

find in Gilg the seeds of the frustrations. We find the same tendency to take refuge in the solitary setting of an example in the missionary's personal behavior — a refuge from the problems of discovering why Christian ways were not adopted more readily and quickly by the Indians. We find the same frustration before the lack of "diligence" and "stability" in the Indians. We find the same tendency to attribute to "stupidity" the incomprehension of the Christian doctrines. In all of this, although Gilg shows a greater degree of concern to find out the nature of Seri ways, we see the basically unilateral approach of the missionaries, resting solidly in the belief that the Indians have no law, no faith, no deities, no leadership, in short, no organized way of life. Although Gilg says that the Seris are only "half-bestial" rather than wholly so, his conviction is apparent that they constitute a different order of humans from Europeans.

It would be interesting to know whether general frustration settled over Gilg as it did over Neumann as he became a veteran of the missions, for the letter we have quoted was written while he was still in his apprenticeship. In the case of another Jesuit, Eusebio Kino, we have an example of one who so far as we can tell never, in the course of his twenty-five years of missionary labor, became embittered or inclined to blame his failures on the inherent character defects of the Indians. Kino was a totally different sort of personality from Neumann, of an incurably optimistic approach to life and always interested in and delighted with other people, whether Indians or not. Strangely enough, despite his persisting interest in the Upper Pimas among whom he worked, he gave no evidence whatever of being able to make observations on the behavior or culture traits of the Indians at all comparable with Gilg's on the Seris. One can visualize little of Piman culture from the voluminous writings of Kino. With very abundant opportunity for observation in his dozens of trips to all parts of the Pima country and into the Yuman country at the mouth of the Colorado River, Kino set down almost nothing to indicate that he was interested in the Indians' ways of making a living, organizing their villages, or worshipping. In the course of recounting some events, inevitably some forms of behavior are recorded, but this is all incidental to Kino's description of his own relations with the people. One guesses that Kino was so completely wrapped up in his own purposes, which included exploration and map making as well as conversion and mission building, that he had no time for learning about the ways of the Indians among whom he worked and traveled. In part this may be due to the fact that everything he wrote was designed to inform the outside world of the great possibilities of the mission field in the Upper Pimería, but so consistently does he avoid setting down anything about Indian culture that one suspects the lack is primarily a reflection of his personality and interests. His abiding interest in Pimas was as they reflected Kino's plans, not in them as he might learn from them about themselves and the world view on which he sought to impose Christianity. In some degree this absorption in their own plans, to the exclusion of the Indians' plans, was characteristic of all the missionaries. Kino epitomizes the tendency in its best form.

Kino never departed from a view of the Upper Pimas as gentle, friendly, sincere people whom he could count on to live up to their word. This was a view in direct contrast to Neumann's view of the Tarahumaras. It is possible that there

were fundamental differences in the character structure of the two peoples. But so consistently, from the beginning, and in the face of rebellion and rejection of himself, does Kino maintain this view that one suspects the bias of personality. Other contemporary accounts of the Pimas held just the opposite — that the Pimas were sly and crafty and ready to work against the Spaniards behind their backs, and a later missionary account held that the Upper Pimas had better all be exterminated or deported from Sonora. It would appear that Kino's bias in favor of the Pimas, while a part of his attempt to combat unfavorable views of them which hindered their development as a mission field, reflected his own relations with them, as Neumann's view of the Tarahumaras reflected relations between missionaries and Indians in the Chihuahua missions at his time. Kino began the work of missionization of the Upper Pimas and thus had the advantage of a long period of almost singlehanded building of social relationships between them and the Spaniards of the region. He built his own personality into these relationships.

Typical of Kino's finding of good will on the part of the Pimas wherever he went is the statement in a letter of 1687 describing his first tour of duty: "In all places they received with love the word of God for the sake of their eternal salvation." But this was not merely an expression of first enthusiasm in a new task, for in the following year he was even more enthusiastic: "God willing, hundreds, and later thousands will be gathered into the bosom of our sweet, most holy Mother Church, for about five thousand of the neighboring Indians have come asking at this time with most ardent pleading for holy baptism. They envy the happy lot of those in the three new settlements." And again five years after the first, of a visit to the Sobaipuris on the San Pedro River, he wrote "Captain Coro and the rest of them received me with all kindness." Two years later of a trip to the Gila Pimas, he wrote: "All were affable and docile people." In 1696 with nearly ten years of missionary work behind him and after previous visits to and work with the Sobaipuris of the Santa Cruz Valley, he wrote that at Bac he was "received with all love by the many inhabitants of the great rancharía and by many other principal men, who had gathered from various parts adjacent." In 1698 he again wrote after a trip through the whole Papago country that he was "grateful for the great affability and cheerfulness of everybody whom we met." And so it went throughout his life until he died in Pima country at Magdalena. Wherever he went, according to his accounts, among Pimas or Yumans, his reception was warm and hearty and he came away with feelings of great friendliness. He apparently was able to charm and to be charmed by all the Indians, whether on first visits or in the missions where they knew him well.

At the bottom of Kino's pleasant and easy relations with the Indians seems to have been a tolerant spirit. Not only has he left no record whatever of suppression of Indian ceremony, but in his writings there is no particular concern with Indian ways as evil. He does not inveigh against drunkenness, which was a common ceremonial practice among the Upper Pimas, as it was among the Tarahumaras. He spends no words on condemnation even of Pima witches. One would think that somehow he managed to remain blandly unaware of the existence of Indian ceremonial life away from the missions, if it were not for the fact that there are accounts

of all-night dances and other ceremonies which took place at villages where he spent the night or visited for a period. Many such all-night gatherings with dances and music he evidently felt honored by, believing (probably correctly in some instances) that they were given in his honor.

Moreover, he gives a one-paragraph account of a scalp dance among the Sobai-puris, saying: *We found the Pima natives of Quiburi very jovial and friendly. They were dancing over the scalps and the spoils of fifteen enemies, Hocomes and Janos, whom they had killed a few days before. This was so pleasing to us that Captain . . . Bernal, the Alferez, the Sergeant and many others entered the circle and danced merrily in company with the natives.* This of course was a situation in which the Spaniards were delighted to celebrate a victory over mutual enemies, the eastern tribes associated with the Apaches, but it is also characteristic of the pleasant and noncritical way in which Kino took note of and sat in the midst of so many native ceremonials. He almost never permitted himself to be even mildly critical of native practices, if indeed it actually bothered him. Such tolerance must have made him welcome everywhere and caused him to be viewed only as a constructive bringer of new good tidings and never as one who was prepared to destroy what the people already had.

There was also a certain amount of give and take in his relations with the headmen of the many Pima villages which he visited. Repeatedly he describes how he sat and talked for hours in such villages. What he said must have had a great deal of interest; an example is the following — describing his visit to Bac in 1692 — which shows his teaching methods very clearly: *I spoke to them of the word of God, and on the map of the world I showed them the lands, the rivers, and the seas over which we fathers had come from afar to bring them the saving knowledge of our Holy Faith. I told them also how in ancient times the Spaniards were not Christian, how Santiago came to teach them the faith, and how the first fourteen years he was able to baptize only a few, because of which the Holy Apostle was discouraged, but that the Holy Virgin appeared to him and consoled him, promising that the Spaniards would convert the rest of the people of the world.*

*And I showed them on the map of the world how the Spaniards and the Faith had come by sea to Vera Cruz and had gone into Puebla and to Mexico, Guadaluaxara, Sinaloa, Sonora and now to . . . Dolores del Cosari, in the land of the Pimas . . . that they could go and see it all, and even ask at once their relatives, my servants, who were with me. They listened with pleasure to these and other talks concerning God, heaven, and hell, told me that they wished to be Christians, and gave me some infants to baptize.*

This was, of course, the general method of teaching and preaching of the Jesuits. Certainly Kino was merely one of many capable missionary teachers who knew how to employ concrete demonstration, in this case maps and charts, and to spice the doctrine with history, and even to meet the skeptics with reference to Christianized Indians who could be questioned right there in their own tongue about it all. These merely show that Kino was capable in the missionary teaching tradition.

His special genius was his capacity to sit down immediately afterwards and listen to the Pima headmen. Over and over again in his accounts, he tells how he

was invited to sit through a night or even two days and nights in which he must have done as much listening as talking. Thus in 1700 on one of his trips among the Yumas, he was persuaded to stay, even though he had wanted to push on, because people wished to hear him. He preached in his usual way. Then, he says, "These talks, ours and theirs, lasted almost the whole afternoon and afterward till midnight, with very great pleasure to all." He was not annoyed by having been put off schedule; rather he relaxed and enjoyed a day of mutual give and take. How much he understood, even though he always had interpreters with him, we shall never know, nor are we sure of his attitude about the content of the long talks of the Indian spokesmen. He never mentions the content unless it had some direct bearing on his mapping interests or the building of the mission chain. But at any rate he behaved in a way, at very great cost in time, which was regarded as courteous and must have made him a delightful guest. He behaved in this respect, in fact, in the way that any visiting headman among the Indians was expected to behave. Long talks by all parties were the rule, but they must not be one-sided — and this Kino seemed instinctively to understand.

Another of Kino's qualities, which was not by any means unique among the missionaries, but most abundantly developed in him, was that of organizing ability. He believed in gathering people together for particular and dramatic purposes. He showed his ability for this when Chief Coxi was baptized at Dolores shortly after the founding of that mission. Kino made it the occasion for inviting other Pima headmen from far to the west where he had made a beginning at contacts — and five attended. He also brought "Spanish gentlemen" from the mining town of Bacanuche to the ceremony. This sort of thing he continued to do on a grander scale as time went on. He brought hundreds of people from all over the Upper Pima country to the dedication of the church when it was finished at Dolores. He brought a large group of Pima headmen from the Santa Cruz and San Pedro valleys and elsewhere to Dolores and then had them go on a pilgrimage through the northern Opata country to have an audience with the Father Visitor at Bacerac and ask for missionaries to be sent to their villages. He called meetings at Bac and other Pima villages to discuss his interest in the problem of whether California was an island or not. His accounts indicate that he got great responses in such meetings and that he participated in the discussions rather than addressed the groups. He had some sort of genius for getting people to do things together and this must have been an important factor in establishing communication among Upper Pimas who had been isolated from one another before.

It would seem, however, that it was Kino's personal characteristics — his enthusiasm, his warmth of feeling for individuals such as Captain Coro, Coxi, and others with whom he became associated, his tolerance of ways not in accord with European, his delight in big and ceremonial gatherings — rather than any inclination or ability to understand other ways and reconcile them that lay at the bottom of his successes in the Pima country. There is no indication that he organized people on the basis of anything other than their devotion to him. He indicates no understanding of Piman social organization; in fact, in the few instances in which he mentioned having selected a governor and given out a cane of office, it was always

on the basis of the person's having helped Kino and his party. He does not indicate that he knew anything about the existing place of such individuals in their native communities, and when it does turn out that an individual such as Coxi had wide influence this seems likely to have been post- rather than pre-Spanish. The basis of Kino's operations, then, would seem to have been not a deep knowledge of the Pimas specifically, but rather a good understanding of what we usually call "human nature" in general.

There is a small incident which sheds much light on Kino's whole approach and personality. On a visit to a small Papago community north of the present Tucson, he found that the people had erected a cross to honor him. At the base of this were placed seven carved wooden "daggers" painted blue, ceremonial sticks such as the Pimans used in many different types of ceremonies. Kino was delighted with the cross (and there were others erected in his honor), but most of all he was intrigued with the blue "daggers." He picked them up and took them home with him, telling Captain Manje his traveling companion that "they represented to him the Seven Sorrows of Holy Mary." The fact that they represented something quite different to the Indians who made them either did not occur to Kino or was ignored by him. Certainly he did not inquire into the matter. He took what he found and incorporated it into his ideal world, ordered by Christian concepts and his hopes and plans for the future of the people of the little Papago village. The cement of this imaginary world in terms of which Kino interpreted all that happened in Upper Pimería was warm human affection. It governed the actual human relationships which he built there.

Some insight is also given into the man's spirit from the following incident of a trip with Father Salvatierra. In 1700 while Salvatierra and Kino and their party were traveling through a section of the worst desert of North America in what is now northern Sonora, he says, "Almost all day we were saying and chanting various prayers and praises of Our Lady in different languages — in Castilian, in Latin, in Italian [Kino was Italian, as was Salvatierra], and also in the Californian tongue." Intoxicated with human fellowship and plans for the future, they saw no difficulties in the Devil's Highway, over which they were riding.

Kino's personality probably had greater scope in a new mission field than it could have had in a mature one such as the Tarahumara, where Neumann worked. And probably many of the missionaries who spent long years in various of the fields, after they had been more or less stabilized, lived and worked and thought much like Kino, learning little or nothing about the people they worked among as products of tradition and culture, but winning the devotion and loyalty of individuals because of their sincerity and warmth and allowing that to serve as the bridge on which Indians moved over to a new way of life.

In 1763, after eleven years as a missionary in Sonora among both Upper Pimas and Opatas, Father Juan Nentuig made a very successful effort to let the world know what life in general was like in Sonora. He wrote a book in which he described the geology, fauna, flora, Indian tribes, mission work, etc. Like Kino's works, it was in part inspired by an effort to get action from higher up the hierarchies, action to stem the scourge of Apache raids which by 1763 had resulted in

the depopulation of the whole northeastern part of the mission province. The book ended in recommendations for controlling the Seris, Upper Pimas, and Apaches, but in the course of setting forth his practical proposals, Nentuig showed himself a man of wide interests and very good powers of observation and organization. At the same time he reveals much of the spirit in which he carried on his own work among the Indians. He had served at Saric at the time of the 1751 Pima rebellion, where he came into firsthand contact with the rebel leader Luis of Saric and where he barely escaped with his life. Most of his time as a missionary, however, had been spent among the Opatas, chiefly at Guasavas on the Moctezuma River among Opatas of the north. He knew the Opata language with apparent thoroughness.

Like Gilg, and unlike Kino, Father Nentuig was capable of learning a great deal about the Indians, at least about the Opatas among whom he felt most at home. He gives us detailed descriptions of their ways of making a living and division of labor, their artifacts, some of their ceremonies and religious beliefs, and even, in that area in which Jesuit missionaries seemed least able to determine the existence of anything at all — social organization. He knew the terms in the Opata language for most of the culture elements which he described. In his writings he shows more insight into some of the psychological reactions of the Opatas than perhaps any other Sonora missionary who has left a record:

*The Opatas and some of the Eudebes, though in a limited degree, are, in comparison to the other Indians, as the people of the towns are in comparison to the country people; for, although they do not cease to be Indians, yet in the end, reason prevails with them; among all of these they are the best Christians; they are the most loyal vassals of our Lord the King, never having rebelled against him or his ministers. They are the most inclined to work, to till their lands and to raise cattle; they are the truest and bravest in war, and many times have shown their courage, both by aiding the Royal troops, and, on their own account, in various campaigns at the expense of the Missions.*

After describing in detail their technique of weaving and expressing high admiration for its products, he goes on to say: *Although this kind of handiwork is slow and tedious, the weavers would not think of employing looms with a great saving of time, patience and work; for the Indians are unwilling to adopt improvements which were unknown to them before. The same is true in regard to any other kind of work, such as cultivating the land and reaping. All the operations might be done with greater ease and better; but it is useless to struggle with them in order to make them give up their routine; their patience can tire the world.*

*In this matter the Pimas, recently converted, have been more docile than the Opatas; for the latter are persuaded that they have nothing to learn no matter how primitive their ideas, while the Pimas, conscious of the scantiness of their knowledge of things necessary to their welfare, are more willing and docile.*

He continues: *A favorable characteristic of all the nations which people the Province of Sonora, even including the Seris and Apaches, is that they neither have been nor are at present idolators; nor have they any inclination to become so. Thus far no trace has been found at all of such worship or adoration — no idols*