me so generously in my Mariana charges with such valuable vestments and your portrait,² to my keen disappointment you keep refusing to write me. If any fault of mine is the cause of this, my gratitude appeals to your kindness, and hopes for extenuation of its seriousness by reason of the desire which I entertain of being of service to the Marianas and through them to you.

Your Excellency, the Manila Galleon has failed us this year³ (it has undoubtedly reached port without our being notified), and

¹ The present autograph letter of Father Mansilla to the Duchess is not listed in the *Bibliotheca Americana*, but nonetheless is preserved in Huntington Library, in a different series from most of the other documents published in this volume; it is designated HM 22489. On the inflated style of the author see the Introduction, note 26.

² Presumably a self-portrait.

³ Word of its arrival reached Mexico City on January 13, 1684. On January 15th news came that two Manila galleons (*Santa Rosa*, the *Capitana*, and *San Telmo*) had put into port. See ROBLES, *Diario*, II, pp. 60-61.

¹⁷ Adapted from the Epistle of St. James I, 17.

¹⁸ Consult the preceding Letter, notes 18 and 22.

thus I have had no chance to come to the aid of those missions, for which I had already such abundant provisions. If the sloop⁴ has had a successful voyage, it will have made good the failure of the first. I trust in the Providence of the Lord that He will not forsake an enterprise which He has so much at heart.

By means of the dispatch boat which set sail in December of last year,⁵ I sent an account⁶ to your Excellency on the status of the plan to appoint a provisional governor by virtue of a royal decree that reached the Viceroy. I recounted how Juan de Zalaeta⁷ had been designated for the office, the motives for the appointment, and the good results which we could hope for both in the government of Manila and in promoting our Marianas, which Don Juan has ever held in special regard.

All this came to nought for lack of a ship and the appointment of Curuzeláegui.⁸ But even in the new governmental set-up, there is some hope for our cause, inasmuch as the same royal decree stipulated that in case adverse circumstances prevented the designation of a governor, the Viceroy was to appoint someone to make an official inquiry of Don Juan de Vargas's term.⁹ The one so appointed was to possess such qualities as his office demanded; further he was to be given as an assistant an expert in law and if need be the latter was to be rewarded with a councillor's robe.

The Viceroy thinking that he could not entrust the office to anyone more reliable than Juan de Zalaeta, inasmuch as for the exercise of his office the latter possesses the qualities which I indicated to your Excellency and through his acquaintance with the Islands he could deeply influence the new governor¹⁰ in promoting the Mariana enterprise, he appointed him to this office, and Zalaeta accepted as I advised him to do. His only motive for taking the position is his desire to help to the full extent of his

⁴ It did not sail until Saturday, January 14, 1683; the news reached Mexico City on January 23rd. Cf. ROSLES, *Diario*, II, p. 36.

⁵ See GARZÍA-ORTIZ, *Historia*, pp. 562-563.

⁶ The document is not known to be extant.

⁷ Notorious in Philippine history for his rigorous *residencia* (investigation) of Governor Juan Vargas (predecessor of Curuzeláegui); see MURILLO, *Historia*, ff. 343v-344.

⁸ He entered office as governor of the Philippines on August 24, 1684; the Audiencia succeeded him in 1689. Consult MURILLO, *loc. cit.*; COSTA, *op. cit.*, p. 600.

⁹ See above note 7.

¹⁰ Curuzeláegui; see note 8.

ability the Mariana Islands; convincing proof of this is that he is sacrificing his lucrative appointment to the governorship of Acapulco merely in the hope of promoting through his influence the trade between Manila and the Marianas. To this end Don Juan's close friendship with Curuzeláegui will stand him in good stead.

For my part, besides his good qualities and holy zeal that induced me to persuade him to accept the appointment, I was also moved to take the step on seeing that Curuzeláegui would go there most reluctantly¹¹ (an attitude that he still entertains) and that whatever change might occur, Don Juan¹² would be on the scene of activity and with one hand, as it were, on the governmental machinery.

The Viceroy has expressed his deep satisfaction at Don Juan's willingness, and is proposing him for that position, for which the latter has accumulated so many merits. I trust that he will add to these in his new position both in the official inquiry of Juan de Vargas's term as also in promoting our Marianas. And although I cannot fail to agree at present with this opinion, nor block the success which his merits and good fortune have secured, nonetheless the safest step and one based on reason and justice is in my opinion to prefer the governor of the Marianas Antonio de Saravia,¹³ since his military service is superior and of exceptional distinction; his actual governorship of those Islands characterizes Don Antonio as utterly devoid of all self-seeking and even of military renown, and desirous only of the glory of God and of the King. He has set a shining example to others so that those wretched Islands enjoy the governor which they need at the beginning. The office in the Marianas is but the stepping stone to the highly remunerative one in the Philippines; the first may be considered a sort of noviceship for the second, and not having any wealth to feed the flames of covetousness should teach governors to go with modest pretensions to the Philippines, where they will find so much to nourish this vice.

¹¹ His strenuous career as admiral of the Windward Fleet hardly prepared him for his new task; see MURILLO, *loc. cit.*

¹² Zalaeta; see above note 7.

¹³ The ship San Telmo brought him to the Marianas on June 13, 1681; he died as the result of the rigors of a campaign against the rebellious natives, on November 3, 1683. He was succeeded by Damían de Esplana. See GOBIEN, *op. cit.*, p. 301; GARZÍA-ORTIZ, *op. cit.*, p. 557; *Bibliotheca Missionum*, XXI, p. 52.

Your Excellency will pardon my boldness in allowing the desire for the welfare of both groups of islands to lead me to dilate on the means of promoting it, and I should wish to secure it even at the cost of my life, since I know from experience how many thousands of souls in them can be drawn to God and how many countries can be won over to Him through them, and that in both instances the objective is obtained by having good governors; and in securing such as are altruistic, one makes certain that they are good.

Your Excellency, with all deference do I express to you my most profound gratitude for the decrees which I received through Father Manuel Rodríguez¹⁴ in order to promote in every way trade between the Philippines and the Marianas,¹⁵ as also the free transportation of the supplies sent to the missionaries. If the first is put into effect, it will not be necessary to avail ourselves here of the second, inasmuch as only money need be sent to Manila where the provisions can be purchased, as I have explained to your Excellency. But if we fail in the matter of loosening up the trade, we will have to continue sending the supplies and pay as usual, regardless how many decrees are dispatched and how many orders the Viceroy issues for their compliance, inasmuch as the ship-captains find a thousand pretexts — the rare exception is a veritable miracle — to disregard the orders given, and the pretexts can be overcome, and space for supplies can be found, only on payment of the shipping bills.

We shall make use of this new weapon; we shall sharpen it carefully; we shall try to come to some agreement through a worthwhile sum and, failing to score complete success, we shall strive for partial success.

I am sending for a second time the report, which I sent in December, in which I gave a detailed account¹⁶ in reply to your Excellency's questions. Enclosed is also a map¹⁷ of the Marianas which could not be sent at the time.

¹⁴ Procurator in Madrid for the foreign missions (*Mex.* 3, ff. 155v-158).

¹⁵ Insufficient trade was allowed at the time between the two groups of islands.

¹⁶ See above, note 6.

¹⁷ See GÖTTEN, *op. cit.*, for contemporary Mariana maps.

I am also including in the present letter one by Father Eusebio Kino written from California to a Jesuit of this community,¹⁸ in which he gives an account of his entrance into that new country and its auspicious beginnings; also another letter from the Rector¹⁹ of Vera Cruz in which he reports as an eyewitness on the disastrous attack on that unfortunate city.

May Our Lord have pity on us and may He preserve your Excellency through long years in accordance with my wishes and needs.

Mexico City, August 13, 1683.

Most devotedly yours,
Baltasar de Mansilla S. J.²⁰

To her Excellency, the Duchess of Aveiro and Arcos.

¹⁸ Of the Colegio de San Gregorio which served as the school for Indians in Mexico City; Mansilla is here alluding to Kino's message of April 20, 1683 to Father Francisco de Castro (Letter XVII).

¹⁹ Bernabé de Soto S. J. His report was the main source for Alegre's account of the raid on Vera Cruz which began on May 17, 1683 (ABZ IV, pp. 44-54). Soto's report is preserved in several contemporary manuscript copies, one of which is in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico City (*Historia* 393; cf. ABZ IV, p. 49 n. 17); another copy is preserved in a private collection.

²⁰ See our Introduction, note 26.

XXII

Kino writes to the Duchess from San Bruno, California, December 15, 1683. He reports on the new entry from across the Gulf of California and meeting with friendly natives. Transportation of needed provisions. Marriage of native Mexican couple in San Bruno. Expedition inland. Baptism of first native Californian. Formal act of taking possession of the province of San Andrés. Second land expedition: discovery of numerous native settlements; attitude of the Indians. Reception by natives on return to San Bruno. Crops planted; bright prospects. Regards; greetings. Painting of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in the church of San Bruno.¹

Your Excellency, the Peace of Our Lord be with you and best wishes for the New Year!

On September 29th we sailed from the port of San Lucas on the coast of Sinaloa. On October 6th we reached this Río Grande² of California, where, thanks be to God, we found many Indians,

¹ This letter in Spanish (HM 9994) is almost entirely in the hand of an amanuensis; only the opening lines of greeting and the second page of thirteen lines, inclusive of the signature, are in Kino's hand. Brief as is this message, *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 24, asked £550 for it; nearly the entire letter is given in English translation (*loc. cit.*), and the first of the two pages is reproduced in facsimile in Plate III, opposite p. 22 of the same booklet. See our Introduction. The text of this letter agrees in considerable part with a document in the Jesuit Roman archives and published with an English translation in *Kino Reports*, pp. 80-85. Presumably the Roman copy was made by one of the Duchess's secretaries and forwarded to the Jesuit General; it omits the sections added personally by Kino, meant for the Duchess and her family. The letter is a brief summary with a few additions of the long report on the Second Voyage to California (text in *Kino Reports*, pp. 32-81).

² The Río Grande is shown on Kino's 1683 map. Both «Río» and «Grande» derive from Kino's boundless optimism rather than from the stream itself. It is better known as the Arroyo de San Bruno; see a photograph of it in BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 128.

all very tractable, most friendly, affable and docile. They come in all friendliness to visit us, inspiring us with the brightest hopes that they will soon be converted. It seems that all that is wanting for them to be baptized, is for us to know their language³, which we are learning with all diligence. We have also found excellent land to cultivate, and much pasture for the horses we brought.

On October 16th, the *Almiranta* left for Mazatlán and Matanchel to be repaired and to return with more people. Then, on October 20th, the *Capitana* set sail for Yaqui to bring us more supplies. In the meantime, a fort was built here on a slight elevation; and a small church and huts as comfortable living quarters for all were constructed.

On November 8th, a marriage of Indians of New Spain was performed. On the 20th, the flagship returned from Yaqui with all the supplies requested. It had crossed from here to Yaqui in two and a half days, and returned from Yaqui in thirty hours.

On the 22nd, we made an expedition inland of fully six leagues. We discovered water holes, friendly natives, smiling plains and excellent lands for planting, wood, groves, stone for building, and so on. And on this same day, a dying infant, the first Californian, was baptized in this fort; a few hours later, it took its flight for heaven.

On November 30th, possession⁴ was taken with all solemnity of this California and the Province which we called San Andrés.⁵

On December 1st, we set out on an expedition of eight days; going and returning, we covered fifty leagues, penetrating westward for more than twenty leagues.⁶ Thirty-five⁷ of us accompanied the Admiral. Half way,⁸ however, we came up against such a steep and high mountain that horses and mules could not get across. Hence, twenty-nine of us continued on foot.⁹ Nearly

³ See Letter III, note 28.

⁴ For the ceremonies of taking possession of California, see ABZ IV, pp. 57-59 (text of an analogous act at La Paz on April 5, 1683).

⁵ See Kino's 1683 map of California.

⁶ This expedition is recorded by Kino in considerable detail in his diary of the «second Expedition into the Interior of California». The text of the Spanish original with an English translation are found in *Kino Reports*, pp. 65-81.

⁷ See *Kino Reports*, p. 65.

⁸ On December 3rd (*Kino Reports*, p. 67).

⁹ Details are given in the same volume, p. 69.

everywhere we found excellent soil for planting, many water holes, pleasant valleys and plains, three lagoons of most abundant water and reliable information about a large river that empties into the sea on the western side; many and large *mezcales*, groves, tunas, wild tomatoes,¹⁰ sweet cassava,¹¹ numerous birds, deer, jack-rabbits, and so on. Best of all, we discovered infallible proof of many tribes and of many souls [to convert], as could be inferred from the recent traces left behind, the numerous large settlements, recent fires, the large number of *metates*.¹²

And though we noticed that at the first sign of us, all the natives scrambled for the highest crags in the mountains, one of their chieftains (a *Becari*,¹³ as they call their leader) in company with sixteen others came to speak with us in all peace and friendliness, putting their weapons on the ground and giving us permission to continue inland to the river. But the supplies did not suffice for more than the four days which it would take us to return. And as we gave these Indians gifts without harming or displeasing anyone, we trust that on other expeditions we shall find them even better disposed.

On our return to this fort, which was the feast of the Immaculate Conception,¹⁴ very many of the approximately five hundred who live in this valley and new Province of San Andrés, came to congratulate us on our expedition there and back, rejoicing over our success as if their welfare were bound up with it.

The maize which we planted is now grown and is supplying us with roasting ears. Also the melons, watermelons and squash are growing as if planted in Sinaloa. We have set out grape-cuttings, pomegranate and quince trees. Of all these, as also of souls, we promise ourselves, with heaven's favor, a better and more copious reaping.¹⁵

¹⁰ In Spanish «miltomates»; see SANTAMARÍA, *Diccionario*, p. 726: «Una especie de tomate silvestre, más pequeño que el común.» In *Kino Reports*, p. 82, the word was taken as two and translated accordingly.

¹¹ «Guacamote» in the original text; cf. *Kino Reports*, p. 82 n. 6.

¹² Quadrangular stones on which the boiled maize is placed and ground by means of a smaller stone held in the hand. An excellent description with numerous citations from Mexican literature is given by SANTAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, pp. 719-720.

¹³ See *Kino Reports*, pp. 82-83 n. 7.

¹⁴ Commemorated on December 8th.

¹⁵ What follows was written by Kino and is not found in the Román copy; see above note 1.

Your Excellency, with your holy zeal and most apostolic divine love for souls and the dissemination of our holy Catholic faith, will not forget in your fervent prayers, this mission and enterprise of California (or Carolinas¹⁶). I trust that on the return of the flagship which is now sailing across to New Spain, I shall receive word about the health of your Excellency, whose life may God preserve during years of greatest happiness, as I most ardently desire.

Neither on the day¹⁷ of the glorious apostle of the Indies and angelic Saint Francis Xavier, nor on the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin, our mother, did I forget what I promised to you. I have been daily mindful of your saintly family and dearest children, Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel,¹⁸ and I shall see to it, by God's grace, that to the very first whom, by heaven's favor, I shall baptize, I shall give your names in affectionate memory.

From this fort of San Bruno,¹⁹ on whose main altar is a fine and lovely picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe; from this new Province of San Andrés; from this land of California (or Carolinas), December 15, 1683.

Most devotedly yours.
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

¹⁶ In honor of Charles II of Spain; see above, Letter III, note 19.

¹⁷ Commemorated formerly on December 2nd.

¹⁸ Consult Letter III.

¹⁹ See Kino's 1683 map of California, and especially his plan of the settlement at San Bruno, drawn in the same year. The two are reproduced in *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, pp. 49 and 40 respectively.

XXIII

« An Accurate Report » of the California enterprise based on the letters of Kino and Admiral Atondo. Since the early years of the conquest of Mexico efforts have been made to extend Spanish dominion to California. Pioneer military leaders and missionaries. Chronological account of the 1683 expedition of Atondo accompanied by Fathers Kino and Goñi. Voyage from Chacala to California. Landing. Kino determines latitudes of several sites. Fauna and flora. Natives are slow in putting in an appearance; they are won over by the missionaries. Spaniards display penetrating force of field-piece to frightened Indians; salutary effect: less pilfering. Missionaries begin learning the language. Generosity of mainland Jesuit missionaries. Aged Indian unburdens his grief to Kino. Climate, land, crops, bright prospects. Short explorations inland. Few pearls found. Size of California: larger than Mexico. A third missionary joins the enterprise. May this region be added to the Spanish domains.¹

An accurate report on the entry made by the Spaniards under the command of Admiral Isidro de Atondo y Antillón into the large island of California on March 31st of this present year of 1683, compiled from two letters: the first, that of the same Admiral, written on April 20th, and the second that of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J., dated April 22nd; both written from the port of La Paz

The settling of the island of California has been a much desired goal ever since the conquest of New Spain, because of its vast wealth that consists in souls to be won and in the pearls which

¹ In the Introduction, note 27, we discussed « An Accurate Report ».

widespread belief attributes to its extensive gulf and which repeated observation of travelers to those regions confirms.

Both motives have attracted various explorers.² The first was the governor of New Spain, the Marqués del Valle, Hernán Cortés, hero of undying fame. Shortly after beginning the undertaking, he had to return because of an impending rebellion, which men in a newly won land only too readily foment; and, consequently, he could not effect what his great valor and good fortune offered to him.

After Cortés, many resolute leaders continued through numerous expeditions in their attempts of conquest. Their ambitious plans came to nought, either through unforeseen accidents or lack of foresight; all they brought back were reports about the various tribes which inhabit the land, about extensive oyster-beds in the countless islands of the gulf, and about some amber found along its beaches.

— 1 —

The first motive inspired some priests (both of the secular clergy and of several religious orders) to sail across the Gulf and enter the land in order to win souls. Others more intent on wealth, yet not completely neglectful of winning souls, fitted out ships at various times and at their own expense; according to their accounts, they sailed northward to almost 35 degrees³ in their attempt to discover vast riches in the land. Their efforts deserve praise but were, for the most part, unsuccessful and all their work was of little avail.

— 2 —

I think that the attempts at conquest have not been crowned with the desired success because they were not made under the exclusive economic control of our Catholic sovereign. It is he

² Consult the account of their voyages in WAGNER, *Spanish Voyages*; a brief summary is given in my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 269-276.

³ Actually, very much farther beyond 35 degrees. By 1683, several voyages had been made to Cabo Mendocino (about 40 degrees) and even Cabo Blanco (about 43 degrees) and beyond. Consult the index in WAGNER, *op. cit.*, and the map between pp. 388-389.

whom God has chosen in his Church as the champion of the faith; on his might rests the responsibility for the faith, and on his royal zeal depends its advancement.

On January 18th of this present year of 1683, the *adelantado* Isidro de Atondo y Antillón sailed out of the port of Chacala, in the province of Nueva Galicia and diocese of Guadalajara, in two ships of considerable tonnage and a sloop to act as tender to them, generously provided with men, munitions and food supplies. He had been commissioned by the Marqués de la Laguna, Viceroy and Captain General of New Spain, in conscientious compliance with the strict orders of his Majesty that no royal expense be spared when there is hope of effecting the good of souls, as this California enterprise promises.⁴ The Viceroy's conduct is in accordance with the religious spirit and interest which he inherited from his royal lineage. He gave orders that the Admiral be provisioned (and he was so provisioned) with all that was needed for ships and crews. He gave to the participants in the expedition various gifts for the natives: besides clothes, necklaces, trinkets and other items which prove in the case of the Indians the effective means of attracting them to God and the king.

They made their voyage with northwestern winds blowing almost head-on the entire time, tacking continuously for twenty days, until on February 9th they reached the port of Mazatlán.⁵ From here they came in thirty-nine days (on March 18th) into the harbor formed by the Sinaloa River. After a short respite, they continued their voyage for six days northward along the coast of Sinaloa to the latitude of the San Ignacio Islands.⁶ They veered to the windward side of these islands in order to cross over with the wind at the stern, or to be more exact, with the wind not so directly head-on and thus be able to sail through the powerful currents which rush with such violence from the strait or gulf of California into the Pacific.

From this point, on March 25th (the day on which the Divine Word began our redemption), they began (as we hope through the boundless mercy of God) to open up the way that leads to the salva-

⁴ These documents are preserved in the Archivo General de Indias (Patronato 31).

⁵ See my *Kino Reports*, pp. 80-81.

⁶ Consult Letter XVII.

tion of the countless non-believers who dwell in that land « within the shadow of death. » The *Capitana* and the *Almiranta* crossed over to seek out the coast of California. The sloop, in making the run from Chacala during a storm, reached Mazatlán minus its launch and hence could not accompany the two ships.⁸

When they reached a point half way across the gulf, they noticed that to the east they could view at one and the same time both the hills of San Ignacio⁹ (Sinaloa) and those in California; from this observation they deduced that the gulf at that point was only thirty-five leagues wide.

When they had almost reached California, having only a league more to sail, they used up three days to get by Cerralvo Island¹⁰ due to the violence of the currents and the opposition of the northwester.

From here they sailed eight leagues northwestward along the coast and entered with considerable effort the mouth of the harbor of Nuestra Señora de la Paz, so renowned in maps and sea charts. All the printed maps place it on approximately the 24th degree latitude; some manuscript maps on the 27th, others on the 26th and still others on the 25th. With the printed maps of Jansson¹¹ agrees the sea chart of captain Francisco de Lucenilla,¹² which locates the harbor at 24 degrees 10 minutes.

The eminent cosmographer, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, says that the mouth of the port is at 25 degrees less 5 minutes.¹³ This increases Isidro de Atondo's doubt stated in his letter whether they are really in the port of La Paz or in some other. In addition to the difference in latitude, Atondo bases his doubt on the fact that the Indians of the area do not understand a single word of the

⁷ A scriptural quotation often applied to unconverted natives; see my edition of *Piccolo*, p. 37 n. 4. The source of the citation is Lk. I, 78-79.

⁸ See BOLZON, *Rim*, pp. 101, 120-122. I think that the phrase in the Spanish text « con falta de la lancha » is a misreading for « con falta de la ancla ».

⁹ Cf. above, note 6.

¹⁰ So called from at least the time of Vizcaino's first expedition in 1596. It is the same as Ulloa's Isla de Santiago. Consult WAGNER, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 171. It is called Cerralvo today; see any good modern map.

¹¹ JANSSON, *Nuevo atlas*, appeared in Amsterdam in 1653; see PHILLIPS, *A List*, I, pp. 220-221.

¹² On Lucenilla's expeditions to Lower California, see ABZ III, pp. 294-295, and my edition of *Piccolo*, p. 273.

¹³ See his letters of April 20, 23, and July 27, 1683 (numbers XVII, XVIII and XIX of the present volume). WAGNER, *op. cit.*, p. 386 reproduces a manuscript map (drawn about 1632) which places La Paz at 26 degrees.

written vocabulary of the La Paz Indians' language brought by the Jesuits and recorded by other members of the Order during earlier expeditions to these natives.¹⁴

Another reason for Atondo's doubt is that all the reports of other expedition leaders say that the Indians of this port immediately paddle their canoes and rafts to the ships in demonstrative signs of friendship.¹⁵ On this occasion neither canoes nor rafts appeared; and for several days no natives were sighted on land.

Atondo tries to find a way out of the difficulty by supposing that perchance the Indians called Guaycuros, who according to reports of long ago waged war against the natives of La Paz, conquered the mainland area and port, and expelled or slew the latter. An indication making it probable that this is after all the ancient port of La Paz is the presence of the Cape of San Lucas, leeward, and the Point of La Porfía¹⁶ across from Cerralvo Island.

Whether this be the ancient port of La Paz or not, it will henceforth be so designated, just as the Admiral and Father Eusebio call it in their letters.¹⁷

On March 31st they entered the port of La Paz, just as they had concluded a pious novena to the glorious Saint Joseph.¹⁸ The bay is very extensive and according to comparative calculations made by Father Eusebio, very similar to that of Cadiz.¹⁹

¹⁴ Earlier Jesuits in the area were Jacinto Cortés (in the 1642 expedition of Luis Cestín de Cañas; see ABZ III, pp. 12-13) and the same Cortés and Andrés Vázquez (in the 1648-1649 Pedro Porter de Casanate expedition; see ABZ III, pp. 143-144). BANCROFT, *History of Texas*, I, pp. 174-175, and ENGELHARDT, *The Missions*, I, pp. 62-63, 653 (index), have a Jesuit priest by the name of Roque de Vega accompany Ortega on his 1636 expedition, and claim that he was the first Jesuit to set foot in Lower California. I find no end of difficulties with their claim. Ortega was licensed in 1631 and got under way for his first expedition to California in 1632 (from San Pedro on February 27, and from Mazatlán on April 5). No Jesuit accompanied him, either then or on his subsequent expeditions of 1633 and 1636; see WAGNER, *The Spanish Southwest*, pp. 240, 245, 248. Neither during those years or at any other time was there a Jesuit in the Mexican Province by the name of Roque de Vega. Bancroft and Engelhardt could cite ORTEGA, *Tercera demarcación*, to support their contention, unaware that the report is apocryphal, at least in great part. For a modern edition of the report see *Colección de diarios y relaciones*, IV, pp. 102-110.

¹⁵ So for example during the 1694 expedition of Francisco de Itamarra; see my edition of *Piccolo*, p. 273.

¹⁶ Clearly visible on Kino's 1683 map, on Scherer's tracing of his 1685 map, on Kino's 1695-1696 map, on Fer's 1720 copy of the same, etc.

¹⁷ Kino gives the port the same name in all of his maps.

¹⁸ See Letter XVII.

¹⁹ This interesting observation is not contained in the other letters of Kino published in this volume.

The next day,²⁰ April 1st, they sailed some five or six leagues farther into the bay. They cast anchor and went ashore in two launches. The landing party included the Admiral and the captains and pilots of the two ships. On shore they saw a large palm grove of more than half a league across, a spring of good water and pleasant tasting, and everywhere in the small tongue of land they found excellent drinking water. They did not encounter any California natives, although they did detect indications of their presence and their foot-prints. After gathering this much information, they returned to sleep on board the ships.

— 3 —

The next day, the 2nd of April and the feast of Saint Francis of Paula, all went ashore. They immediately fashioned a very large cross and set it up on a height. By thus planting there the standard of the faith, they wished to indicate their taking possession of that entire region in the name of the King of heaven and of Spain.

To ascertain whether there were any Indians in the mountain fastnesses, they left a few things to eat, such as maize and hard-tack, also some beads; after reconnoitering a bit of the surrounding country, they returned to the ships.

On April 3rd they again went ashore, and found untouched the objects which they had left there. This did not clear up the uncertainty they were in as to whether or not there were any natives in the immediate area. The two Jesuits, the Admiral, one of the captains and some of the soldiers ascended a hill; they could see no natives about, no houses, or anything else except some groves of trees and a lagoon that they judged to be fairly large. They returned to the ships.

Sunday morning after the celebration of Mass aboard the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta*, they proceeded in the launches further within the bay along an arm or estuary which extends for more than three leagues. The tip of the bay, according to what Father Eusebio Kino writes, is at 24 degrees 10 minutes; this

²⁰ The day by day account that now follows is substantially the same as that given by Kino in his letter of April 20, 1683 (number XVII); the reader is referred to the abundant notes given there.

seems to reconcile the difference of degrees assigned to this port in various sea charts.

On land they did not come across any natives, the motive of no little disappointment to those who have as their objective the winning of souls rather than the finding of pearls.

The evening of this same day, they cast a net and brought in a good catch of scups, robalos, sea-bass, harvest-fish, flounders of huge size, mullets and mojarras, and other varieties called toads, a poisonous fish, against which they had been warned. The catch supplied the parties of the two ships with food for nearly three days.

Monday they again went ashore. On a site near the palm-grove and the spring where they erected the holy cross, they began the construction of a small church and fort (or crescent) which they named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe after the sacred image of her whom they had designated as the true conqueror of all that land.

This was a precaution of the Admiral and other leaders taken after sighting smoke columns which they presumed might be signals summoning the natives to war. And although their presence consoled them with the assurance that the land had inhabitants, it also put the explorers on their guard and led them to fortify themselves with the trunks of palm trees cut down for that purpose. Instead of filling in with fagots, they employed the boxes of their supplies and the party's luggage so that, should the need arise, they would be able to use their fire-arms without exposing themselves to the arrows and spears of the Indians. In the crescent's sallyport which faces the church, they set up a bronze piece of artillery and two long-range stone mortars called *pedreros*. Thus fortified, they felt safe for the night.

Tuesday morning, while the soldiers were clearing one of the small hills and cutting timber to reinforce the fortification, they suddenly heard the shouts and the war-cries of the Indians heading for the spot where the Spaniards were. Alarm was sounded in the compound. All hurried to the fort at the moment that some thirty-five Indians of gentle appearance but well armed with bows and arrows and spears gathered a fair distance away. They formed in a crescent, and with signs and facial expressions indicated to the Spaniards to leave their country. The Admiral and captains (also by means of signs) gave the attackers to understand

that they had not come intent on war but peacefully, that they were to put their weapons on the ground and that the Spaniards would follow suit; but the Indians refused to do so.

Then the two religious of the Society of Jesus, Fathers Matías Goñi and Eusebio Francisco Kino, courageously went up to them and offered them some maize, hard-tack and *coscates* (which are strings of beads), and other trifles which they in their indigence prize highly. At first they did not want to accept the gifts from the Fathers' hands, making signs to put them down and they would take them. The Fathers complied. After tasting the hard-tack and eating the maize raw with a great show of delighting in its savor, they put aside their weapons, and, in all peace and calm, came up to the Fathers and accepted from their hands and from those of the other Spaniards whatever they offered, especially food, in particular maize, fish and water, all of which they apparently needed. The Indians by placing their hands on their stomachs and rubbing them rapidly made known their need of food. This was due not to an actual lack of provisions (inasmuch as they had brought with them pieces of roasted *mezcal*, a food which even in New Spain is considered a delicacy, and venison with which they repaid the Spaniards' generosity), but apparently because they had traveled a long distance that day and had reserved what provisions were left for the return trip, or because they wished to eat them at the water hole which the Spaniards had taken over.

Admiral Atondo remarks in his letter²¹ that he noticed that whenever some food was given to the Indians, although they ate part of it, they would take the rest to the hill and return making signs for more. This conduct led him to believe that they had secluded their wives and children, and would take them the food to share it with them.

It was almost nightfall before the Indians left. Satisfied as were our people by their visit, they could not rid themselves of suspicion and misgivings. No one is ever too much on his guard near the enemy or an unknown people. The members of the expedition continued the remainder of the day and all of Wednesday, April 7th, to fell palms and very large trees in order to build the fort.

²¹ Atondo's letter of April 20, 1683 (see the title of the present document).

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Thursday 8th, a very copious catch of fish was brought in. As the Indians did not return that day, some began to suspect them of evil designs — perchance, they were summoning others to come in greater numbers and overwhelm our people. The misgivings vanished Friday when eighty of them (most of them different from the first group) came, all of them with peaceful intentions and expressions of friendliness and sincerity. They showed the Indians an image of Christ crucified and of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, which they carried with them as the patroness of the enterprise. The natives manifested by their amazement on seeing the objects that they had never before heard about nor seen anything of the like.²²

At nightfall they returned to the hill to sleep. They came back the next day with greater familiarity and straightforwardness, dealing with the Spaniards with complete ease and even excessive freedom, pilfering some small items with incredible cunning. The Admiral on seeing that they were allowing themselves too great freedom, thought it best to inspire them with a bit of fear by a scheme that he devised.²³ He set up a shield called a *Chimale*,²⁴ made out of raw-hide and attached to a large frame of whale-bone found there. By signs he had them shoot at this target. The mightiest and strongest among them picked up their bows and, on shooting their arrows at the shield, scarcely scratched its surface; and some of the arrows shattered at the violence of the impact. They were amazed at this, since the arrows are so sharp and penetrating that ordinarily they pierce an animal through and through. The Admiral signaled for them to watch a display of the might of our arms. Apparently they thought that the arquebus was our bow, the ramrod was the arrow, and the worm took the place of the arrow-head. That they might see what a powerful weapon the arquebus is, he ordered ensign Martín de Verástegui to fire a clean arquebus shot at the *Chimale* shield. To make the Indians realize how much further the arquebus car-

²² Their reaction is also related by Kino (Letter XVII).

²³ Summarized in Letter XVII.

²⁴ Kino does not use the native term in his account (Letter XVII). *Chimalli* was the Aztec word used for shield by the Mexican Indians; see SANTAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, p. 389, under the commoner form «Chimal».

ries than their bows, the ensign withdrew six paces back of the spot from which they shot. The ball fired from the arquebus not only pierced the *Chimale* clean through but even the whale-bone frame to which it was attached. The natives came half dazed to see the shot and in their amazement asked for the arquebus ball to put on a spear point. They would put it there and then blow; it would fall directly at their feet. They thought that the arquebus's explosion was nothing more than a puff caused by the arquebus and that they could duplicate it. This experience intimidated them somewhat and checked the liberty which they had been taking. Now they no longer ventured to appropriate anything without consent of the Spaniards, and, if they did pilfer anything, on being ordered to return it, they would do so.

The Spaniards asked them by means of signs whether there were any river in the region. One of the natives understanding the question, set forth his answer as follows: he took a spear and pointing it steadily towards the west, began to run at a trot characteristic of the Indians and went around the fort one and a half times; then he pointed again at the sun to indicate that the river was one and a half times the sun's course away; the Spaniards concluded from this that they could reach the river by traveling one and a half days.

The Spaniards took a bit of salt in their hands, ate some of it and gave it to the Indians to taste. By signs they asked whether there were any salt in the country or whether they had any. The Indians tasted it and indicated that they were unacquainted with it.²⁵

At this point, they distorted their face, and putting hand to cheek and closing their eyes, they took their leave, thus indicating that they were retiring for the night.

— 5 —

The Admiral says in his letter that the Jesuits in their desire to learn the language of the California natives, went about with ink-well in their hand whenever the Indians were present. The

²⁵ Although Kino noted (Letter XIX) that on one of the islands in the bay, named by him Santo Tomás in honor of the Mexican Viceroy, there was a large lake of fine salt. Contrast the documents in my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 62-63 with BAEGERT, *Observations*, p. 190. See also below, Letter XXVIII.

Fathers would listen to their words and jot them down along with the pronunciation in order to acquire a knowledge of their language. He goes on to say that Father Kino is already beginning to understand it;²⁶ that it is a very distinct language and has all the sounds of the alphabet;²⁷ that the natives pronounce Spanish very clearly;²⁸ that they are very tractable, affable and merry; and that their children play and amuse themselves with our people with as much friendliness and unrestraint as though they had been brought up among them.

From such a promising start the hope is entertained that the religious of the Society of Jesus will be able to sow, disseminate and cultivate the holy faith among these tribes, as they have done so successfully everywhere, especially in the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, Sierra de Topia, Tepehuanes, Tarahumares and other tribes of this country,²⁹ resulting in the glory of the Christian cause and the increase of the Catholic fold.

— 6 —

Nearly every day more natives would keep coming. This was particularly so on Holy Thursday, April 15th, a day on which the Spaniards complied with the precept of the Church.³⁰ They received Communion with exceptional devotion in the edifice which they had constructed of branches and trees. After Communion forty Indians showed up, many of them different from any who had hitherto appeared.

On Good Friday the natives returned, all carrying a load of wood on their backs. Thus they give proof of their naturally good character and their desire to serve our people. The fact that they noticed on the previous day that the foremen bade them fetch wood, for which they were thanked and rewarded with some tri-

²⁶ See Letter III, note 28.

²⁷ Except those of *•f•* and *•s•*; see Letter XIX.

²⁸ Even the Spanish words containing the sounds missing in their own language; see the preceding note and Letter XIX.

²⁹ A complete list of the Jesuit missionaries working at this time among these tribes can be found in my *Misiones norteñas*, pp. 89-103.

³⁰ The accounts of Holy Thursday and Good Friday are evidently by Kino; see Letters XVII-XIX.

fles, now induced them to bring some, without being asked to do so, and merely out of a desire to please.

All the natives, the children in particular, repeat the prayers with a good and clear enunciation, and make the sign of the cross after the Fathers, who bring them together for prayer, although the Indians do not grasp the meaning of the words. But since God's presence is brought about by the mere physical uttering of the words contained in the prayers (as Saint Francis Xavier, apostle of India, stated), the prayer has the effect on the soul of softening and melting the heart; prayer may be likened to fire, which if the hands approach it, even without the person seeing it or being aware of its presence, gives off warmth and heat.

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At this point Father Eusebio Francisco Kino cites as proof of the tractability and friendly candor which they displayed in dealing with our people the following example.³¹ A gentle old Indian told them in his language, aided by signs which helped convey what he wanted to say, that he had five children. One of them, still an infant, had died a few days before. To have them understand that he had buried his son, he dug a hollow in the ground, took a small stick to represent his child, and buried it. The mere recounting of his grief assuaged it. The missionaries were consoled to witness the familiarity with which the natives deal with them, for in this way they communicate and reveal much else of their way of life; but to enter into full detail would take us too far afield.

Apparently their houses or settlements are situated several leagues inland. To discover them, the Admiral ordered an officer to take several soldiers and penetrate to the interior as far as they could without great expenditure of effort. From a high hill, at a point some three leagues away, they spotted in the distance some smoke columns. Although they could not make out any houses or settlements, they did behold beautiful plains, and, in the center of one, a lagoon.

³¹ This example is not recounted in Kino's other letters.

The climate is good and pleasant. The hills are covered with thick and high growth, where there is much wild game: birds, deer and rabbits. No doubt, in time, many other animals will be found in the thickets and woods.³²

— 8 —

The land and mild climate seem favorable to the cultivation of every variety of crops. According to their letters, they have already sown maize, canteloupes, watermelons and seeds which they had taken along of other plants. They are convinced by the presence of smiling meadows covered with grass that sheep, cows, pigs, horses and other animals could be raised. The Admiral has ordered that all such animals be brought over in the flagship, which is already at Yaqui,³³ the port for the Jesuit missions. The ship's personnel have written to say that the missionaries there supplied all their requests with generous liberality, as this Order knows how to do when it has the opportunity to advance the cause of God and of the king in all that promotes the spiritual welfare of souls.

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Some soldiers who, for diversion and out of curiosity, walked along the shore for a good distance from the fort, found many human bones in some caves which the natives use — so it has been argued — for their burial grounds. They also found the remainder of a grappling iron which was probably from one of the ships which in 1633 or 1634 sank in this port during the third expedition made by Ortega to California.³⁴

They also came across some mineral rocks, a discovery which points to the presence of metals in the Island; also numerous and large shells of mother-of-pearl which produce the pearls themselves, in which this gulf abounds, but which they have not seen. Nor do any of the natives whom they met have pearls, as the old

³² Piccolo gives a detailed report on the animals of California in his famous *Informe* of 1702; see my edition of his writings, pp. 66-68; cf. ASCHMANN, *The Central Desert*, pp. 93-97.

³³ See Letter XIX

³⁴ See above, note 14.

accounts relate with such emphasis. Possibly, those who dwell on the small islands of the estuary which one encounters in such large numbers on going northwestward, may have pearls, inasmuch as they are fishers who search for oysters for their sustenance; possibly, they have gathered pearls and are still in possession of them.

They also came across the skeleton of a whale, so colossal that a single jawbone measured three yards lengthwise.

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Admiral Atondo, in keeping with his profoundly religious spirit, believes that the principal motive that inspired the king to spend such huge sums on this expedition is the salvation of the precious pearls of human souls, in whose pursuit the divine Merchant³⁵ came on earth. He is firmly convinced, as he writes, that souls are first to be sought after in order, then, to find the pearls which the Lord usually grants by way of good measure.

They are awaiting the horses which are to come on board the flagship en route from Yaqui, in order to penetrate into the interior of the land, and cross over to the opposite shore at the port and bay of Santa María Magdalena,³⁶ twenty leagues distant, according to scientific calculation.

The entire vast Island of California measures, according to modern maps,³⁷ 1700 leagues lengthwise from the Cape of San Lucas³⁸ to Mendocino (the two extreme points from northwest to

³⁵ Christ; on the parable alluded to here, see Mt. XIII, 45-46.

³⁶ The bay has preserved its name to this day; see any good map of Lower California.

³⁷ So the Henry Briggs' map in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, 1625, reproduced by WAGNER, *Spanish Voyages*, as Plate XVIII, opposite p. 388. The legend observes: «California sometymes supposed to be a part of ye westerne continent, but scince by a Spanish Charte taken by ye Hollanders, it is found to be a goodly llande: the length of the west shoare beeing about 500 leagues from Cape Mendocino to the South Cape called S. Lucas...» The «Spanish Charte taken by ye Hollanders» was one based on the Carmelite Friar, Antonio de la Ascension's lost original made during Vizcaino's 1602 expedition. Until Kino can prove that Lower California is a peninsula and records it cartographically in his famous 1701 map, he draws Lower California very similarly to Briggs' map; whether he had at hand an early copy of Ascension's map or that of Briggs, it is impossible to decide. See Kino's 1695-1696 map reproduced in BOLTON, *Rtín*, pp. 272-273, and contrast it with his 1701 map published in 1705 (reproduced in my edition of Piccolo, after p. 484).

³⁸ At the southernmost tip of Lower California.

southeast); and it measures at the widest point, from the port of Francis Drake (next to Cape Mendocino), eastward by slightly northeastward, 500 leagues across.

There is a vast chain of mountains, snow-capped throughout the year and visible from the South Sea. The country is so extensive that it exceeds what has thus far been discovered in all of New Spain. What numerous nations must dwell there! What success in converting them can rightly be expected from the merciful Lord and from the untiring zeal of the apostolic sons of the Society of Jesus! Only three of them are accompanying this first expedition. They are Matías Goñi, a veteran missionary of Sinaloa; Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, eminent cosmographer and mathematician (these two are already in the port of La Paz); Father Antonio Suárez was supposed to cross over in the sloop;³⁹ but it reached Mazatlán in need of repairs. They are the three spiritual workers on this expedition who will prepare the way for many others who, fired with the same zeal, are longing and pleading to participate in the enterprise.

May Our Lord grant to our Catholic sovereign Charles,⁴⁰ in the midst of these times so disastrous for the nations which at such great cost he wishes to lead to the fold of Christ and the Church, the spiritual and temporal prosperity which his fervor merits for the glory of God and the increase of his Catholic empire.

O.S.C.S.M.E.⁴¹

Printed with due authorization, at the shop of the widow of Bernardo Calderón, Mexico City, Calle de San Agustín.⁴²

³⁹ Suárez did not cross over to California; he was replaced by Copart.

⁴⁰ Charles II of Spain.

⁴¹ *Omnia sub correctione Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae* (I submit all to the correction of Holy Mother the Church), a statement found frequently in Spanish books of the time.

⁴² Saint Augustine street; see any good map of Colonial Mexico City. The English translation of the *Relación puntual* has been made from the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City (Ms. 3/39); on the second of the two manuscript copies the source is indicated in the following words: «Estos y los correspondientes quadernos mandò o hizo copiar el R. P. Fr. Juan Augustin Morfi de los que el Exmo. S. Virrey Mayorga le franqueò del Archivo del Virreynato, que los repuso all año de 1783». I checked the two manuscript copies against the printed fragment of which there is a photostat in the Bolton Papers of the Bancroft Library and Rudkin's translation of the entire imprint.

XXIV

Kino writes to the Duchess from San Bruno, on October 25, 1684. His messages during the past three years. He receives precious incense figures used in the ceremony of his religious profession; no letter from the Duchess. Status of the California enterprise: favorable attitude of the natives, languages, reassuring promises from Mexico. Supplies brought by the Almiranta from Sinaloa; Kino and Indian boy make trip; impressions of latter. Second trip to Sinaloa for provisions preparatory to expedition across California to the west coast. Bright prospects for apostolate among the natives.¹

[Your Excellency:]

Since arriving last year in this country, I wrote to your Excellency from the fort of San Bruno in the Province of San Andrés,² and also during the past three years, whenever there was an opportunity, I sent an account to you.³

On August 10th, I received some very precious incense figures with your name on the package and addressed to me. Five days later they were used on the altar of Our Lady of Guadalupe for my religious profession.⁴ No letter, however, has reached me. I am grateful to your Excellency for your thoughtful generosity to me.

¹ This Spanish letter (HM 9979) is in the hand of an amanuensis; only the closing words and the signature are Kino's. The letter is listed with extracts in English translation in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 25.

² On December 15, 1683 (Letter XXII).

³ Written directly to the Duchess or forwarded to her by other recipients; see Letters XVII-XX.

⁴ Consult the facsimile of Kino's profession, made at San Bruno, California, on August 15, 1684, in the Spanish edition, p. 274.

In this country, your Excellency, and especially in this new Province of San Andrés and forts of San Bruno and San Isidro,⁵ where we have been residing for over a year, we have been enjoying, God be thanked, perfect peace. This very year, a stout fortification of stone with its bastions has been erected.

The natives of these military posts and settlements of San Bruno and San Isidro and many from the neighboring settlements of San Juan, San Dionisio and San Javier recite their prayers, partly in Castilian and partly in their own language, and daily sing the Salve.⁶ To baptize many of them, we need but learn a bit more of the two languages⁷ in use among them. From Mexico City the good news has reached us that the continuation of the enterprise is no longer called into question, and they have no intention of ordering our withdrawal, as some feared.

The great zeal, as is evident to the entire world, with which your Excellency endeavors and desires to secure the welfare of the souls of all, inspires us with the hope of obtaining from your holy charity the protection and most gracious assistance, with the consequence that soon in such a ripe harvest as that of this extensive country of California (or Carolinas⁸) we shall, with heaven's favor, be able to baptize many name-sakes of Gabriel, Joaquín and Isabel. They with many others, in this and the next life, can be witnesses of the signal devotedness and charity of your Excellency.

On August 10th the *Almiranta* arrived here, and at the end of the same month, crossed over to Yaqui⁹ to bring back horses. I sailed on board in order to reach the Yaqui missions,¹⁰ where I could secure some assistance for these natives. A Californian by the name of Eusebio asked me to accompany me. He was thrilled to make the trip and, as he was the first of this land to leave it, on his return, had so much to relate about those missions

⁵ A short distance upstream from San Bruno; see map (Figure 5) by Ives, *Kino's Route Across Baja California*, p. 24; later Salvatierra founded the mission *visita* of San Juan Londó on the San Isidro site (*op. cit.*, p. 21).

⁶ From the earliest days the natives were taught the Sign of the Cross (Persignum), the Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed and the Salve Regina (Hail Holy Queen); see *Descripción del arzobispado de México hecha en 1570*, p. 70.

⁷ Edu (Monquí) and Didiu; cf. BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 130-131, 227; DUNNE, BRLC, pp. 443-446.

⁸ See the Index of the present volume under « Carolinas ».

⁹ Harbor at the mouth of the Yaqui River, Sinaloa.

¹⁰ We have listed these missions in *Misiones norteñas*, pp. 89-103.

and the good treatment which he received everywhere that the natives here have become favorably disposed towards everything Spanish and what we have come to teach them. For this reason, four others gladly went aboard the *Almiranta* when on September 27th it crossed a second time for horses, so that by heaven's favor we can soon make a second long expedition and penetrate as far as the opposite shore, which is probably some fifty leagues away.

All the friendly natives of these regions where we live, both children and adults, keep telling us that in the interior of the country there is a river with full stream, there are many plains, reeds, much grass, many deer and other game, that the area is cooler, and that adjacent to the river there are many settlements with numerous inhabitants. This is the much longed-for harvest that we have ever promised ourselves in this the world's largest island.¹¹ I repeatedly commend it to your Excellency, praying by the most precious blood of Him who shed it for the good of so many souls, that you deign to assist them by coming to their aid, and promote their conversion by the most efficacious means which your heaven-inspired zeal is acquainted with and can apply. This enterprise remains most devoted to you and to your every wish.

God keep your Excellency in the enjoyment of perfect health as I desire and need.

Fort San Bruno, California (or Carolinas), October 25, 1684,

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino S. J.

To her Excellency, the Duchess of Aveiro, etc.

¹¹ See our Index under « California ».

XXVI

Kino writes two letters to the Duchess from San Bruno, California, on December 8, 1684. In the first, he reports on the provisioning of the California settlements from across the gulf. Projected expedition to the west coast. Building at San Isidro, the second Spanish settlement. Friendly attitude of the Indians; prospects for their conversion. Thanks for gift; no letter received from the Duchess.¹

[Your Excellency:]

The fact that no other ship but the *Almiranta* has come to California (or Carolinas²) has forced us to postpone the expedition which we planned for the months of October and November until the present, when during these months of December and January, we shall undertake it. The transportation from Yaqui of seventy horses and mules has necessitated four crossings of the *Almiranta*. Several of the natives of this country (both Edues and Didius) have enjoyed taking part in all four trips both going and coming.

In the meantime, at San Isidro,³ a site three leagues inland, another fort has been constructed. Its garrison has built a large and roomy structure for the supplies to be taken on the expe-

¹ This Spanish letter (HM 9976) of Kino to the Duchess is in the hand of a copyist. Kino added in his own hand the next message (Letter XXVII), which begins on the second sheet of the first letter. Both are listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 27, where a few brief extracts are given in English; see also BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 601.

² On this overland expedition to the west coast of Lower California, see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 182-190; IVES, *Kino's Route Across Baja California*, pp. 17-29. For our discussion of the expedition in the Introduction, we have drawn on Atondo's unpublished diary.

³ See above, Letter XXIV, note 5.

dition: for forty to fifty days, and to be carried by eighteen pack-mules. At the fort of San Isidro was also erected a small church where Mass can be said with reverence; likewise a sufficiently large dwelling for a priest.

All the necessary supplies for the expedition are now being transported and stored at San Isidro. And so within two or three days, just as soon as we have sent back the *Almiranta*, we shall, by God's goodness, be starting off on the expedition. The Admiral, thirty armed men, ten to twelve servants (Christian Indians from the Mayo valley⁴) and more than thirty pack-animals will make up the expedition. Twenty to thirty of the natives will accompany us; they are so friendly that they have been of the greatest assistance to us on such occasions, as also in all the building that we have undertaken. Several times, too, they have brought us, in all friendliness and good will, our animals which had strayed, thus inspiring us daily with ever higher hopes of their eternal salvation and that for them the most precious blood of Our Redeemer was not shed in vain.

Your Excellency, this letter is being forwarded to you by the *Virreina*, Condesa de Paredes. In another letter⁵ which Father Francisco de Florencia is sending to you, I have expressed my gratitude for the incense figures which on the day of my religious profession⁶ were burned on the altar of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. I have not yet received any letter from your Excellency. Assurance that you are enjoying good health, as I desire, would afford me great joy.

May Our Lord grant to your Excellency years of happiness as I wish for you.

Fort San Bruno, California (or Carolinas), December 8, 1684.

[Devotedly yours]
[Eusebio Francisco Kino].

⁴ Along the Mayo River, Sinaloa; see the map in DECORME, *Obra*, II, p. 320.

⁵ See the preceding letter.

⁶ Made on August 15, 1684.

Kino writes a second letter to the Duchess from San Bruno, California, on December 8, 1684, where he has just returned from San Isidro. He implores support for California enterprise. A third missionary for California. Few baptisms: reason. Difficulties: drought, opposition in Mexico (few pearls gathered; enterprise costly). Answers to difficulties. Map and new report will soon be on their way.¹

Your Excellency:

I have just come from the new fort of San Isidro,² where today on the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, I said the Mass, as promised years ago to celebrate for your intention, as I likewise did on the feast of the glorious apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier; and by heaven's favor in the same way I shall continue to say these Masses every year of my life, giving a remembrance in the other sacrifices of the Mass and unworthy prayers to your Excellency, the devoted mother of our missions, and to your dear children Gabriel, Joaquín and Isabel, and to all of your family so devoted to the sovereign Queen of heaven.³

By her love I plead with your Excellency to deign in your apostolic zeal, inspired from heaven, to help and promote this undertaking and conversion of the Nuevas Carolinas (formerly California), even interceding, if necessary, with his Catholic Majesty (whom

¹ This autograph Spanish letter of Kino to the Duchess is designated by the same number as the preceding message: HM 9976; see the preceding letter, note 1.

² See the preceding letter.

³ On Kino's promise to remember at mass the intentions of the Duchess and her family, see Letters III, IV, etc.



BOCA DE POI

OCEAN

STATUTE

NIAL STREAM:

God protect) and with the royal officials who are in charge of the financial assistance and other aspects of such enterprises.⁴

For the same purpose⁵ I am writing to Mexico City to Father Juan Bautista Copart⁶ (the third missionary in this new mission field with its abundant harvest), namely in order that by no means any attempt be made to abandon these natives, so numerous, so docile and so friendly. It would seem that the enemy of mankind is trying to make them his own, and conjures before the eyes of many I know not what obstacles, with the result that there will always be some who lose courage in continuing what ought to be of such great honor and service of God and the king.

During the fourteen months that we have been in this region, we have baptized five natives: three infants and two adults, all on the point of death. Four of them died a few hours after baptism and one or them is in good health.

The harvest, God be thanked, is now so abundant and so mature that as soon as the decision from Mexico City reaches us that the enterprise is to continue, very many can be baptized.

The difficulties which are accentuated in proportion as the time of the natives' conversion nears, amount to this: it has not rained all year, and they think that such a country must be very unproductive. But neither has it rained in Sinaloa, Yaqui and Mayo,⁷ where there is a scarcity this year of produce; and, yet, not for all that, are these regions considered uninhabitable. Rain has fallen in the interior of California, and on our expedition⁸ we shall discover, by heaven's favor, very good lands, although it is true that on the coast where we are they are not so good, and hence some have been writing reports to discourage the continuance of the enterprise.

Another difficulty which they allege is this: in Mexico City they were expecting a large quantity of pearls to cover the expenses incurred by the royal treasury. Although there are many pearls here, that is, there are many beds of pearls along the coast,

⁴ Presumably, the *Memorandum* (Document XXXVII) in the Duchess's hand was the result of the present and subsequent requests on the part of Kino in his effort to save the California enterprise.

⁵ Likewise in order to save the California enterprise.

⁶ See Letters XII and XXIII.

⁷ Consult the map in DECORME, *Obra*, II, p. 320.

⁸ See the preceding letter and the first paragraph of the present message.

only a few have been sent and are being sent. The reason is that we have not been devoting ourselves to hunting for pearls but to the erecting of forts and the building of houses, to the learning of new languages⁹ with the serious effort which they demand, especially since we have had no interpreter. It was for all this that we were sent, it would seem, not to hunt for pearls. Divers will be able to gather pearls just as soon as they are sent here; the natives do not set any value on them: they remove a few from the shells which they roast for their sustenance, and are wont to give several of them for one knife.

Nonetheless, God is mightier than all opposition. Your Excellency, as I beseech you and as I have pleaded so frequently, will cooperate, I am sure, with the Divine Majesty in a work the most divine of all divine undertakings, as Dionysius¹⁰ states, and thus I trust your Excellency will have in the missions of the West as many witnesses of your great charity and apostolic zeal as you have in those of the East: all those who have been baptized and brought by your maternal love and goodness to the fold of our holy faith to the honor and greater glory of His Divine Majesty.

God keep your Excellency in true happiness through many years as I desire.

From Fort San Bruno, December 8, 1684.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

P S. The map which I promised to you of this region¹¹ will be sent through heaven's favor by the very first boat along with the report of the entry.

⁹ Consult Letter III, note 28.

¹⁰ See Letters II and XX, and the Index, under « Dionysius ».

¹¹ In the Spanish text « destas tierras »; this map is not known to be extant. Kino's geographical knowledge at the time of writing this letter is recorded in the redrawn map of California and the Mexican mainland as published by his professor Heinrich Scherer; the map has been reproduced almost countless times (e. g. BOLSON, *Rim*, pp. 192-193).

XXVIII

*Kino's account of the second expedition into the interior of California early in 1685. The Indians proved friendly; numerous native settlements were discovered. The Sierra Giganta blocked all effort to cross over to the opposite shore and forced the party to reconnoiter southward.*¹

An account of the Second Expedition southward into the interior of California (or Carolinas) during this present year of 1685

On February 16th the following expedition set out from Fort San Bruno: the Admiral, Father Pedro Matías Goñi,² twenty armed soldiers, four Christian Indians from Mayo,³ and many friendly natives, furnished with provisions for twenty-five days and with the intention of crossing over to the port and bay of Santa María Magdalena⁴ on the opposite shore, to see, if perchance, along the southwestern route they could find better lands for

¹ This Spanish account of Atondo's attempted expedition across the peninsula from February 16th to March 6, 1685, is not, as the *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 28, claims, an « Autograph Manuscript entirely in the hand of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino », but as BOLSON, *Rim*, p. 801, indicates, « Unsigned. Apparently not in Kino's hand, but clearly written by him ». The manuscript is only a fragmentary account of an expedition in which Kino did not participate. For our discussion of it in the Introduction we have consulted Atondo's complete diary. BOLSON, *Rim*, pp. 190-193, draws on Kino's account for his delightful chapter « The Giantess Bars the Way ».

² For Goñi's participation, see BOLSON, *Rim*, p. 193.

³ Consult the map in DECORME, *Obra*, II, p. 320.

⁴ On the west coast of Lower California; the name has been kept through the centuries; consult any good map of the area.

planting and for founding Spanish settlements. But as the Sierra Giganta⁵ proved so rugged that they could not scale it, they were forced to stay to this eastern coast.

Descending along the bay of San Dionisio,⁶ they traveled some twenty leagues southward and discovered many settlements with numerous people of good stature and of gentle, tractable and affable nature, who gave fish to our party, also roasted *mezcales*, which at present are their principal sustenance, and they went along pointing out the trail to follow. The natives received some wares furnished through royal bounty and some of our food, sandals, cloth and necklaces, and were delighted with the treatment accorded to them.

Most of these settlements speak Eduan; some of the natives speak the Nube⁷ language of the Guimes⁸ and many speak both.

Their sustenance is the *mezcal* and an abundance of shell-fish, fish and oysters.⁹ Many varieties of shells, specially very large mother-of-pearl shells which are in evidence show that there are many beds of pearls. May it please Our Lord, who can make use of all things for the spiritual good of so many souls, that the four divers who are coming over on the flagship [find many pearls].¹⁰

The party learned on this expedition that the inhabitants of these settlements had better dwellings and huts than had thus far been seen in all the rest of the country, although those who sailed on the sloop some twenty months ago said that in passing close to the Cape of San Lucas¹¹ they saw some huts there of good size and better construction. They also found a salt pit and brought back to San Bruno some very fine salt.¹²

On one occasion when there were some clouds in the sky which presaged rain, the natives who live on shell-fish and fish

⁵ See the map in Ives, *op. cit.*, 24; and my study, *A Forged Commentary*, pp. 570-571.

⁶ On the east coast of Lower California, about 20 miles south of San Bruno; cf. BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 131.

⁷ Obviously a dialect or variety of the Cochimi language. «Nube» is the spelling of the one known manuscript; BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 130, read «Nebe».

⁸ Commonly called «Cochimies»; consult ABZ IV, p. 594 (index); DUNNE, BRLC, pp. 443-446.

⁹ On the food of the Indians, see ASCHMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-105.

¹⁰ This seems to be the obvious meaning of the incomplete sentence in the manuscript: «Con los 4 buzos que trae la Cappitana que seran servido nuestro Señor que todo sirva para el bien Espiritual de tantas almas».

¹¹ Presumably in Lower California; see Kino's map redrawn by Scherer (reproduced in BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 192-193).

¹² See the Index to the present volume.

do not seem to like heavy rain showers, and, accordingly, asked our party to scatter the rain-clouds, evidently considering our people gods descended from heaven, as they did on the previous expedition.

The settlements, discovered in the region over a distance of some thirty leagues of the outgoing expedition, were named as follows: 1. San Sereno. 2. La Concepción. 3. San Simeón. 4. Los Mártires del Japón. 5. Santa Agata. 6. San Pedro. 7. San Matias. 8. San Ignacio. 9. San Francisco Javier. 10. San Valerio. 11. San Francisco de Borja. 12. San Agustín. 13. San Nicolás de Tolentino. 14. San Jerónimo.

Many of these settlements usually had 200 or 300 and 400 and more inhabitants. Besides these settlements with their many inhabitants, there were discovered on this expedition some excellent sites, several water-holes with good water, several areas covered with reed-grass, mesquites, *magotes*,¹³ palms, and delightful beaches from which to fish, fish and every sort of shell-fish, turtles and tortoise-shell and very large pools of water, sedge and quarries for arrow-heads.

But the most precious pearl which is to be found in these mountains is the tractability, gentleness and peacefulness of the natives, which is so marked that during this expedition a soldier slew one of them and yet on the day after the death the other natives brought gifts of fish and *mezcales* to the soldiers. And ten or twelve days after the death, the ship reached the bay of San Dionisio, and the Spaniards, not knowing about the death that had occurred and without any misgiving, sent ashore a cabin-boy with letters for this fort of San Bruno.¹⁴ Those natives not only did not do any harm to the cabin-boy but they went along to show him the route, accompanying him for the eight or nine leagues; and because he was tired out for lack of water, they hurried ahead to San Bruno and asked for some water to take to him, and they rushed it back to him in order to refresh him by this means: all with great affection and peacefulness as one could hope for from close friends and Christians.¹⁵

¹³ Cf. SANTAMARÍA, *op. cit.*, p. 679: «Magot. Nombre vulgar sonorens del palo de la flecha. A veces también se dice mago».

¹⁴ BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 192, summarizes Atondo's detailed account of the slaying of the Indian, one of a group of 40 natives who ambushed the Spanish explorers.

¹⁵ Consult Letters XXII and XXIV.

XXIX

Father Baltasar de Mansilla writes to the Duchess from Mexico City on March 13, 1686, expressing gratitude for her generosity to the Mariana missions and disappointment at not hearing from her. Father Solá has come to succeed Mansilla as treasurer of the Mariana missions. Cowardly conduct of the governor of the Islands made rebellion possible. Quiroga prevents disaster from spreading. News from the Chinese missions: favor of the Emperor, French bishops, Propaganda Fide. Kino is in Mexico City in order to save the California enterprise; he is favored by viceregal couple. Status of New Mexico after the disastrous revolt: efforts of the Franciscans to effect complete restoration; opposition. New field opened in northern Mexico to missionaries. Mansilla sends a dozen fans as a small token of gratitude.¹

Your Excellency:

Put ever more frequently to the test the constancy of my deferent gratitude,² yes, even to the point of denying me the supreme happiness of your letters. For although the privation of your messages is a severe trial, nonetheless so deeply imprinted in my soul is your kindness towards me and the care you expend on my Mariana Islands³ that I consider my gratitude as a most obvious debt to be paid, and I go on to imagine in my daring vanity that your failure to write is a proof of reflexion rather than of forgetfulness.

¹ A Spanish letter (HM 9969) written and signed by Father Baltasar de Mansilla. It is listed with a few extracts in English in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 30. On the writer of the message, see above Letter XI and the Introduction, note 26.

² On Mansilla's inflated Gongoristic style, see our Introduction, note 26.

³ Consult the Introduction.

Your Excellency may qualify me as forward, overbold, vexatious, one who wearies you with unceasing and boorish missives. But if I cannot express my deferent gratitude in any other way, nor declare my status as your devoted chaplain and servant, is it right that I should omit proclaiming my debt because doing so does not diminish the vastness of the obligation? Your Excellency, thus do we poor pay off our debt to God, and since we are as hopelessly indebted to Him as we are to you, He is fully aware when He puts us into His debt that His greatness neither stands in need of any other payment, nor does our poverty allow us to make any other.

Your Excellency, I have given to you an account (which I here repeat) to the effect that on February 2nd of last year I handed over the procuratorship to Father Majino Solá who, at the bidding of holy obedience, came to replace me;⁴ I say that I handed over the administration to him but not the interest which I shall ever preserve as long as I am in this country. I shall always willingly devote myself to the Marianas and the apostolate there as I have done in the past to the extent that the Procurator cared to use me and my ability to come to its assistance and relief attained.

Your Excellency, you will learn from the gazette enclosed with this letter about the tragedy which has befallen your Marianas through the carelessness of its governor.⁵ But you will also recognize the Providence of God in their regard by His maintaining there our devoted Don José de Quiroga;⁶ he alone kept evil from scoring a complete victory, and will not only repair the harm done but will promote the progress of the Islands if he is their governor. He has proven himself their rescuer; and, to the valor of an outstanding soldier, he knows how to unite Christian principles and unselfishness, a quality so fundamental, especially in

⁴ He had replaced Mansilla in February of 1685. On November 3rd of that year the Jesuit General (Noyelle) wrote to Mansilla: «Quedo advertido que el P. Magino Solá es successor de V.R. en el officio de Procurador de Filipinas, en que está desde Febrero». On the same day he wrote to the Mexican Provincial, Luis del Canto: «Quedo advertido que llegó de Filippinas el P. Magino Solá a suceder al P. Baltasar de Mansilla en el officio de Procurador de aquella Provincia» (*Mer.* 3, ff. 254v, 280v).

⁵ As we indicated above, Letter XXI, note 13, Antonio de Saravia was succeeded as governor of the Marianas on November 3, 1683 by Damián de Esplana; it was the latter's second term. When Esplana died on August 16, 1694, he was succeeded by José de Quiroga. Consult *Gobien*, op. cit., pp. 292, 388.

⁶ See the preceding note.

newly converted areas where bad example destroys what the sword conquers.⁷

In the ship about to weigh anchor in the harbor of Acapulco, I am sending generous assistance. Would that the dispatching of soldiers were also left to me, so that I could have some say in providing them with all that experience has taught me they need in the present circumstances.

Your Excellency, from Manila and its islands I have received no reports of conversions, but rather of uprisings, clashes and dissensions; all of which not only delays the winning over of the natives but even keeps those already Christian from practising their faith. Should your Excellency wish to see the gazettes, ask Father Luis de Morales⁸ to give them to you, since others write to him in all candor, and send them to him in the hope of finding a solution to their problems.

Your Excellency, in China our missionaries and those of other religious orders have an abundant harvest to bring in — but how few are the laborers! Our understaffed Philippine Province deprived itself of four workers to send to the Chinese missions.⁹ The French bishops who prevented the cultivation of that vineyard have now all passed on.¹⁰ A new one, a Franciscan,¹¹ sent by Propaganda,¹² has made such a good start that we are hoping, by God's grace, for exceptional progress.

⁷ On this period of Mariana history, see GOBIEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 353 ss.

⁸ Luis de Morales S. J., as procurator (representative) of the Philippines had gone to the courts of Rome and Madrid; see GARZÍA-ORTIZ, *Istoria*, p. 557; COSTA, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

⁹ The four Jesuits of the Philippine province who went to China were: Ignacio de Montes (his real name was Walter Sonnenberg), Juan de Irigoyen (often spelled Yrigoyen), Francisco Gayoso and Carlo Giovanni Turcotti. The first three arrived in Fukien province in 1678, and the last came to Macao in 1680. Montes died on July 30, 1680. Irigoyen and Gayoso left China and returned to the Philippines in 1686. Turcotti, the lone survivor, became a great missionary and church-builder in Kwangtung province; visitor of the Japan and China areas, 1698-1701; named by the Holy See Apostolic Vicar of Kweichow and titular Bishop of Andreiville (1696); died on October 15, 1706. Father Francis Rouleau, S. J., kindly furnished this information on these four missionaries.

¹⁰ Mansilla is referring to François Pallu, who died at Fukien on October 29, 1684; see WYNGAERT-MENSAERT, *Sintca Franciscana*, V, p. 94 n. 1.

¹¹ Mansilla has in mind Bernardino della Chiesa O. F. M., who had been named coadjutor to Pallu and was appointed his successor; see *op. cit.* V, pp. 814-817 (index).

¹² Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the ecclesiastical ministry or department for the promotion of the foreign missions.

Your Excellency, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who is at present here in Mexico City attending to the California enterprise,¹³ will give you a complete account of the status of California and inform your Excellency how much the viceregal couple are helping him.¹⁴

As to New Mexico,¹⁵ all that I can report to your Excellency is that the Franciscan Custodian¹⁶ and his fervent religious are actively engaged in winning back the province; but the civil authorities who governed there (and in particular the one responsible for its loss) are unleashing, through their statements and influential contacts, a frightful campaign against the conduct of those upright missionaries and the means they propose for the recovery of the territory. In my humble opinion these means are practical, reasonable, Christian and indicative of their zeal for the interests of God and the king. I have striven to cooperate with their program and I trust that God and the zealous Viceroy (who is so devoted to the cause of the missions) will find the way to restore the light of the Gospel to that vast kingdom.

In the provinces of New Spain where our missionaries are working, new areas have been discovered with natives yet to be converted. During the rule of this Viceroy more than a dozen missionaries have been appointed to work in these new regions, all of them attaining marked success.¹⁷ Each of them has entire provinces of natives, where until now the dawn of the Gospel had not yet appeared. God be thanked for deigning to give proof of His mercy towards these natives and to make use of us in applying the all precious merits of His blood. And through it may none of the many tribes which are buried in the darkness of their ignorance fail to enjoy the light of the Gospel, and may we become the worthy dispensers of that truth. May He keep you in perfect health, as I unceasingly pray, in order that you assist these

¹³ The California enterprise had been suspended, not to be effectively resumed until Salvatierra's entry in October of 1697; see BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 226, and my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 470-471 (index).

¹⁴ These letters are mentioned by Kino in his message to the Duchess written on July 19, 1686; cf. below, Letter XXXI.

¹⁵ He is alluding to conditions in New Mexico after the disastrous revolt of 1680; see above, Letter XVI, note 7.

¹⁶ He was Fray Francisco de Ayeta; see BANDELIER-HACKETT, *Historical Documents*, III, p. 512 (index).

¹⁷ Consult ABZ IV, pp. 81-82.

heaven-inspired enterprises, as you are doing, and as I more than any other stand in need.

Mexico City, March 13, 1686.

Most devotedly yours,
Baltasar de Mansilla S. J.

P. S. Your Excellency, even at the risk of a reprimand, I am sending to you by Reverend Father Custodian¹⁸ a dozen fans packed in a box. This deferential presumption is an expression of my devotion and the evidence of my poverty.

¹⁸ Francisco de Ayeta; cf. note 16.

XXX

Father Mansilla writes to the Duchess a brief message (mere postscript to and summary of his preceding letter) from Mexico City, April 4, 1686. He introduces the bearer of the letter. Regards, gift, greetings.¹

Your Excellency:

I have already written at length to your Excellency in the letter² that is being taken by the Asturian gentleman³ about to depart for Spain and Madrid. I have informed your Excellency of the status of your Marianas through the gazette⁴ forwarded to me by the superior of the Islands, Father Gerard Bouwens.⁵ I also reported on New Mexico, China and the Philippines, furnishing you with the most reliable information which I could obtain.⁶ To give an account of California, I can best refer to that which Father Eusebio Kino is sending to you.⁷

Hence the present message is solely to express my regards, and to have the happiness of assuring your Excellency of my readiness to comply with your every wish. This I do by the present letter and through Antonio Figueredo,⁸ who came two months ago on the dispatch boat with the mail pouch and is returning on the same

¹ This autograph letter in Spanish (HM 22490) is not listed in the *Bibliotheca Americana*. BOLTON catalogues the message in *Rim*, p. 618. On the author see Letter XI.

² Mansilla is referring to the preceding message, Letter XXIX.

³ Presumably, Antonio Figueredo, mentioned later in this same letter.

⁴ See the preceding letter.

⁵ Consult Letters XI, XXXIII and our Index.

⁶ For his earlier reports on New Mexico, China and the Philippines, see the preceding letter.

⁷ See the preceding message.

⁸ Cf. above, note 3.

boat. I have asked him to personally pay my respects to your Excellency, envying the while the honor that is his in so doing. I beg with all deference that you deign to accept the two stones from Gapar Antón; I have explained their qualities and use in an earlier message.⁹

At all times at Mass I implore the Lord with grateful heart that He preserve your Excellency in accordance with our dependence on you.

Mexico City, April 4, 1686.

Most devotedly yours,
Baltasar de Mansilla S. J.

XXXI

Kino writes to the Duchess from Mexico City, July 19, 1686. He mentions recent letters which he wrote to her. Daring rescue of the Manila Galleon. Depredation of the pirates. He commends the future of California to the Duchess; he implores her to intercede in behalf of the missions there, especially since recent suspension of enterprise at royal orders. The decision to found three new northern missions on the Mexican mainland vis-à-vis California. Practical program for the evangelization of California. Greetings.¹

Your Excellency, the Peace of the Lord be with you!

It would be a source of exceptional consolation to me did this letter find your Excellency in the enjoyment of perfect health, as I desire; and I should be happy to place myself at the disposal of your Excellency.

During the past months of March and April I wrote² to your Excellency about our arrival from California to the port of Matanchel in New Spain, and about our departure from Matanchel to find and warn the Manila Galleon about the presence of pirate ships³ lurking in the port of Navidad in order to capture her. By God's goodness, we succeeded in reaching Acapulco without being detected or hindered by the enemy pirates.⁴ They afterwards

¹ This Spanish letter (HM 9991) is entirely in the hand of Kino and signed by him. It is listed and translated in part into English in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 31.

² These letters are not known to be extant; cf. above, Letter XXIX.

³ BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 220 n. 2, observes: "These particular freebooters were part of the Grognet band who had just raided Panama and the western coast of Central America."

⁴ On Kino's return trip and successful efforts to save the Manila Galleon, see BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 220-223.

⁹ On the therapeutical qualities attributed to such stones, see my *Kino Reports*, p. 118 n. 25.

caused no little havoc along the coast⁵ of Compostela, in Colima, Petatlán and Mazatlán and in other localities until they suffered a heavy blow from Juan Redondo at Santicpaqui,⁶ and withdrew after losing some fifty of their men. It is reported that they succeeded in pillaging recently in Colombia prior to leaving the Pacific for the Atlantic Ocean.

In all of my letters I have repeatedly commended to the holy, apostolic and divinely inspired zeal of your Excellency the California enterprise with its mission field so ripe for the harvest, of the so numerous and so incredibly gentle, tractable and peaceful natives, already instructed in the faith, and pleading over and over again most insistently for holy baptism. I repeat my commendation by means of the present letter; kneeling as I do, I implore your intercession in their behalf by the most precious blood, passion and death of Our Lord and Redeemer. A few months ago, on March 14th of the present year of 1686 to be precise, a most Catholic and devout order was sent from Mexico City⁷ (I am enclosing for your Excellency a passage from it) enjoining on us to begin the baptism⁸ of those California tribes, so tractable and already won over to and instructed in the faith, and merely because of a decree of his Majesty (God grant him years of happiness) which reached the court of Mexico, the mission to the peaceful country of California was and still is suspended.⁹ This was done (so stated the decree) in order to come to the aid of Nueva Vizcaya,¹⁰ a province which, thanks to heaven, is enjoying the most perfect peace and tranquility.

Your Excellency will, as far as you can, take pity on so many souls, and will cooperate, as your heavenly inspired love of their welfare dictates, in effecting the eternal redemption of those poor natives and in the salvation of such precious treasures which the

⁵ The west coast of Mexico; the towns mentioned by Kino are readily found on any good map of the area, e. g. BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 112-113.

⁶ This is the spelling in Kino's original manuscript; BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 222, read "Santiepaque"; contemporary maps show this harbor a few miles to the north of Compostela, almost due east of the Islas de las Tres Marias.

⁷ This was the Viceroy's decision, taken after consultation with the Junta General in Mexico City, sent to Charles II on March 15, 1686. The pertinent documents are preserved in the Archivo General de Indias, *México* 56 and *Patronato* 31.

⁸ Postponed because of the uncertainty of the permanency of the California enterprise.

⁹ See BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 226, and *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, pp. 49, 106.

¹⁰ Additional details are given in Letter XXXII.

sovereign Creator and Savior valued so highly, as His sacred incarnation, passion and most holy death bear witness.¹¹

Fortunately, by God's grace, through a letter which I wrote to Father Provincial,¹² and a memorial which his Reverence gave to the Viceroy (the *Virreina*¹³ likewise favored our petition), we succeeded in obtaining revenues for three new missions.¹⁴ On the arrival of the fleet with additional missionaries, we shall, by God's favor, begin the evangelization of the pagan Seri and Guayma Indians.¹⁵ They, too, are begging for holy baptism; yes, and these new missions will also have the added attraction of being across from California and within sight of it; so close, in fact, that only fifteen leagues of water separate the two regions. It will be to their greatest mutual advantage that the evangelization on both sides of the sea or strait of California be undertaken simultaneously.

Inasmuch as the Californians are of the most peaceful and gentle nature of all the natives encountered in the New World thus far discovered, I again and with all deference commend to your Excellency's divinely inspired zeal for the good of souls, the securing of their eternal salvation; particularly so, since it is possible to effect the conversion of California with the outlay of a very moderate sum, whereas the attempt at conquest has thus far cost his Majesty (whom God protect) a vast amount of money.

May Our Lord keep your Excellency through years of happiness, as I pray in all my Masses and desire, conferring on you all

¹¹ The Duchess cooperated by composing the *Memorandum* (number XXXVII of this volume), and presumably submitting the final draft to the Council of the Indies.

¹² Luis del Canto.

¹³ The Condesa de Paredes, wife of the Mexican Viceroy (1680-1686).

¹⁴ Hopes had been for only two missionaries: Kino and Gilg. The latter went to work among the Seris. Kino stayed at Dolores instead of settling in a coastal mission as planned, because the Superior (Manuel González, visitor of the Sonoran missions) suggested the need of his presence in the Dolores area. See *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, pp. 106, 109, and my study, *Kino's First Report on his First Permanent Mission*, pp. 166-170. Kino's reasoning in this part of his message is clearly reflected in the wording of the Duchess's *Memorandum* (*infra*, Document XXXVII).

¹⁵ The Indians living along the western coast of the Mexican mainland. Kino's plan was to prepare his return to California from this area, which would furnish the necessary supplies for the less productive land across the narrow gulf. This was also the assurance expressed by the royal fiscal, Pedro de la Bastida. Consult BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 232-233; *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, p. 106.

consolation and celestial graces in the fullness that your Excellency merits.

From the Professed House¹⁶ in Mexico City, July 19, 1686.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

XXXII

Kino writes to the Duchess from Mexico City on November 16, 1686, just before departing for his new mission field along the northernmost rim of Christendom. He has been in Mexico City some six months, ever since his return from the California expedition. He recounts the rescue of the Manila Galleon. The California enterprise has been suspended due to the incorrect information that there is unrest in Nueva Vizcaya. The new mission field to which Kino is setting out is across from and near to California. The new Viceroy is favorable to the missions. The conquest of California can be better supplied from across the gulf than from southern ports. Objections and answers. Exploring and settling farther north in California more productive lands would be found. Indians are tractable. Best remedy against prevalent sickness in California is fresh food. Missionaries are prepared to return: they know the languages and have won the confidence of the natives. Kino has composed a treatise on the region. He implores the Duchess to use her influence in saving the enterprise and to intercede in behalf of twenty-one English prisoners.¹

Your Excellency, the Peace of Our Lord be with you!

Some six months ago, shortly after reaching Mexico City from California (or Carolinas), I wrote² to your Excellency giving you

¹ The letter was written in Spanish (HM 9989) by an amanuensis, but with greeting, signature and postscript in Kino's hand. It is an exceptionally poor copy and in a most wretched handwriting; see the facsimile (Plate IV) and the extracts (very inaccurately translated into English) in *Bibliotheca Americana*, pp. 32-33.

² The contents of Kino's letter (number XXXI) agree with the summary given here. Not six months, however, but less than five have elapsed. Kino in that message refers to letters written at a slightly earlier date; it may be to one of these that he is now alluding.

¹⁶ The Casa Profesa was the main Jesuit residence in Mexico City; the Provincial and his staff were also housed there.

an account of that vast Island's extensive mission field so ripe for the harvest of souls, and the heartrending pleadings which those gentle and tractable natives (after their instruction in the tenets of our holy faith) are making to receive holy baptism.³ I also recounted how we sailed out in the California ships to meet and warn the Manila Galleon about the enemy pirates lurking along the coasts of the South Sea in order to capture it. By God's favor, we succeeded in bringing the Galleon into the port of Acapulco to the chagrin of the four enemy ships.⁴

Afterwards, about the middle of January of this present year of 1686, we continued from Acapulco to Mexico City. In April, as we were on the point of returning to California to get on with the conversion of the many docile natives and gather in so ripe a harvest, a decree arrived from Madrid. Inasmuch as the previous year of 1685 a report had gone out from here to the effect that Nueva Vizcaya,⁵ because of the natives' restiveness, was on the brink of ruin, the order came enjoining the assistance to and preservation of that province or territory of Nueva Vizcaya, even if this entailed the suspension of the California enterprise with its settlement and conversion. But as this suspension was effected not because of the peril to which Nueva Vizcaya is exposed (as the royal Attorney-general⁶ states in his reply of May 6th of the present year of 1686), four additional subsidies instead were obtained for four new missions:⁷ two among the Tarahumaras and the others among the pagan Seri and Guayma Indians who live within sight of California, so close that only fifteen or sixteen leagues separate them. My superiors recently appointed me to found this new mission or missions among the Seris and Guaymas, who are also pleading for holy baptism. For this purpose I shall be departing, God willing, from Mexico City in just two days.⁸

Although we are hoping that the final decision for the continuing of the settlement and conversion of California (or Carolinas) will be a favorable one, and are consoled by the news that the next

³ See Letters XVIII, XXIII and XXXI.

⁴ Additional details are given in the preceding message (Letter XXXI).

⁵ Consult the preceding letter.

⁶ Pedro de la Bastida; see the preceding letter.

⁷ As will be recalled, Kino in his preceding message to the Duchess, spoke of only three missions.

⁸ Kino recorded in his diary (*Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, p. 106) his departure from the Mexican capital as taking place on November 20, 1686.

Viceroy⁹ is well disposed towards the missions through his devotion to the eminent apostle and angelic Saint Francis Xavier, and, further, are reassured by the grant of two subsidies for the two new missions among the Seris and Guaymas with the observation that the sum would thus help promote the continuity of the conversion of nearby California; despite all this, the uncertainty of the future is blocking or delaying the dispatch of the spiritual assistance for the salvation of so many souls so eager to receive holy baptism.¹⁰ In all sincerity and from the depth of my heart, as also in the name of those gentle and tractable natives, I commend, not once but a thousand times, this enterprise to the holy zeal of your Excellency so that, when the occasion presents itself and you judge it opportune, you will deign to favor so holy a cause. To this end it would help to keep in mind the following three points.¹¹

The first is that at present it is possible to secure the continuation of the settlement and conversion of California with a moderate and wisely employed sum from the royal treasury,¹² whereas since 1680 nearly half a million pesos have been spent¹³ (that is, approximately one hundred thousand pesos each year), and the earlier expeditions¹⁴ entailed an outlay of two million

⁹ Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, Conde de Monclova, who governed Mexico from November 30, 1686 to November 20, 1688; cf. ABZ IV, p. 13*. Kino wrote him from Los Dolores on August 30, 1687; see the original text of this letter in the Spanish edition, pp. 353-355.

¹⁰ The sacrament was not administered except where there existed a well-founded probability that the neophytes could practise their faith; see above, note 3.

¹¹ Obviously to help the Duchess draw up an effective plea for resuming the California enterprise; cf. her *Memorandum* (Document XXXVII).

¹² Kino repeatedly returns to this argument, e. g. *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, pp. 35-37, 217-222, II, pp. 232-236; his 1695-1696 map in Bolton, *Rim*, pp. 272-273; as did also Palacios and Salvatierra (cf. my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 21-23, 269-273), since they knew that royal officials would always attempt to block the resumption of the California enterprise by citing the enormity of past expenses, with the obvious inference that future expeditions would entail as great or greater expenditures. The rebuttal used by Kino and Salvatierra was that the settlement of California could be effected without such an exorbitant outlay of money; the 1697 successful entry justified their contention.

¹³ The allusion is to the Atondo expedition (1682-1686). Kino repeats the same figures in his *Historical Memoir*, I, pp. 214, 221; Bolton observes in his commentary to the text that official sources stated that the amount spent on this expedition was a quarter of a million pesos.

¹⁴ On these earlier expeditions, see my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 269-273. Bolton observes in his edition of *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, p. 217 n. 302: «On the whole, the summary by Kino is remarkably good, as compared with other accounts written at so early a date». Thus, the learned German geographer

more, namely those of Hernán Cortés in 1523, of Sebastián Vizcaíno in 1597 and 1602, of Francisco Ortega in 1634, of Admiral Pedro Porter Casanate in 1644, of Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero in 1677 and other attempts involving large ships and «long boards,» armed soldiers and marines, weapons, supplies and repairs; the expeditures for the discovery and settlement of California amounted to the sums stated above. But now with a couple of long boats and a small garrison of twenty or twenty-five soldiers and four to six missionaries (a total expenditure of some twenty thousand pesos and, if necessary, of even a smaller outlay), it is possible to effect the desired project of the peaceful settlement of California, as can testify many level-headed men with experience gathered during the last few years through their participation in the California enterprise.

Everyone knows how much the undertaking has suffered and has been retarded and how much useless expenditure has been incurred by employing large ships and sailing them over a route more than two hundred leagues from Compostela and Guadalajara in order to transport the provisions to California, with a delay of usually nine or ten months until the bulky shipment finally arrived and half rotten at that; whereas with a weekly crossing of long boats from Sinaloa and Yaqui, it would be easy to secure all that one might desire.

The second is that the settlement, enterprise and conversion of California has experienced many difficulties, obstacles and delays (purposely created, by the way). The enemy of mankind in the attainment of its salvation, furious that so great a prize, securely his for so many years, should slip from his grasp, associated with some others, has so resolutely opposed the Society of Jesus, that one may appositely say with the Apostle of the Gentiles in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, XVI, 9: «For a great door and evident is opened unto me; and many adversaries.»

Despite the large number of the difficulties,¹⁵ they can be reduced to these three: the first, the great expense; the second, the

SCHERER, *Geographia hierarchia*, p. 99, states in 1703 that Francis Drake in 1577 was the first explorer to reach California, and knows of no successor to Drake until Isidorus de Atando (*sic*) & Antillon.

¹⁵ Kino will later have to answer a similar series of difficulties for the continuance of the settlement of Pimería Alta; see my edition of his *Life of Saeta*, pp. 143-146 (*De las muchas contradicciones de estas nuevas conversiones de esta Pimería*).

drought and unproductiveness of the land, so much so that some have not hesitated to say that the country is uninhabitable; the third, the diseases, especially scurvy, which during the past months of March, April and May of 1685 made victims of many soldiers.

The replies to these three difficulties are as follows. The solution to the first has been indicated above, namely in the first point discussed. The second difficulty states that the drought in California lasted a year and a half; it is at least extenuated by realizing that the drought was general; that is, almost everywhere in New Spain and North America, and that when we reached California on October 6, 1683, and proceeded to San Bruno, we found attractive and fertile lands with plentiful pastures for herds and suitable for planting, as Admiral Isidro de Atondo y Antillón wrote to the Viceroy in a letter dated October 15, 1683. The bit of maize and wheat and other grain which we then planted gave a yield equal to that of any part of New Spain; from the wheat harvested bread was made and the hosts with which for a long time the holy sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated.

Likewise, from the information furnished by the California natives, it is certain that farther north¹⁶ there are lands which are level, rich and fertile, and with abundant water. There is a royal decree with the statement that on the 36th parallel there are trees to build ships of any tonnage. It is also certain that we have not yet seen one percent of California, which is so extensive that the distance from Cabo San Lucas¹⁷ to Cabo Mendocino and Cabo Blanco is over five hundred leagues;¹⁸ and, according to sea charts and the accounts of Sebastián Vizcaíno, Francisco Ortega, Pedro Porter de Casanate and others who on various occasions sailed over to California in order to explore the region (and their statements

¹⁶ Kino's constant plea was for exploration and settlement farther north, i. e. the present State of California, which had to wait nearly a hundred years. On Kino's century-ahead-of-his-time project see the indexes (under the entry California, Upper California, etc.) of my editions of *Kino's Plan*, pp. 69-70; *Kino Reports*, p. 135; *Correspondencia*, p. 90; *Piccolo*, p. 445; and *ABZ IV*, p. 590 (*California Alta*).

¹⁷ At the southernmost tip of Lower California; see Letter XXIII, Kino's 1695-1696 map (in BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 272-273), and Briggs' 1625 map (in WAGNER, *Spanish Voyages*, pp. 388-389). For Cabo Mendocino and Cabo Blanco, cf. the same maps, keeping in mind what we stated in Letter XXIII about the relation of the Briggs and Kino maps to that of Fray Antonio de la Ascensión.

¹⁸ As stated in Letter XXIII, note 37, this is the distance given by the legend on Briggs' map.

agree with what the natives have told us), all of California is inhabited by numerous tractable and peaceful Indians. And should there at times be any scarcity of some provisions in California, they could be imported by small craft from the productive nearby regions, namely from the lands of the Seris, Guaymas, Sinaloans and Yaquis. Thus, the necessary help and alleviation could be secured.

As for the third difficulty, namely that of the diseases which they experienced during the past months of March, April and May, the same prevailed to an equal degree and with a high mortality rate in various parts of New Spain. Now, if instead of living in Fort Bruno¹⁹ whose water supply turns very salty because of its proximity to the sea, headquarters were set up in the other fort (San Isidro and San Nicolás, or Los Reyes) or on some other site further inland where even in time of drought the sources furnish an abundance of good water, all would live less subject to such diseases. The most efficacious remedy against such as break out on board ship is to secure fresh provisions, and these can easily be brought over in small craft, namely the so-called «long-boats».

The third point is this. It is now very easy to effect the settlement and conversion of California, at least in various regions of the country, inasmuch as it lies only 25 leagues across the strait (in some places, only twenty, nineteen or sixteen leagues). This means a sea voyage of ordinarily twenty hours, and sometimes of only fifteen, twelve or even less.²⁰ We have secured very good ports on both sides of this calm and tranquil gulf.

We have learned two of the native languages²¹ and have brought three California Indians to New Spain who already know Spanish well and can act as expert interpreters.²² But what most

¹⁹ For the location of San Bruno, San Isidro and Los Reyes, see Scherer's 1703 map, drawn from Kino's 1685 chart sent to his old professor. These places are repeated on all of Kino's subsequent maps; the relative position, however, of Los Reyes, or simply, Reyes, varies considerably, from northwest of Thebaida in Scherer's map to due south in those of Kino.

²⁰ See above, Letters XV and XVII.

²¹ Consult Letter III, note 28.

²² These interpreters evidently stayed on in Mexico for many years. At the close of 1686, Father Juan Palacios, the Mexican Provincial, mentions their continued presence in Mexico as one of the main motives for the urgent resumption of the California enterprise, else California natives would think that the three had met with foul play. The text of Palacios' letter is given in my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 21-23.

facilitates the settlement and conversion is that the people of California are so gentle, submissive and peaceful that even after our men on various occasions had slain a total of thirteen of them,²³ we received no harm from them by way of vengeance, but rather always signal kindness and esteem and even a truly devoted affection, especially the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, whom they consider as heaven-sent teachers and often in times of drought were asked to pray for rain, etc.

It is true that during the last two years to the present, we have baptized only eleven natives,²⁴ and these were on the point of death. Of the eleven three recovered, and these unfortunately have stayed behind among the pagans. The fewness of baptisms was due to the withholding during the years of the authorization to confer the sacrament with solemnity. The officials here in Mexico City were supposed to send us the decision to continue the enterprise of settling and converting the region, but because this decision was so slow in reaching us over the tortuous route it followed, we proceeded to Matanchel, a port on the mainland of New Spain.²⁵ We were immediately dispatched to meet and warn the Philippine Galleon; thus property aboard the Manila Galleon worth some four million pesos escaped by heaven's favor the pirates' grasp.

And although I have written a book in Latin,²⁶ called the *New Carolinas*, on all these themes relating to California, on the voyages and expeditions undertaken to date, on the inhabitants and their ways, on the other Jesuit missions and neighboring pagan tribes of North America, on the vast amounts of money in behalf of the welfare and eternal salvation of souls being spent by his Catholic Majesty (whom God protect) with so sacred intent and so generously, and Father Baltasar de Mansilla,²⁷ God willing, will take a copy of the book to Spain for publication if superiors approve, nonetheless in the meantime through this letter I come pleading on my knees in behalf of so many souls to the most

²³ Letter XIX gives abundant details and references about this tragic and incredibly unjust action of Atondo.

²⁴ This text is cited and discussed in my study, *A Forged Commentary*, p. 573.

²⁵ On this authorization, dated March 14, 1686, see Letter XXXI.

²⁶ Not known to be extant.

²⁷ Mansilla had been authorized by the Jesuit General to accompany the outgoing Viceregal couple to Spain; see the next letter and the Appendix of the Spanish edition.

pious zeal of your Excellency, and beg of you, by the most precious blood of our Creator and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that you deign to assist and help us, as occasion offers in Madrid, in order that the advantage of so ripe a harvest and the vast expenditures of his Catholic Majesty (whom God protect) and the price paid for by the most sacred passion and death of Our Lord be not lost.

My superiors here have promised me that, on the arrival of a favorable decision from Madrid regarding the conversion of California, they will send me to continue in its missions, and then I shall turn over to another the foundations which I have made among the Seris and Guaymas. In just two days I shall be leaving from Mexico City for those missions;²⁸ I have been provided with church bells, chalices and altar furnishings.

I repeatedly commend all to the fervent prayers of your Excellency, and ask Our Lord to keep your Excellency through the years in true happiness and increase of heaven-sent gifts, as I desire and these souls stand in need.

Mexico City, November 16, 1686.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino

P. S. On the feast days of Saint Francis Xavier and of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, in accordance with my promise,²⁹ I shall offer, God willing, my Masses for the intention of your Excellency and the spiritual and temporal welfare of my dear friends, Joaquín, Gabriel and Isabel. I commend to your Excellency the twenty-one Englishmen whom we recently converted here; I refer to this in the hope that there may be some opportunity offered you of securing a mitigation of their prison term which is five years. Do pardon the trouble which my requests may entail.³⁰

²⁸ Instead, Kino went to found the missions in Pimeria Alta, where he worked from March of 1687 to his death in the same month of 1711. See my study, *Kino's First Report on his First Permanent Mission*, pp. 164-169.

²⁹ See Letter III.

³⁰ The manuscript is torn along the bottom edge making it difficult to read the text (in Kino's hand); fortunately, there are enough portions of the letters of the passage left to make a reasonable conjecture; see the Spanish edition of these Letters.

XXXIII

Father Mansilla writes to the Duchess from Mexico City on November 29, 1686. He has sent to her a report of the Marianas. Kino wrote to her at length; since then he left for his northern outpost. Mansilla will be accompanying the viceregal family to Spain and will thus have the opportunity to personally thank her Excellency for her generosity to the missions.¹

Your Excellency:

Can I let pass any occasion of expressing to you how devoted I am as the least of your Mariana islanders, although I may not have the good fortune of receiving a personal acknowledgement every time the fleet from Spain puts in? The fact that I am aware of my unworthiness to receive such an acknowledgement does not cancel out my concern; your generosity does not spring from the merits of anyone, else your Excellency would cease to be your true magnanimous self; rather your goodness allows lesser mortals to bask in its rays.

I have sent to your Excellency a report on the status of your Marianas by the Santa Teresa, which sailed from this country in May.² My account is drawn from the original report which the superior³ of the missions there sent to me. I shall be looking forward all next month for more recent and favorable news to send on to your Excellency in order to be able to temper your justly

¹ An autograph letter in Spanish (HM 9968) written and signed by Mansilla. It is listed with a few extracts in English in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 34.

² On Friday, May 10th, the bells of the Capitol reminded the people to pray for the safe voyage of the ship. See ROLES, *Diario*, II, p. 120.

³ Father Gerard Bouwens; see our Index and Letters XI and XXX.

founded sorrow. I trust that word will come in despite of the fact that pirates are again plaguing the coasts, as the Viceroy learned four days ago and is now energetically applying the means used by his predecessor in order to frustrate the attempt to plunder the Manila Galleon. May God crown his efforts with success and bring in the ship safely!

Father Eusebio Kino assured me that he had sent to your Excellency a report on the status of California and of the three new missions⁴ at its very door steps. Father has just set out for the latter missions. Subsidies were obtained for them through the signal efforts of the Conde de Paredes and the pious urging of the good Condesa. The Lady has been complaining, by the way, about not hearing from you. She comes out with rather charming accusations, among others, that I am the one who keeps from her the letters which you write to me. Of course, I know full well how completely justified her complaints are.

Father Luis de Morales,⁵ through your assistance, has succeeded in securing much aid for our Mariana missions. The gentleman who has come to govern this country⁶ will have ample scope to show his zeal in accordance with the promise which he made to Saint Francis Xavier. The decrees received will be presented, as also the various orders; I shall inform your Excellency of the results. Last month I assigned sufficient funds to take care of a missionary, a subsidy given to me by the Condesa, who wishes to share the Marianas with you.

Your Excellency, in the quicksilver freighters came an order from our Father General⁷ to the effect that I should continue as

⁴ Consult Kino's last two messages to the Duchess (Letters XXXI and XXXII).

⁵ Procurator of the Philippines; see Letter XXIX.

⁶ In the Spanish original «*estos Reynos*», a term which he regularly uses of Mexico, and presumably so employs the phrase in the present instance, and not of the Marianas about which he has just been speaking. Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, Conde de Monclova, governed Mexico from November 30, 1686 (the day after Mansilla penned the present letter) until November 20, 1688. ROBLES, jotted down in his *Diario*, p. 130: «*Entrada del virrey. — Sábado 30, día de San Andrés, entró el virrey nuevo, conde de la Monclova, en público, por la tarde antes de la oración en la Catedral, y se cayó el tablado de la iglesia, estando teniendo el señor arzobispo la cruz; no hubo desgracia.*»

⁷ Charles Noyelle; his letter dated November 3, 1685, is preserved in *Mex. 3*, ff. 255v-256; a letter to the same effect and written the same day, is found in the same codex, ff. 256-256v. See the complete texts in the Appendix of the Spanish edition.

confessor of the Condesa on her voyage to Spain, in accordance with the request which she had made; but his Paternity asks her, once the voyage is over, to graciously allow me to return to the Philippine Province.

I am moved more than words can express at the prospect of being able to see your Excellency and make known to you my profound gratitude. I ask Our Lord to grant me this grace and in all the sacrifices of the Mass I implore of Him to give your Excellency long years of life, as the good of souls and especially I myself stand in need.

Mexico City, November 29, 1686.

Most devotedly yours,
Baltasar de Mansilla S. J.

To her Excellency, my Lady, Duchess of Aveiro, Maqueda and Arcos.

XXXIV

Kino writes to the Duchess from Los Frailes and Conicari, Sonora, en route to his new mission, February 15, 1687. His new apostolate. Mines discovered in the area more than repay outlay of royal treasury for missions. The King's decree in favor of the Indians' freedom. The California enterprise could be easily financed. Some statistics on mineral yields in the region.¹

Your Excellency:

Some three months ago I left Mexico City² and am now in this recently established settlement called Los Frailes,³ in the province of Sonora. Here I learned that the mail was about to leave for Mexico City and in order not to lose the opportunity of complying with so imperative an obligation, I send my greetings to your Excellency and wish you always perfect health, offering that which the Lord grants me to be completely at the disposal of your holy commands and in accordance with your every desire.

¹ This Spanish letter (HM 9986) is partly in the hand of Kino and signed by him. The greater part of the message (that in the hand of an amanuensis) is substantially identical with that sent on the same day to Father Juan Marín S. J. in Rome, and published in my *Kino Reports*, pp. 84-89 (Spanish text with English translation). BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 802, lists both letters without noting their similarity of content. The letter is also listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 35, where a partial translation is given. On Kino's trip to Sonora, see my *Kino's First Report on his First Permanent Mission*, pp. 164-169.

² On November 20, 1686.

³ See Kino's 1695-1698 map (BOLTON, *Rim*, pp. 272-273). Los Frailes is near Alamos, Sonora, and has been confused by some writers with the latter town. In the copy sent to Father Marín in Rome (see above, note 1), Kino says that Domingo Terán, the founder of the Real de Los Frailes, is also contributing to its construction; see my *Kino Reports*, pp. 84-87.

Since I left Mexico City for these missions and apostolic work among these heathen Guaymas, Seris and Pimas (God be thanked that I am soon to be among them), I have been hearing contradictory opinions about these new mines and the wealth of Los Frailes. Some whom I met recounted marvellous tales about abundant and rich metals, others (a minority) said that it all amounted to very little, that it was all in the initial phase without any solid basis.

In order to reach this holy mission of Conicari, I passed through these same mines of Los Frailes and through this new fort which the military general of Sinaloa and his garrison, aided by the leading merchants and all the miners are constructing attractively on the banks of the River Mayo.

I have just witnessed and come to realize most tangibly the clear and certain truth of the statements of the very Catholic and royal decree of his Majesty (whom God preserve), inserted in the new royal order, dispatched in favor of these new missions, which the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara graciously granted to me some two months ago.

The most Catholic words of the said royal decree, dated May 14, 1686, are as follows:⁴

The King

« In order to fulfill so important an obligation of applying all the means and efforts and requests possible — those means in particular to promote the conversion of souls, a matter which is of such signal service to God Our Lord, who in His great providence always repays with a very large and notable increase to my royal monarchy whatever is spent from my royal treasury in such conversions — I command etc. »

⁴ Kino quotes not the entire royal decree but only a few of its more pertinent phrases. He copied a far more complete version into his diary (*Favores Celestiales*, in the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico City, *Misiones* 27, ff. 9v-10); the Spanish text with several substantial errors was transcribed in *Las misiones*, pp. 16-17; a good English translation with brief commentary is given in *Kino's Historical Memoir*, I, pp. 108-109. The Spanish text made directly from Kino's diary can be found in my edition of his life of *Saeta*, pp. 196-198. The complete text is preserved in the Archivo General de Indias (*Guadalajara* 70 and also *Indiferente General* 537); from the latter manuscript the *Cedulario Americano*, pp. 248-251, reproduced a modernized but full version of the decree.

And certain it is that so great is the increase of the royal revenues which are obtained and will be obtained from this new discovery and from these new mines that it really seems that Our Lord repays abundantly all the expenses (avoiding the unnecessary ones) which can be incurred effecting the conversion of California and of the neighboring Guaymas, Seris, Pimas and other heathen. Nor could it have happened without special providence of the sovereign Lord that at the very time that the King (whom the Lord watch over) with his such Catholic generosity sent us during these past four or five years to the conquest and conversion of California, such wealth should have been found right here, almost within sight of California itself, that many prudent persons unanimously agree and proclaim that so much had never been discovered.

A certain trustworthy friend of mine wrote me recently what I along with others as eyewitnesses have seen, namely, that there are forty-three recorded mines with so much rich ore that each would produce enough to build the new fort. The percentage is so high that the poorest ore produces four *marcos*⁵ per *quintal*,⁶ and the richest, forty, fifty and sixty *marcos* per *quintal* by smelting. The quicksilver process would yield from twenty-four to fifty *marcos* per twelve *quintales*.

Many more mines could be found, and experience has shown that the deeper one digs the richer do the metals prove to be. The royal revenues would greatly increase if a royal quicksilver depot were established at this fort.⁷

As all can help (and with heaven's favor will help) in furthering these new missions and the eternal salvation of numerous souls, I commend all a thousand and one times to the heavenly inspired, holy and universal zeal of your Excellency, whose life I pray God will protect in accordance with my wishes.

From this mission of Conicari, February 15, 1687.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

⁵ Approximately half a pound (230 grams).

⁶ A hundred-weight, that is four *arrobas* make one *quintal*.

⁷ What follows is in Kino's hand (see notes 1 and 3) and replaces the postscript of the copy to Father Marín (*Kino Reports*, pp. 88-89).

XXXV

*Kino writes on June 30, 1687, to Father Mansilla from his Pimerian mission of Los Dolores, Sonora, which he had reached on March 13th of the present year. Three mission towns are being built by the enthusiastic natives. The Indian Governor has been instructed in the faith and will soon be baptized. The Indians are quick to learn the truths and ritual of the faith. Promising crops have been planted. Church bells have been heard for the first time in all this land. More missionaries are urgently needed.*¹

My dear Father Baltasar de Mansilla, the Peace of Our Lord be with you!

I pray this letter finds your Reverence in perfect health. I should be happy to do whatever I can for you while I am in this new mission field of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.²

On March³ 13th of this present year of 1687 I came to this heathen land and people of the Pima Indians. Thus far, by God's grace, three new towns have been founded. The first is called Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, the second, San Ignacio,⁴ and the third, San José.⁵

¹ With the exception of the opening greeting and closing words with Kino's signature, the rest of this Spanish letter (HM 9987) is in the hand of a copyist. It is listed in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 36, where a few extracts are given in English.

² Kino's principal mission, in Pimería Alta; see the map in my edition of Kino's life of *Saeta* pp. 198-199, and *Kino's Plan*, p. 63 (index).

³ In the original manuscript «m.o.», read as «mayo» in *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 36; from numerous sources we know that the month was March; see my *Kino's First Report*, pp. 164-169.

⁴ San Ignacio de Cabórica; see my *Kino's Plan*, pp. 4, 25-27, and the map in *Kino's Saeta*, pp. 198-199.

⁵ San José de los Himeris; cf. *Kino's Plan*, pp. 27, 42 n. 23, and the map in his *Saeta*, pp. 198-199.

Already more than sixty infants and some adults have been baptized. The natives of the town of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. God be thanked, are already reciting and singing their prayers, the catechism, the ejaculation «Praised be God» and the act of contrition, in the same way as the Indians converted long ago.

For the solemn baptism of the Governor of the town of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (who is also chieftain of all the Pima tribes as far as the sea of California), we are only waiting for the arrival of his godfather, who most likely will be Captain José Romo de Vivar.⁶ Several days ago I baptized the two children of the Governor.

Many other adults of this town are now well instructed in the faith, and I am gradually getting around to baptizing them. Every day more and more heathen Indians are coming here to settle. They are building their houses and dwellings in the town of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Here, to the intense satisfaction and enthusiasm of the natives, many adobes, windows, etc. are being made for a very substantial house and church.

The same will soon be done, God willing, for the other two towns,⁷ inasmuch as the people are most diligent in such work as also in the raising of wheat, maize and beans.

Several days ago the bells reached me from Mexico City, and they have already been installed in the small church which we built right after our arrival.⁸ The natives love to hear the pealing of the bells never before heard in these lands. They are also delighted with the painting⁹ and other church furnishings. They hold in the highest regards all that has to do with their eternal salvation.

In the same way the neighboring Indian tribes called Tepoquis,¹⁰ the Seris and the Guaymas, are pleading for holy baptism and missionaries, as can be proved from the official report of the

⁶ Captain of the presidio of Bacanuche; consult my edition of Kino's *Saeta*, p. 107 n. 17.

⁷ San Ignacio de Cabórica and San José de los Hímeris; see above notes 4-5.

⁸ March 13, 1687; cf. above, note 3.

⁹ Of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores by the eminent Mexican painter, Juan Correa, as Kino himself informs us in his biography of Saeta, p. 139.

¹⁰ Also called Tepocas; see ABZ IV, pp. 119-120, 166, and Gilg's map in the same volume, pp. 144-145.

Lieutenant Governor of Opodepe,¹¹ which was sent last month to the Viceroy. May Our Lord not allow the delays and procrastinations in coming to the assistance of so many souls which usually occur to take place, inasmuch as this is a matter of such importance and so vital to the universal Church, as the recent royal decree¹² of his Catholic Majesty (whom God keep for many years) characterizes it.

All this do I commend a thousand and one times to the holy sacrifices of the Mass of your Reverence. May Our Lord grant you long and happy years of life, as I desire.

From this newly established town and mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, June 30, 1687.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

¹¹ Jesuit mission; cf. ABZ IV, p. 426 n. 59, pp. 509-510.

¹² See the preceding letter.

XXXVI

Kino writes to Father Mansilla from Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, August 6, 1687, acknowledging with gratitude his encouraging letter. Kino will soon send an account which he has compiled on his new mission field. The native Governor and his wife and numerous other Indians were solemnly received into the Church. Five neighboring chieftains favorably impressed. A few items which the natives need. The land is most productive, capable of supporting less fortunate missions. Missionaries must not be wholly economically dependent on the royal treasury. Greetings.¹

[My dear Father Mansilla, the Peace of Our Lord be with you!]

While my message² was waiting for the mail-carrier to get under way, your own gracious letter of April 12th of the present year just came to hand. It has brought me extraordinary consolation, truly, one of the greatest of my life.

This exceptional consolation derives from the news of good health which your Reverence enjoys; may the sovereign Lord ever prosper it. I should be happy to be at the disposal of your

¹ The entire letter in Spanish (HM 9988) was written by Kino. From its contents it is evident that he penned it on receipt of Mansilla's letter and added the message by way of a postscript to his preceding letter. *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 37, has the letter addressed to "the Father Provincial"; this is not correct; the compiler failed to understand the contents of the message and did not notice that it was written on the same paper as the preceding letter. BOLTON, *Rim*, p. 602 correctly notes: "This letter begins on the same sheet where the one of June 30 ends".

² The preceding letter (number XXXV).

Reverence. Another source of consolation for me is the heavenly inspired devotedness of your heart towards these countless souls and their eternal welfare, which others, it would seem, hold in such little regard.

May Our Lord reward you Reverence's divinely inspired love of the welfare of these poor natives which cost Him no less than our own salvation. I am eternally grateful to your Reverence for wishing to cooperate in their conversion and salvation. The field is extensive and the harvest is abundant and long ago mature; at little expense to the royal treasury "it could be brought into the celestial granary."³ During the next few months I shall take up this theme,⁴ God willing, at greater length, as your Reverence, to my intense happiness, asks of me in your gracious letter.

I shall see to it that all this and the bit of a treatise which I composed will leave on time, although I am overwhelmed with work, and for this reason can now no more than ask you to pay back the devoted greetings to your devoted close friends, the Viceroy⁵ and his wife, Doña Antonia de Campillo, and others.

I shall merely add that we celebrated here, on July 31st, the feast of Saint Ignatius by solemnly baptizing the Governor of our town, his wife and more than forty other adults and infants. Several Spaniards from Bacanuchi⁶ came to this solemn baptism, as did also Father José de Aguilar⁷ and his choir from Cucurpe.⁸ We held solemn vespers, a sung Mass, a procession, etc.

Also in attendance at the same celebration in the new town and recently established mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores were five governors⁹ of the principal settlements of the hinterland. And whereas some of them had been hitherto only slightly well disposed towards our holy Catholic faith, ever since the cele-

³ The scriptural allusion is to Mt. XIII, 30.

⁴ One of the numerous treatises planned by Kino.

⁵ The Viceregal family (The Condes de Paredes), of whose son Father Mansilla was the godfather; see above, Letter XVI, note 9.

⁶ In his preceding message, Kino expressed the hope that the commander of the presidio would be the godfather.

⁷ The missionary in charge of Cucurpe; see my study, *Kino's First Report*, p. 167 n. 18; *Saeta*, p. 140 n. 6; ABZ IV, p. 313 n. 27.

⁸ On the Río de San Miguel, almost due south of Dolores; consult the map in *Saeta*, pp. 198-199.

⁹ Indian caciques.

bration of the solemn baptisms just alluded to, they have become so content and enthusiastic that they are pleading for missionaries and holy baptism for themselves and their people.

Of all this, with heaven's favor, I shall draw up a longer account and send it to the devoted father of all these souls, as is your Reverence, and will continue to be, by God's grace, both here in America and in Europe, as your Reverence writes me to my intense satisfaction in your most welcome letter, which I have read over and over again with ever new and boundless joy of my heart.

And as for your Reverence's offer to come to the assistance of this new mission with some small contribution,¹⁰ I shall certainly not keep your Reverence from meriting the title of co-founder of this and many other centers. And so I say that if your Reverence has a very good opportunity and cares to send a bit of wax, some sackcloth, some red *chomites*,¹¹ a few necklaces, some China linen, a few light quilts, or anything else of the sort — all will promote and advance the spiritual and material structure of recently established missions. This first year has brought with it the want of some but not indispensable means; by God's grace, in coming years, the situation will improve, inasmuch as I am in a most productive land which can easily yield and is yielding wheat, maize and other crops in such abundance that it can come to the assistance of other missions which are poorer and less productive, without our having to depend on the royal coffers, which, as your Reverence so wisely observes, is subject to such vast outlays of money and consequent delays in payment.

That we, too, should on our part cooperate in the evangelization of souls by contributing part of the economical means, has always seemed to me to be of prime importance. In this way, perchance, by God's providence the Province can reduce its debt, which according to some is one of the chief obstacles. But perhaps in Rome your Reverence will find some solution or the best solution to the problem; may Our Lord grant that such be the case.

¹⁰ Kino added in the margin: «If your Reverence so cares, you can send your bit of an offering (*limosnita*) to Father Juan B. Ancieta via Mátape, entrusting it to Miguel de Espinosa, the muleteer, who is most reliable».

¹¹ «Chomite» is a rough cloth, but highly prized by the natives; cf. *SAN-TAMARÍA*, op. cit., p. 416, with numerous citations from Mexican literature.

May the divine Majesty decide all to His honor and glory, and preserve your Reverence in all success, as we desire and need — I and these my children.

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, August 6, 1687.

Most devotedly yours,
Eusebio Francisco Kino.

P. S. Remember me to Admiral (or General) Francisco Lazcano if he comes this year from the Philippines to Acapulco. Do forgive all the bother that I am causing you.

XXXVII

An unsigned Memorandum in the hand of the Duchess on the size and importance of California. The efforts to settle the region. Atondo's recent expedition. A plea for the resumption of the enterprise: a practical and inexpensive program is outlined.¹

California is one of the vastest regions of America, if its full extent is taken into account. Its discovery, a desired goal for many years, was recently attempted by Isidro de Atondo,² but as no really useful and signal enterprise is easy, it suffered a severe blow by his killing some of its inhabitants,³ through the failure to discover the riches expected, because of his Majesty's considerable outlay of money and his need elsewhere of the soldiers employed in the settlement and who now, so it is feared, will be ordered withdrawn.

It is up to the Viceroy to see to it that so many needy souls be not abandoned; rather, he should promote by special attention and protection those missions by ordering the Jesuits to continue there, inasmuch as three or four of their missionaries employed in them permanently could gather in for heaven's granaries most abundant harvests. They could be given an escort of a few sol-

¹ The Duchess's *Memorandum* or aide-mémoire (HM 9986) abounds in Portuguese words and constructions, as may be seen from the facsimile of the document; some of these peculiarities she succeeded in correcting. Presumably, a secretary wrote out a complete petition from this *Memorandum* to submit to royal authorities, especially those of the Council of the Indies. The present document is the result of Kino's repeated plea that she intercede in behalf of the California enterprise; see especially Letter XXXII. *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 29, gives an English translation, and offers the *Memorandum* of her Excellency for the not over-flattering sum of 25 pounds!

² See the Index to the present volume.

³ Consult Kino's candid account in his message of July 27, 1683 (Letter XIX).

diers, carefully picked and to the satisfaction of the Fathers.⁴ In this way the expenses would necessarily be very moderate. All could be solved, were the Viceroy to show that he cared for such a work of mercy; for men would surely endeavor to please him, inasmuch as in the Indies, as elsewhere, it is the will of the superior that convinces the minds of men. The advantages resulting from the possession and exploration of these regions are not stressed here, since they are so patently evident.

⁴ The purpose of such an arrangement was to prevent a repetition of Atondo's tragic decision; as a matter of fact, the Jesuits were later authorized by royal officials to exercise jurisdiction over the soldiers; see my edition of *Piccolo*, pp. 71, 208.