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## PADRE LUÍS VELARDE'S *RELACIÓN* OF PIMERÍA ALTA, 1716

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AMONG the more interesting minor accounts of the early missionary efforts in what are now southern Arizona and northern Sonora, is that found in the *relación* or memorial of Padre Luís Velarde, the successor of Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino at the latter's mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores. Velarde's description and chronicle of Pimería Alta follows fairly closely that given by Padre Kino. But it was written five years after Kino's death, and thus gives a somewhat different perspective.

The *relación* appended has never been completely translated into English, although a particular section of it—which gives us almost our only objective account of the daily life and the character of Padre Kino—has been quoted so often as to become the classic description of that great missionary. The memorial, however, has been published in Spanish, and is also to be found in manuscript in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, and in transcript in the Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

The Spanish edition of Velarde's *relación* (referred to by Bancroft as *Descripción Histórica de la Pimería*), is to be found in Captain Juan Matheo Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, Libro II, which "second book" has been published in *Documentos Históricos Mexicanos*, cuarta série, tomo i, (Mexico, 1856), pp. 226-402. Manje, the soldier friend of

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Padre Kino, incorporated Velarde's *relación* in his *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* as chapters nine, ten and eleven of the Libro Segundo (pp. 344-390, Doc. Hist. Mex., 4<sup>a</sup> série, tomo i); which chapters are given hereinafter for convenience, as sections one, two and three, respectively. This Spanish edition is the basis of the following translation, which has, however, been compared with the Bancroft transcript.

Padre Velarde, according to his own account, came to Kino's mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores in 1702 or 1703, eight years before Kino's death. According to the last definite record which we have of him, he was still stationed there in 1730; and he was probably there for some years after that date. His *relación*, written in 1716, was apparently borrowed by Captain Manje, whose *Luz de Tierra Incógnita* seems to have been compiled about 1721.

The *relación*, as has been indicated, is of interest because it contains many geographical notions of the time, concerning Pimería Alta and the Northern Mystery, and also shows the condition and the troubles of the Jesuit missions after the death of Kino, besides giving a résumé of the history of the Pima missions. It will be noted that Velarde's geographical ideas conflicted at times with those of Kino, and that many of them are vague and inaccurate. But in general he admits uncertainty where his source of information is hearsay. As a documentary record of the times, therefore, it is reasonably trustworthy.

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SECTION ONE

*A description of the site, longitude and latitude of the nations of the Pimería, with its northern adjacents, its Californian Gulf, and other notices and observations made by the Reverend Padre Luis Velarde of the Company of Jesus, rector and missionary of the afore-said province.*

Having to make a description of the memorable things that are to be found in the country of the Pima nations and their neighbors to the northward, on which are founded the

chapters of this second book<sup>1</sup>; for greater clarity and distinction of everything, I provide an account no less exact than that of the Reverend Padre Luís Velarde, of the Company of Jesus, rector and missionary of the missions of Our Lady of Sorrows of the said Pimería; and such being the intent, I will transmit it in a small chronicle in three chapters, omitting his introduction thereto.<sup>2</sup>

The Pima nation, which name the Spaniards have adopted (in their native tongue it is called Otama, and in the plural Ohotoma) from the word *Pim*, repeated among them as their negative. It is so numerous and wide-spread a nation that there is no lack of those who say and affirm that there are found many Pimas in the neighborhood of Mexico, and more probably that there are some among the Tepehuanes, who live in the sierra, and many more, even *rancherías* of them, among the insurmountable gorges and hills which are between the Tarahumara and Tepehuane nations, [in] the sierra of Topia and Tubares; and in the two new missions of Nabogame and Naborigame, which are attached to the *visita* of the old Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras and are in the sierra forty leagues from the Mission of Santa Cruz, there are found some Pimas. Grounds are not lacking for believing that the Nayares Indians are Pimas or at least descendants of them; what is lacking is any doubt as to the multitude of Pima peoples who, from Yepache in the Sierra Madre, are administered by the Company of Jesus in all of the missions of Yecora, Onapa, Moris, Movas (or Navas), Tecoripa and Ures, in large towns, although mingled with the Indians of the nation Eudeve and others who live in San Marcial, Nidope, Guaymas, known as Lower Pimería. But my intent is to tell of the Upper [Pimería].

This Pimería Alta, then, extends from south to north from the thirtieth degree to the thirty-fourth,<sup>3</sup> which are computed from this Mission of Our Lady of Sorrows<sup>4</sup> to the Rio Gila, which empties into the Rio Colorado; and from

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1. Referring to the Libro Segundo of Manje's *Luz de Tierra Incógnita*, printed in *Documentos Históricos Mexicanos*, série 4, tomo i, pp. 226-462.  
2. This opening paragraph is Manje's introduction to Velarde's *relacion*.  
3. Degrees of latitude.  
4. The old mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the upper Rio de San Miguel, founded in 1687 and occupied as his headquarters by Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino (1644-1711), the famous Jesuit missionary and explorer of Pimería Alta. See his *Favores Celestiales*, edited by Dr. H. E. Bolton as *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta* (2 v., Cleveland, 1919).

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east to west from the valley of the Pimas called Sobaipuris, as far as the shores of the California Sea, which are peopled by the Soba Pimas. The nations contiguous to this Pimería are so numerous and for the most part unknown toward the North, that, with reason, they call northern America "unknown" (Incógnito); although by the *entradas* of Padres Eusebio Francisco Kino and Agustín de Campos some information unknown to the ancients has been secured, of which I will relate what is best confirmed after giving the rest of the limits of this Pimería, which has for its eastern boundary, descending from north to south and from [this side of] New Mexico, the nations of the Apaches, Sumas, Jocomes, Janos, and part of the Ópata nation which is the largest in the Province of Sonora and borders on the Tarahumara [nation] but separated [from them] by the Sierra Madre.

To the south, it has the rest of the nations Opata and Eudeve, belonging to that province, and between them and the Sierra Madre, from east to west, [lies] Pimería Baja. It also has on the south the Province of Sinaloa with its neighboring nations, Yaquis, Mayos, etc., towards New Spain; and further to the west the Seri and Tepoca nations, few in numbers and although not well reduced,<sup>5</sup> they are not declaredly enemies of the others although sometimes doing them damage.

On the west it has the California Gulf or Rubro Sea,<sup>6</sup> which divides it from that Island [of California] and the missions which the Company has on it, and on the opposite shore of which is the expanse of the South Sea.

To the north of this Pimería, in latitude from thirty-six to thirty-seven degrees, is the Kingdom of New Mexico, and from the watershed of the hill and pueblo called Ácoma has its beginning the Rio Gila, which some call the Rio Grande; which, at a short distance from its source, runs almost directly from east to west, until after receiving the waters of other rivers and joining, just before reaching the Yuma nation, with an arm of the Rio Colorado before reaching the sea, empties into the California Gulf. On both sides of the Gila, and also to the northeast, live Apaches (whom the Pimas call Jarosoma [Parasoma]), sworn enemies of the Province of Sonora, since, joined by the Jocomes and some Janos (and formerly also by the Sumas) they

5. That is, made peaceful and if possible converted.

6. Perhaps referring to the Rio Grande or to the Rio Colorado of Texas.

make every year many and great robberies of horses, and at times murders, without the two presidios of Janos and Sonora being able to hold them back to their territories; they are also enemies of our Pimas, with whom they have had wars for many years; and certainly the Pimas have had usually good success against them, to which we who live in this Pimería attribute the fact that injuries are fewer and less frequent.

More towards the west of New Mexico, at 36 degrees, and to the east of the Colorado and north of the Gila and of Pimería, is the Province of Moqui,<sup>7</sup> which since the uprising [of New Mexico] has not been able to be pacified by the Spanish, although they have attempted it various times and with large forces. But the Moquinos are governed so well and are so valiant and well fortified, that they have driven them back in defeat; this may be the sign of a progressive nation.

The Rio Colorado, at the north of this Pimería, according to what we know here, almost always runs from the east to the west; I have heard and have noted that of New Mexico, while in search of a rich nation [in company with] a part of the presidio [garrison], and in an *entrada* into the western part of the aforesaid kingdom, which [river] runs to the contrary, that is, from the west to the east.<sup>6</sup> We do not know at what latitude lies the source [of the Rio Colorado], nor from which branches it is formed; for some give as its source the Sierras of the Great Teguayó, and others the Gran Quivira. These kingdoms many geographers place in this northern and unknown America, and of them there are some reports here and in New Mexico, although they are very confused. Others place them close to the seven caves or cities, whence came the Mexican nation; although most of this legend seems to me to be guesswork, and so judge also the learned and intelligent. Runs thence [however], this great river in the form which has been mentioned, and as at twenty-five leagues from its mouth a branch comes out running almost north and south, and joins with the Rio Gila, a few leagues before entering the sea, so they are all joined and it is a very large river when it enters the Gulf of the Pímico-California Sea, which they call Mar Rubro. And at the outlet of the Rio Colorado [there is a] large river called the Coral, as it is given in

6. Reddish.

7. Named from the Hopi or Moqui pueblos of northern Arizona.

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many maps, so named due to the color of its sands or perhaps because in its sands are found pieces of coral; which in truth is found but little and thin on this western Pimería coast, although I have seen it and have had it in my hands, although it was not entirely hard or mature.

To the east, where it draws apart from the Colorado, and on the other side of the Gila, there are joined with this river, which is composed of them, two others, called the Salado and the Verde, the first because it is salty, and the latter perhaps because it runs among greenish slopes or rocks.<sup>9</sup> And these rivers run, the Salado from the east to the west and to the south from Moqui; and the Green or Verde from the northeast of the said province to where they are joined, as has been said. But toward the last and most easterly part of this Pimería, there are two other rivers, really arroyos without any particular names; of which the first,<sup>10</sup> which starts twenty-five leagues to the north of this Mission,<sup>11</sup> runs to the north until joining with the Rio Gila, and is bordered with fields of the Pimas, among whose *rancherías* is situated the great [mission] *ranchería* of San Javier del Bac. In a little hill close by this mission, there is a hollow or hole, which according to the tale cannot be fathomed; the Indians have it covered, because they say that if one opens it, such a strong wind will arise, that it will cause a tempest that will destroy them and their crops. This may be an air volcano, and not the first which has been found in the two Americas.<sup>12</sup> Another similar hole there is in a hill near the village of Imuri, which they call Uburiqui, that is, house of air; which houses another secret of nature, of which they do not lack superstitions as to its effects. As to volcanoes of fire, we do not know whether any are to be found, although there are some signs of one having violently erupted in the neighborhood of San Marcelo de Sonoita.<sup>13</sup>

9. The Salt and Verde rivers of Arizona. The Salt River was also known to Kino as the Rio Azul.

10. The Rio de Santa Cruz, whose source is in the Huachuca Mountains, near the present international boundary line.

11. Kino's chief mission, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, where Velarde was Kino's assistant and successor.

12. Manje relates an incident at San Xavier del Bac in October, 1699, connected with this phenomenon. See H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas* (2 v., San Francisco, 1884-1889), I, 269;—, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 358.

13. Doubtless referring to the volcanic cone of the Sierra del Pinacate (Kino's Sierra de Santa Clara), some fifty miles west of the present town of Sonoita, Sonora.

But let us return to our intent. In the angle which the aforesaid river<sup>14</sup> forms when it is joined with the Rio Gila, there are the Casas Grandes,<sup>15</sup> of three stories, ruins of the edifices which were once built in these parts, by those people who settled in Mexico with their first Moctezuma; so some others call [them] Guitzilopoctli and the Pimas [call them] Sibuni, as I will afterward explain, from a little mountain range that lies toward the east of this river and its villages. These [villages] of the valley are separate from the Pimas Sobaipuris, who at a short distance have their villages and are very numerous, most of them to the west and a few to the east of the river, which rises in the watershed of the hill of Terrenate, about thirty leagues to the north of this Mission, and runs from south to north until it joins the aforesaid Rio Gila and runs with it westward, until they are incorporated with the aforesaid three, the Bac,<sup>16</sup> the Salado and the Verde, to the west of the Casas Grandes. Following this direction westward, the shores of the Gila are populated by the Yuma, Cocomaricopa and part of the Pima nations; and in the island which is formed when the arm of the Colorado joins the Gila, there live the Guacamaopas, and on the other side of the Colorado the Oaboponomas.<sup>17</sup> And between the Gila and the Colorado, toward the Northeast of the aforesaid nations, live the Nijor, with whom our Pimas fight, and of whom they take many into captivity, some of whom they sell and others they keep as servants. All of the nations referred to speak the Yuma tongue, and have many relations and friends among them; and there are good interpreters to help reduce them to the faith, and to obedience to our Catholic Monarch.

To the north, and at a short distance, or higher latitude than that of the Province of Moqui, lives the nation of the Crucíferos, or those who wear a cross; because, so say the old Pimas, that is the sacred sign or device of the nation; and

14. The Rio de Santa Cruz.

15. The famous Casa Grande of the Gila, not to be confused with the larger and more elaborate Casas Grandes of northwestern Chihuahua. These Gila ruins probably at one time contained a fourth story, or rather a watch tower. They were first visited by Padre Kino in 1694, and he gives us the earliest known description of them. Their makers and the time of their construction are still obscure, although there is considerable evidence that the builders had some contact with the ancient Mexican civilization. The Pimas refer to the occupants of the Casa Grande simply as the "Ho-ho-kam" (those who were).

16. The Rio de Santa Cruz. The Solanpuris, now extinct, occupied the San Pedro valley.

17. Hoabonomas. Both tribes were of the Yuma or Cuchán nation.

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all wear it, whether well made of wood and hung around their necks, or well painted on the forehead or chest. We do not know, nor have we been able to investigate this design; perhaps it may be due to communication of the Moquinos with New Mexico, or to another cause which I shall show later.

Other less important rivers, outside of various streams and arroyos, has this Pimería, which empty into the Gulf or the Californian Sea. One of these, which has its origin a little further up from the village of Cocóspera, third village of this Mission, is formed of various streams, along which many people live in good villages and *rancherías*, which have had missionaries; but at present the Padre Agustín [de Campos] is the only one, who lives in the Mission of Nuestro Padre de San Ignacio, and who takes care of all and visits them when able. Only in the time of rains does this river reach the sea, because of the many sands which consume it many leagues from the coast.<sup>18</sup> And when it is the time of drought it runs very little. It is called the River of San Ignacio, and empties into the sea twenty leagues to the west of the village of Caborca.

The other river<sup>19</sup> starts about two leagues from this village [Dolores], and running from the north to the south, waters all of the lands of the Mission of Tuape, of the Eudeve nation; those of Nacameri, belonging to the Pimas Bajos; and those of the Mission of Pópulo, belonging to the Seri nation. At a distance from this last, it joins with the Rio de Sonora, and fertilizes some of Pimería Baja, although it is of very little depth in the time of drought. It empties into the said gulf.

The nations placed in the preceding order, are those of whom we have actual knowledge; of the others, who may be more noble, political and populous, we have only a confused knowledge, because of their relation to the Pimas, to whom we must give credit in many ways. And in order not to argue, I have omitted them; and I conclude with saying that outside of the Yumas and Cocomaricopas, who live on this branch of the Gila, all this Mission district for more than eighty leagues to the north, and from east to west for more than one hundred leagues, is populated by the Pimas, many of them Christians, although the majority are still gentiles.

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18. The Rio del Altar, or as it is sometimes called, the Asunción or Rio Magdalena.

19. The Rio de San Miguel de Horcasitas.



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All that has been said is to be found also in the adjoining sketch, which I do not call a map because I do not understand geography, but which I think will make matters better comprehended.<sup>20</sup>

There is also put down in that sketch what the Pimas say about the coast with regard to the communication between the Pima Gulf or Californian Sea and the South Sea. They say, then, that [in] the coast of California may be discerned from this [coast] here,<sup>21</sup> although in a straight line west from Caborca and almost in front of the mouth of the Rio Colorado but a little more to the south, there is a narrow canal or strait, through which the two seas communicated.<sup>22</sup> This agrees with what a great many Californians say, who assure us that from the mission of the Padre Maria Picolo (which is the last one in that island to the north at twenty-seven degrees),<sup>23</sup> up to the strait of communication, there are ten days of travel; this also agrees with what was seen last year, 1715, on the 16th of October, from the coast of this Pimería about twelve leagues to the north of the port of Ascension. This port is in thirty degrees of latitude, and was discovered by the Padre Agustín de Campos in the month of January of that year.

From the said coast were distinguished three hills a little higher than the coast; and in spite of the strong sight of the Padre Agustín and of the Indians and others who were with him, they could not discover more land, which is a sign that going down this way and along the coast until reaching the strait, its existence will be the more verified. That region which is in front of the Yuma lands appears again, with all clarity, on the other coast, which is as I judge, an isle distinct from that of California, on which live the Avrhcotamas (sic) who use *balsas* in having inter-

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20. Padre Velarde's map has long since disappeared, but it is probable that it was more or less based upon Kino's maps.

21. That is, from the coast of Sonora.

22. Velarde is here trying to confute Padre Kino's claim that Baja California was a peninsula. In 1715, Padre Campos, as the result of his own explorations (much less extensive than those of Kino), became convinced that the supposed peninsula of Kino was an island, and Velarde agreed with him. Whether Velarde accompanied Campos in his farthest explorations is uncertain. It will be noted that Velarde's location of the supposed canal or strait is in a region until then unexplored by land, by Kino or any other overland traveler, so that it was the more simple to assume the canal's location there, just where Velarde desired it to be.

23. Padre Francisco Maria Piccolo was the Jesuit padre at Loreto, Baja California, for many years during and after Kino's time. The mission referred to is probably Loreto.

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course with the Yumas and with the Hoaboponomas, who live where we have said. One and another [reports] are confirmed by a modern Dutch map which, indicating the same strait almost where the Yumas place it, shows on its other shore another island distinct from that of California, which, running for a distance of thirty-five leagues, finishes in another strait of communication between this gulf and the South Sea; and although we have no such evidence of this here, yet it seemed worth while to put it down, if only as probable and [yet] in doubt. But let us return to the Yumas.

They say also that this Pimican Californian Gulf becomes narrower as it goes northward, and finally marking the spot (as far as can be learned it will be in about forty degrees latitude) they say that by the Great Sea, as they call the South Sea, "great houses" sometimes come [there] with people, white and clothed. What people this might be—although certainly not Spanish nor the [annual] ship from the Philippines—we are wholly ignorant except that they communicate with the Areotama,<sup>24</sup> and we do not doubt, with those nations further up the coast and river; and so from the other coast, as from the other branch of the Rio Colorado, they will have enough communications to assure our saying that they should not be deprecated; and knowing actually of this communication of these nations, there is eliminated the great difficulty which has been found in arguing how the Yumas secured the large sky-blue shells which they say are found only on the coast of the South Sea.<sup>25</sup>

Also, although we have not been able to verify up to what latitude this Pimico California Gulf of the sea reaches, yet if one does not say that it inclines toward the east, even so, it might come to empty almost in front of Terranova, breaking out into a great bay, where one of the two Spanish vessels which, in charge of Miguel Delgado in the year 1601, were carried there by a great storm in the bay of Bacallao,<sup>26</sup> ran first almost to the west, and then to the south, through a narrow of the sea for three hundred leagues, until it

24. Possibly Velarde refers to the Alchedomas, a half-Yuman tribe living along the Colorado above the Gila. Mange has "los Avrhcoatama."

25. Referring to Kino's effort to trace a connection between Alta and Baja California by showing that the "sky-blue" shells could only have come overland from the Pacific to Pimeria Alta. Velarde's reasoning, although false, is at least ingenious.

26. Newfoundland.

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emptied into a river on whose banks they saw various nations and a walled city, which they took for the Gran Quivira.<sup>27</sup> They went out of the said river by the strait, on the strength of a powerful wind, and returning to go back over their road, they found themselves in sight of Terranova, and sent almost all of their sick to Havana, where most of them died. This *relación* I have in my possession. Some have thought that this voyage was through the strait of Anián, but I have my reasons for not thinking that. The truth is that the signs of the river and the nations agree with the reports of the third *entrada* from New Mexico toward the west, made by Don Juan de Oñate in the year 1606,<sup>28</sup> the *relación* of which I also have, and which was made to the Rio Colorado and the nations on its shores. But I do not affirm the truth of everything in it.

I can well see that what has been said thus far does not agree with what has been written by the Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, first missionary of this Pimeria, who declared with solemn affirmation that the California Gulf did not go up further than thirty-four degrees latitude, and that the Rio Colorado ended in a great bay; in virtue of which *relación* there were drawn maps making California a peninsula joining with New Spain in the said latitude. But I am inclined to think the contrary. In the first place, because the data of the said Padre do not agree as they should, and as his Reverence worked gloriously to discover and verify that which Europe so desires, it seems that his error lies in the badly informed Yumas or in the fault of interpreters, or perhaps because he relied very much upon his eyes; for he says that he saw it [the land connection] palpably from the hill of Santa Clara, situated close to the Yuma country; which seems the more doubtful as the said hill is at a good distance, thirty-five leagues, from the Yuma nation, which is at the mouth of the Rio Colorado, and he could well have been mistaken in his sight, accustomed as it is to present that which it is desired to see: or it could blind itself with the distance and with other [causes] by which objects are often misapprehended.

The second reason [for disagreeing with Padre Kino] is that the Padre Agustín de Campos, missionary of this Pimería for more than twenty-three years and such a

27. A garbled and fictitious account of some half-forgotten voyage.

28. Correctly, 1604-1605. (Yet the year 1606 agrees with the Oñate inscription on El Morro!—editor.)

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master of the tongue, good will and affection of the Pimas, as all here know, natives as well as outsiders—was no less anxious to verify this secret; and he has made many visits to the Yumas, with this in mind, and has examined them many times, and always finds the same thing; and if he has not climbed the hill of Santa Clara, it is because he is so sure of his conclusions, that he need not try to verify what is a known fact.

The third reason is that the Pimas of Caborca, who are closer to the coast, assure us that about thirty years ago they found on their coasts various articles of clothing, thrown by the tide on the beaches, and even today there is on the beach a plank chiseled and bored, which a Chinese sailor and carpenter of the coast says is part of the poop of a vessel of great size. Now where could this clothing and plank originate? To say that they came from south of the California Gulf is very difficult of proof, and all that is left is that this ship might have been an old galleon of the Philippines or some other vessel, which navigating by the South Sea, was wrecked in some storm which brought it to these shores by the strait which has been mentioned. Or perhaps it was one of the ships of Francisco Alarcón, who they say entered this strait; or other vessels which the first Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio de Mendoza, despatched to explore these coasts and which were lost; although there is some doubt due to its antiquity.<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, although voyages by way of the South Sea have reached up to forty-three degrees latitude and have not seen the aforesaid strait, [it may have been] because they passed it at night, or it might have appeared as a cove; and their sight could have deceived them as well, navigating as they did at some distance from land and the strait being so narrow, that at a distance the shore line would seem to be a solid continent; or by a thousand other contingencies and most of all because these mariners were navigating in the interest of finding good places for fishing

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29. Hernando de Alarcón's voyage was made up the Gulf to the mouth of the Colorado in 1540, in connection with Coronado's land expedition, sent out by the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza. It was Alarcón, it seems, who bestowed the name of Rio de los Tizonas upon the Colorado; and it was Alarcón and a later explorer, Ulloa, who proved even at that early date that Baja California is a peninsula. But their explorations had been forgotten by Kino's time, and the contemporaries of Velarde were still trying to prove what they wished to be true—the existence of a strait dividing the "island" of California from the mainland.

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for pearls and not in the interest of gaining glory by discovery.

I omit other data which persuade us as to the certainty of this strait, or which at least leave the matter in doubt, just as it was before the *relación* of the Padre Kino. All would be proved if the journey [had been made] which was proposed in June of last year, according to the advice of the Padre Juan María de Salvatierra, Superior of the Missions of California. But although around here we expected to make the journey, and Padre Agustín and I were in Caborca, making fires at night and smokes and beams in the day time to discover the California ships, expecting that they would make the port of Ascensión, it was omitted for just causes and inconveniences at the close of September. During this time, the Padre Agustín passed through Caborca to make the same signals as in June. But the Padre Rector sent word that he could not come because the boat called Guadalupe, which was to have made the trip, reached that Island so battered and damaged, due to a terrible tempest which beset it for forty-eight hours, that it nearly foundered three times in sight of the harbor and, due to the need of careening it and making repairs, it will not be possible to carry out this project until this year, although we do not know at what time. I hope that the journey we have so desired to make will be carried out, and that we shall prove finally whether California is an island or range of islands, which are connected up to the neighborhood of the Marianas and more likely Japan; while there is no lack of conjectures, as there are also many who assert, that this firm land extends to the north, and that it is connected with the lands of Cape Mendocino and the land of Teso,<sup>30</sup> of the Company of Holland as I understand, until it divides itself at the strait of Anián or some other strait between China and Tartary at the east of the lands further north on the other side of the Pole, or peradventure is connected with these lands.

This last seems probable, as the Pimas say that they have a report of a land in which half of the year it is night, and this agrees with the region beyond Norway. [Also they

30. Yeso. For a convenient statement reflecting the old geographical ideas concerning the western coast of North America, the Strait of Anian and the land bridge to Japan, see Dr. H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York 1916), p. 109. Doubtless Velarde here refers to the commercial establishments of the Dutch East India Company in Japan.

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speak of] lands of islands in line with one another. They also say that they have reports of a nation in which the men have only one foot and the women two. I do not affirm this as true; but although I do not resolve myself to believe it, I do not put it beyond the conjectures of Philosophy; and as we know so many marvels that have been seen in the Americas, which if they had been told before, would have been considered chimeras such as that of the Patagonians, of the Monúculos, of the women who have only one breast, and others of this type. It will remain only in the faith of those who affirm it, that these reports contain any truths; since for the present it is very difficult to verify them. The truth of the matter is that there is still much unknown in this America Septentrional, and much lack of animation and help from those who could and should give it, and even more when methods were proposed to accomplish it all. This is what we desire, and we hope to accomplish much in a short time, with the limited help which is given to us.

For the greater clarity of what I have said here and in the sketch or map, I assert first that some of the maps give the names of the Rio Coral and Rio Grande to the Rio Gila, which is properly belonging to the Rio Colorado, the Salado and the Verde, already joined, which they call the Rio de los Tizones,<sup>31</sup> although I do not know the motive of this, because hereabouts we do not have a special name for the one which the maps call the Acuche Colorado. These rivers are not as they are presented on the maps, nor do we who live so close to them call them except as I have stated at the beginning of this memorial. I have not been able to verify the origin, beginning and author of such names. I note in the second place that some maps put above the Colorado at thirty-five degrees a river called Tizón, and other streams which empty into the same bay with the Colorado. We have no reports here of such a river, and I think that the first who gave this name was the Englishman, Francis Drake, in his dissertation. But to my poor judgment, that navigator, although very skilful, animated and thorough, did not coast California by this gulf or arm of the sea where it is shown in his navigations. This moves me to say that California is only one island, although due to what I have already said, it does not seem even to be that; so that

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31. As noted above. Alarcón gave the name of Rio de los Tizones (Firebrands) to the Colorado because he found there the Indians of the Yuman nation bearing firebrands for warmth.

the material evidence should be weighed and verified very carefully before publishing it. He (Drake) wished to make himself famous by asserting that he had rounded the great California, and by writing of other wonders of this North America, such as a crowned king carried in a litter of pure gold from a city surrounded by a lake of pure gold, and other myths of this type. There is much said in these parts of political nations, rich and valiant, to the north; and they tell us that there are other Pimas who inhabit the interior; but we are not able to persuade ourselves to believe as much was written by Drake and even by Don Juan de Oñate.

More faith, it seems to me, should be given to another English navigator, whose name I have not been able to learn, who about fifty years ago entered the southern part of the strait and the Pimico-Californian Gulf, and sailed up to thirty-eight degrees latitude. He says that he gathered many pearls, selling them in London as fame tells it to the sum of seventy thousand *pesos*, and he gives in his treatise and log many good signs and reports of the coasts of California and this Pimería, the Rio Colorado, etc. Be it Drake or some other who gave reports of the Rio Tizón, hereabouts, as I have said, we have reports of it only through the medium of the Yumas and the rest of the bordering nations. The reason for giving it such a name is without doubt due to having found on the shores of its estuary much cinder, such as is found at the mouth of the Colorado; and the reason for this is strange, and is due to there being so much cold weather there, especially in the winter, when the natives being dressed only in their innocence and going out very early in the mornings to gather shell-fishes, which are a great part of their current diet, to protect themselves from the cold they are accustomed to carry in their hands pieces of lighted charcoal, which applied to the navel give heat to the principal parts of the body.<sup>32</sup> On that coast is found such a multitude of coals, and those only around the mouth of the Colorado, that some, ignorant of its true name, would call it Tizón, while others would have it a distinct river. Such conjectures seem not bad to me, and they are put in the sketch as they are on other maps.

I assert as my third point, although I have not been able to hit upon the reason why some geographers, and among them the learned Don Pedro Hurtado de Mendoza in his geographical work, show us in their maps the River

32. Repeating the old story of Alarcón.

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of the North emptying into the Rubro Sea or Pimico-California Gulf. The true River of the North, and the one which everyone hereabouts knows as such, is the one which running to the west from the Villa de Santa Fé, crosses from the north to the south through the Kingdom of New Mexico, leaving the Tejas [Indians] and the missions of New France to the east and northeast, and inclining its course close to the Pass toward the east, and joining with it the Rio Conchos and other streams, empties very large into the Mexican Gulf, or Bay of the Holy Spirit (Bahía del Espíritu Santo). Other observations and helps could be taken from other books and maps which I have here, which would not be much, although some day I shall make an effort in that direction. What I have said seems to me enough so that no curious or malicious person will dispute with me because I differ from so many intelligent men in this argument. However, as they write by report in *relación* and at a distance, their statements cannot be very true; and we who are so near to these things, and so well informed on them, and who have seen them and now actually see them through out own eyes, have very little faith in these observations or malicious cavillings.

SECTION TWO

*Of the qualities and climate of this Pimería, the origin and customs of its natives, and other reports of them, up to the time of their conversion to the faith.*

It seems to me that I have departed from my original intent in this treatise; but what has been said I hope has not been disagreeable; and it has seemed necessary for the ends which are sought. I will now continue with the principal subject matter. The climate of this Pimería from thirty to thirty-four degrees latitude is temperate, without inclining to extreme cold or heat, although in their times these qualities are reasonable, the cold being much stronger in the winter. The sky is kindly and the temperature for the greater part healthy, although there are some parts in which it is rather sickly, which seems to be due to the air currents, which at times blow somewhat coldly, and to the humidity occasioned from some marshes which are to be found here and there. The land is flat, although it is interspersed with various hills and sierras which beautify it the more, but which impede the roads, which are flat surfaces,



much cut up. And its hills [are covered] with mesquites, bell trees and other trees and shrubs and there are thickets along the banks of the rivers, composed of poplars, willows, tamarisks, walnuts and *gueribos*, and in some of the sierras [there are] many and good pines for the building of the churches of the towns near where they are found, as in the Province of Sonora; the valley of the Sobaipuris<sup>33</sup> being the poorest in woods, although they do not lack timbers, bringing them from greater distances.

There is no doubt that in the lands of this Pimería there are many and good minerals, but there are none who bother about them, and the Pimas have but little knowledge of the metals, as much from lack of experience as from the little interest that they have in silver; since even up to the present they have developed no avarice for this and the other metals so coveted by men. They only value the little stones called *chalchihuites*, which the Mexicans also appreciate, and I believe that they find them in the region of the Colorado. But this is mainly due to the valuable quality which these stones have of restraining the flow of blood of men and women, which causes their preciousness; for their real value is little, although they are not disagreeable to the sight, appearing to be crude emeralds which incline toward a blue or green color.<sup>34</sup> There is also a hill of rock salt and in the coast there are many good inlets and deposits for the fabrication [of salt] which the Pimas do not know how to benefit by, although [they are] the closest to the sea. They take some out, which they distribute among their friends and relatives, with which to season their foods, especially the food of the Pimas of the West, for those of the North take very little care of their appetites. There are, close to the Valley of Bacanuche,<sup>35</sup> eighteen leagues to the east of this Mission, veins of magnetic rock. There have been seen, also, on the coast of this Pimería signs of coral, as I have said, and also of pearls; and although it is presumed that amber could be found, as certain white pastes indicate which are found in October, it cannot be assured for lack of search; but if that be true, it will prove a rich thing and treasured by those who seek wealth.

33. The valley of the Rio de San Pedro.

34. Velarde here refers to the turquoise or similar colored stones found in abundance in Arizona.

35. The Spanish frontier pueblo of Cacanuche was located herein.

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The fertility of the land is more than medium, and in parts very abundant, although in places it is somewhat sterile; more through lack of care, I believe, than due to the quality of the soil, for those who live [in such lands] are called Papabotas, that is, Pimas who eat beans, whose principal harvest is the bean called *papavi*;<sup>36</sup> they content themselves with very little, to eke out an existence. Of fruit trees there are very few, for there are found only tree-cactus, tunas, wild nuts and acorns, and these not everywhere. To the west, and among the Sobaipuris of the northeast, there is abundance of the tree of terebrinths (*jojova*), with a fruit somewhat smaller than the cacao, although nearly of its color and quality, but white on the inside; it does not serve for sustenance, although when the skin is removed it is agreeable to the palate; however, it is so medicinal and so advantageous that every day there is found a new virtue in it for various illnesses, and it is treasured and asked for from Mexico and even from Spain. It is not found elsewhere than in this Pimería, and but a little among the Seris, whom without reason they call the Jojova of Sonora. There are also the medicinal herbs and roots known in these lands and many others which the Pimas know and apply to their illnesses with good effect. There is found also a root or yucca, similar to the so much praised one of Julimes, the same one in California, and they use it against the poison of their arrows and the poison of snakes and other poisonous creatures. There are, in parts, the healthful gum and antidote against poison and other pains which they call *xua*, and another gum which serves as incense, and if not as good as that of Europe, it is at least better than the copal of New Spain.

The rest of the fruits of this Pimería are maize, the small bean called *tepari*, and other grains which in season the Pimas collect and save for their sustenance; and since they have had intercourse with the Spaniards, and the padres entered the country, they harvested considerable wheat, especially those of the West, and beans of all kinds, lima beans, lentils, squashes of various kinds, watermelons and melons; and in the missions there are grown abundant grapes, peaches, figs, pears, quinces, pomegranates, sweet cane and other choice fruits; and vegetables as in any other part of the world, from which it may be inferred that the

36. Probably mesquite beans.

fertility of the soil is not inferior but really superior to parts of New Spain.

The Sobaipuris and the other Pimas of the North sow much cotton, which they weave and with which they clothe themselves; and in truth there is no lack of anything in the Pimería to sustain life with convenience and gratification for those who dedicate themselves to the cultivation of this vineyard; for in its rivers there are catfish and other small fish; they raise chickens of Castile (there are countless turkey in the mountains, although they are easy to domesticate), sheep, goats, large cattle, and mares and horses, from which even the Pimas breed many herds.

As for what touches on the wild animals, [there are] tigers, lions, bears, wild cats, wolves, foxes, coyotes, mountain sheep, deer, hares, rabbits, and other creatures. And it is certain that beyond the Colorado there are bisons like those of New Mexico; for it is clear that the beast which the Spaniards called the Mexican bull, is really a bison, which, because of its size, Moctezuma had in his house of the beasts [in Mexico City] and which had been taken from these lands, for they do not exist in the rest of New Spain. There are also many deer, that in the cañons and hills, due to the lack of water, raise the highly prized *vezuales* stones that are in such demand in Mexico and in such demand in Mexico and in various other parts as remedies and are even sent to Spain, the Spanish valuing them so much that the Pimas now prize them too, and do not sell them as cheaply as before, especially in these latter years, when so many have died of rabies and so much harm has been done in these lands that these stones have not been in such abundance as in the past, when there were many and some very well grown. There are also birds of almost all types or species which are to be found in the rest of New Spain; and at San Javier del Bac and neighboring *rancherías*, there are many macaws, which the Pimas raise because of the beautiful feathers of red and of other colors, almost like those of the peacock, which they strip from these birds in the spring, for their adornment. There is also in the island which the sea forms on the coast near Caborca a type of large bird, seen there last year, which seemed to be an ostrich; and although I do not assert this as true because of the distance from here, I will say that they were unusually large birds. In some places are found

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thousands of birds which are called "chickens of the Indies," large and fat and of pleasant taste.

Of their origin, and how and when, and whence the Pimas came to populate this land, there is the same doubt that exists for all of the nations of America; although if this land connected with China, Tartary or some other country, whether by the continent, or whether divided from it by some small strait, we could perhaps say that they came from Asia or Europe. At the same time, those who have studied this matter say that the Pimas came with the rest, for they say of themselves the same things that are known about all of the Mexicans from the West to the East—they traveled so many leagues and for so much time, having left those places to populate Mexico. But if one gives credit to the traditions of the Pimas, although they are mixed up in a thousand stories, they inhabited this land from a short time after the deluge, of which they also have their tales. One thing can be assured for truth, and that is that when the Mexicans left, the Pimas were already here, for with the same traditions, a little less confused, like the more modern ones, they tell of various things about the first Moctezuma or chief of men, who took the Mexicans away; and they tell about their companions, especially those who lived in the region of the Casas Grandes, of whom they have more individual reports; and they even have superstitions originating in fear of the aforesaid Moctezuma, who they say was a necromancer.

Those Casas Grandes are, as I have said, five in number, and they are of three stories. Eleven of them, in the style of those which they draw for us, were in Mexico at the time of the Spanish coming, whose walls in the greater part are still standing; and there were some entire houses there then, although without roofs, due to the injuries of time. There are many other ruins of the minor houses of other and inferior Indians, subjects of Moctezuma, and they must have been numerous, for the ruins occupy two square leagues of land, the town and its surroundings, and some walls of a large tank or reservoir, made by hand of stone and mortar, and a dike of the same materials, by which they conducted the water of the Rio Gila for more than five leagues, for the service and the sowing that they would do in their homes. Finally, there are so many other vestiges that they leave no doubt. The Pimas assure us that on the other branch of the Gila, in the angle which is formed by the

junction of the two rivers, Verde and Salado, there are ruins of other and similar houses (and all the Pimas of this locality assure us that there are others between the presidio of Janos and the valley of San Buenaventura,<sup>37</sup> by which they give it the name of the Valley of the Great Houses); and there are still others on the other branch of the Rio Colorado, from which to the seven caves or cities whence came the Mexicans, and which they say are at the northwest of this Pimería and close to the sea, there are no more than ten days of travel, which they make on foot and which seems to be but a short distance, and apparently, as I have said, in about forty degrees [north latitude]. And as we know that this is certainly the nation with whom those people trade who are white and clothed, then by various sources I have and by other conjectures not to be deprecated which perhaps I will write some day, I am inclined to believe that they are Chinese, who at times arrive there by the Sea of the South, in "great houses," as the Yumas say. There is no rashness in asserting this.

In what touches their superstitions, the Pimas do not dare to burn any wood of the aforesaid house ruins. There is in them a feeling that perhaps they may in some manner make an offering, and give *guaris*, feathers, arrows and others of their treasures to the departed ones. They affirm that there is buried close to the ruins a large pot, full of *chalchihuites*, which when one tries to grasp it goes to the bottom. Finally, they show at a short distance a little hill, divided in two small divisions, which they say join if anyone passes between them; and whoever is thus caught is never seen again; which among other things they attribute to the magician Moctezuma. The Padre Agustín, who has been in these houses a great many times, has said the same thing about them. He has attempted to rid the Pimas of these fears, and has burned some of the aforesaid wood for his uses, and made his servants take out and throw away the jewels that are put superstitiously into the dwellings, and he has even asked them to show him the magical pot, but has not been able to see it; nor have they now as much fear of the magician Moctezuma, and with time they will lose it all when they are baptized and show that they are Christians. All of this I have recorded here, because there are some who say that the Mexicans went from this Pimería, and the Pimas are of the same race, which appears to be

37. The Casas Grandes of Chihuahua.

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false due to what has been said and the difference in the natives and their customs, polity and government, and other qualities, in which the Mexicans in no way correspond to them.

The Pimas are usually of good height and well featured, although their color is somewhat darker than that of the nations of New Spain, originating in the nudeness in which they live, made dark from the sun, air, cold and other inclemencies of the weather. Their dress who live in the North, is of cloth of cotton, which is very well woven and painted gracefully with red and yellow; they also have some cloth of wool, when they possess sheep. Although those of the West have no weaves, nevertheless, due to commerce with the others and their exchanges, especially in the chamois skin<sup>38</sup> which they have and cure very well because in their land the hunting of deer is more common, they too go about dressed decently in the same clothes. They use trousers of chamois skin, and from this skin they also make little overcoats, very charming. The women, as a rule, are naked from the waist up, and down to their feet are clothed with skirts of chamois skin, and in the winter they have another chamois skin which serves as a shawl; and others have a jacket made of many skins of rabbits cured with the fur together, and this serves as overcoat for the children of these last Pimas. Especially among the Papabotas there are many who do not wear any more clothing than their innocence, even without covering the most shocking parts. This is done with great sincerity. Also, among the Yumas, the Cocomaricopas and their neighbors there are found few who wear anything over their naked skins, outside of the women, who have a skirt made of willow bark, which reaches down to their knees and does not serve for more than a covering of decency. They live, nevertheless, happily in their poverty, and do not have more clothing because of the lack of cloth, which does not trouble them, and of commerce with which to get it. But in our missions, towns and *rancherías* they are better dressed, somewhat by the help of the padres, as well as by the food which they sell to the Spanish.

Their habitation is in huts of matting made of reeds, split and built in the form of a roof on some sticks forming arches, on which they support the said mats, which are

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38. Meaning deer or antelope skin.

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strong enough to resist the injury of the weather; and they do not have in these huts any more furniture than a mat on which to sleep, some calabashes in which to carry and hold water, and some pots in which to roast maize and most have a metate on which to grind the maize; but there are always a bow and arrow, quiver and club to fight with; and in spite of this misery, they pass their lives happily and live long and even make some pretensions to vanity.

Their understanding is very small, and with it they attain to very little of this life as well as very little of the other life. They are not malicious, and for the greater part they are very simple, although some are found to be more alert, and these are usually the restless and noisy ones. Their temperament, especially of those of the North, is haughty and arrogant, and it is noticeable in the spirit and bizarreness with which they talk; the reason for which is that they hold those of the West in such little esteem; and it is true that these latter, whether it be due to having less fire or to some other cause, recognize in the others some superiority and look up to them with special respect, which although not amounting to subjection, remains a matter of knowledge, whence is born the opposition and rivalry which was formerly expressed by fighting, but now is shown in the handling of their arms and in races and contests. The Pimas of the North carry away the wagers, and almost always have the advantages. And also they usually win in the game of running and kicking with one foot a round ball, which they call playing *el guaquimari*; at this game two teams play, each team throwing their ball to a place decided upon at the same time with the other team; and then running three leagues with it; the team which returns first to the starting place gains the wager from those who come in last. They also have another game which they call *patole*, which is played with four little canes cut a thumb's length long; they throw these upon a rock so that they will jump, and the luck of each player will be shown by the manner in which these canes fall to the ground, the player whose score first reaches a determined number winning. They also dance in a circle, singing and leaping, and if it is about some triumph or death that their enemies have caused them, they put the scalp or some member of the dead one upon a stick in the center of the dance ground or the plaza.

They all use the same tongue, but especially those of the North have the advantage in this as in everything, their

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tongue being more abundant and having more beauty than that of the West and Pimería Baja. Nevertheless, they all understand each other, and all of their tongues have the defect which is found in the rest of the tongues of this America, of being very poor in words to explain the divine mysteries and things about heaven, so that it is necessary to take advantage of metaphors and roundabout expressions to show them the mysteries of our sacred faith, the orders, sacraments and the rest of the things conducent to their salvation.<sup>39</sup> But it is true that the Pima tongue has its advantages, so affirm those who have learned it, over the rest of the tongues which are spoken in the New World, outside of the Mexican and Tarascan, in its abundance, propriety, expression and other qualities.

Their customs are not as irrational as is promised by their barbarity, and although polity does not exist, they all salute each other and give each other the hand, even upon first sight. They are generous and liberal, as far as they can be in their poverty, and no one who visits their *rancherías* or homes, be he one of themselves or a stranger, will lack necessities. They live in a community together in the winter, and in the summer each one in his hut. They have no government, nor laws, traditions or customs which which to govern themselves; and so each one lives in liberty, without knowing in each village any superior other than the one who talks most and incites them to fight with the enemy nations, or who gives the signal for the time to hunt. In the West there was an Indian by the name of Soba who had a great following, his nation retaining the name of Soba.<sup>40</sup> Among the Sobaipuris, there was El Coro,<sup>41</sup> who five years ago killed one by one many of his rivals in various controversies which they had. Today the Sobaipuris recognize as chief El Turumisani, who with anxiety desires baptism and padres for his people. Among the rest of the Indians of the North, many visits were made by Francisco Pacheco, called by the name of Captain Pacheco who was his baptismal father, and vulgarly known by the name of Cola de Palo, who, regarded with caution and watchfulness by the Span-

39. A "defect" which other Spanish missionaries often deplored.

40. El Soba was the most prominent chieftain of the Western Pimas, in the lower valley of the Rio del Altar. His main village in Kino's time was Unuicat, a short distance south of Caborca.

41. El Coro was the famous Sobaipuri friend of the Spaniards, and ruled over most of the Sobaipuri villages in the upper San Pedro valley from his main village at Quiburi, not far from the present town of Fairbank, Arizona.



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ish, accredited himself at all times with loyalty; he died in April of last year, six days after having been confirmed in the church, of a sudden accident in Cocóspera, the third village of this Mission, in which he was governor for many years. He left among others a son of a good native mother, who is the Captain of the village, and is gathering some following. Other captains there have been and in other parts, of some repute among them, but more than anything this position remains only as has been said, without feud, obedience or subjection, each one doing what he wishes. These captains I call chiefs or leaders and the one of the West the Great Soba; and so it was published and written in Europe, I do not know for what reason, for they have no authority to speak of.

Their religion is none; they do not even know God, the Universal Cause, nor do they think or discuss anything outside of the material or the present. And as they know no Deity, nor adore anything, it is the easier to introduce them into the Holy Gospel and reduce them to the gentleness of our faith. They have nevertheless some tradition of the general deluge, and they tell of the way in which their ancestors saved themselves, and they keep the memory of a Titoi, of whom they say that with two other families, he saved himself from the deluge and various other calamities. It is a long history, full of a thousand stupidities, and finally, as with a blind person, barbarous and of short memory; and so I omit it here, although it would not be disagreeable, due to the gracefulness of its style. The sun they recognize in some manner, but not as a Deity, and so they do not give it adoration nor do they show it any obsequiousness; and it only appears that they look at it as the source whence their fruits come, which lights them and gives them heat, without any other reflections or discourses. Of the moon they say that within her is a young boy, who, I know not why, was picked up by a crane and put there; others say that the blot which appears upon the moon is a coyote. When there is thunder or an eclipse of the sun or moon, they give many cries and observe other superstitions which I omit, due to their being more simple and typical of primitive people, more than aught else.

There is no lack of magic among them, the arts of which they use to kill each other, with herbs or in some other way, or to make snow fall when they are going to fight the Apaches or other enemies, or to make the wind

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blow hard against the faces of their adversaries so as to make their own arrows go more directly to the mark; or to raise fogs on the hills in order not to be seen by their enemies, or to make the rain fall and take away clouds, and other things of the sort, which, although I doubt not they are worked in accordance with a pact [with the devil] yet I know for a fact that it is derived from the ancients, and that the magicians who at present are found, do not have any communication with the evil one, nor does it appear that they have seen the devil as is known of some others. Moreover, in a general way the magicians are so despised and disliked by the rest, that sometimes they attempt to kill them. Nevertheless, they esteem others who by sucking or blowing cure the sick, and these cures are also diabolical in part, and with as little security as that of the magician who has them blinded and deceived.

As to their marriages, with the wish man and woman are married, without any exterior ceremony, other than by living together, without anyone disturbing them; but they do not marry blood relations, even outside of the grade of affinity. They usually have two or three women, but in various villages, and if it be in the same one, then in separate houses, and in no manner together. This is their greatest vice, although it is easy to remove it, as may be seen by the conduct of those of them who are Christians. And in the matter of shamelessness they do not go to the excesses of other nations of Indians, and rarely does one find sodomy among them, they being less inclined that way than are others. I believe that this originates in the fact that they live apart from the drunkenness of the rest, except in the time of the ripening of the cactus fruit, when they attempt to make some wine of it; but this lasts only for two or three days and is not carried to the excess practiced by other nations. If the husband and wife disagree and the children are young, they draw them close to either one, and each gains on his or her side. They do not curse nor use profane language, nor do they rob each other; their houses being without doors, no one steals their poor treasure, because their dinners are eaten as common repasts by whosoever desires to share them. They bury their males with their quiver and arrows and some food and a little calabash of water, a sign that they have a glimmering of immortality, although not with the distinction and reward for bad and good living; they also have a fear of the depths of the earth,

although in the same silly way as that which they show in speaking of the deluge.

That which has been said of the Pimas in regard to their religion, polity, etc., is likewise the same for the Cocomicopas, Yumas and other surrounding nations, which according to the accounts of the Pimas, are in every way confirmed, although it is true that further into the interior there are nations more advanced in government and other knowledge.

The dullness of our Pimas keeps them from knowing, not only the use of letters, but also the use of those symbols, characters and paintings by which the Mexicans (as well, it is believed, as other nations of the Americas) wrote and left for posterity their deeds and happenings. They have only some traditions handed down from father to son, and as these are wrapped in a thousand absurdities and stupidities, they do not deserve the name of histories. The Indians of San Javier del Bac [say] that from there were propagated all of the Indians now inhabiting those regions, through the medium of a man who came up out of the earth; and in this, it is perhaps meant to be said, that the Mexicans had their origin in this Pimería. But the truth is that thence, although not as they tell it, have come the greater part of those who live in Pimería Baja, just as the old men, those of more than one hundred years of age, tell of it, although without any data or reason to prove the contrary, because of the wars that they have had between their tribes. If those Indians of Bac originated in their center and spread thence through various parts, it would not be strange if it were found that some Pimas, serving in a more modest capacity or in the company of the Mexicans, went out therefrom, and from such Pimas would be descended those who they say live near Mexico; and I even submit that perhaps from them also come the Otomies,<sup>42</sup> a nation that is well known in the vicinity of Mexico, and even in fear of the Mexican emperors at one time, although not subject to them. There is also a relation in names, Otomi and Otoma, as are called the Pimas, and in the barbarity of the costumes of the one and the other, and other conjectures that are not improbable, as perhaps I will show on some other occasion. I will attempt to make a vocabulary in that tongue and attempt to combine the verbs, names and radicals with these.

42. A half-barbarous nation living on the northern fringes of the Aztec empire in southern Mexico.

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The Pimas are valiant and daring, as is proven by the wars which the Sobaipuris and the rest of the Northern tribes have maintained against the Apaches, a bellicose nation which passes the lines of temerity in its valor. The valor of the Pimas is also shown by those of the West, who have also fought well against the Seris and Tepocas, of whom there are still rumors of trouble, and by those wars which they have fought against the Spanish at various times, and in which they would have given the latter much trouble if they had been united on these occasions. And truly it has been due to the particular providence of Our Lord, that this nation has been diminished due to continuous epidemics; for because of their pride there are not lacking among them people who are restless and troublesome. Their arms are club, bow and arrow, touched with a very effective poison which they make out of various poisonous weeds and the sap of a plant called in Pima *usap*.

In former years, before there were padres here and when all were gentiles, the Sobaipuris had the last communication with the Apaches of the Sierra of Chiguacagui,<sup>43</sup> and much later since then, the Captain Ramirez in good style and without bloodshed separated them. The Apaches are the implacable enemies to the great good of this Province of Sonora, for since the Indian named Coro with his Sobaipuris in the village of Santa Cruz [de Gaibanipitea] made that killing of 148 idlers from a much larger mob of Apaches, Jocomes, Yumas and Janos, who were united and were doing much damage in all parts of the country, there have been no enemies disturbing any town of this province,<sup>44</sup> there being before this time many aggressors continuously carrying on great hostilities and doing harm to all the land. Moreover, this killing was an excuse for the Janos to retire in peace to the presidio of San Felipe and Santiago de Janos, of which Don Juan Manuel Fernandez de la Fuente was Captain, and the Yumas to the presidio of the Pass of New Mexico, making the condition that they together with the Spanish should go to war against the Pimas if the latter did not keep the peace and quiet of the country. The Apaches with a few Jocomes and Janos remained and although the Pimas are less in number than before, they are numerous enough to resist them, as they do when they go out on a

43. The Chiricahua mountains, east of the San Pedro valley.

44. The fight in question took place March 30-31, 1698, and is well described by Kino in his *Favores Celestiales*. See also Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, p. 274.

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campaign, killing a good number by following them into the hills, or in campaigns accompanying the mounted soldiers of the presidio of this Province. . . .

Returning to the original proposition, the Pimas Sobas of the West not only maintained war with the Seris, but as a numerous people of a gentile race who knew no other padres than the Spanish, they came to the valley of Opodepe to steal horses and execute other hostilities, although it is today twenty-eight years since the aforesaid Captain Fuentes with soldiers from his presidio and *vecinos*, made an expedition to Caborca. Although he did not reach that place, due to not knowing the road and lacking good guides, and it being the season when the land was dry and the pasturage poor, yet this demonstration was enough to quiet them for a while, and a short time afterward there arrived the light of the Evangel in which Padre Eusebio Kino instructed them, and they ceased all of their turbulence, and now they persevere in great felicity in keeping the faith. Although there was killed in their town of Caborca the venerable Padre Javier Saeta in the year 1695, they did not kill him, as I will explain presently.

Finally, in the past few years, as the old Pimas tell, the Sobaipuris have had a mutual communication with the Moquinos, with the good fortune that they have held fairs together. Due to this the Pimas have had many reports of each nation of the Province of Moqui, and the situation of the villages, their government and other matters, until recently when the Moquinos arrived in the valley of the Sobaipuris in the land called Taibamipita.<sup>45</sup> We do not know why on this occasion both nations fought, nor why the Pimas killed many Moquinos; but there were multitudes there, and then ceased the friendliness and commerce. Although the Pimas wish to return to peace and communication, they have not yet carried out the formal visits necessary to re-establish the communication, for the Apaches have occupied the pass of the Rio Gila where the road is; although the distance between the last towns of the Sobaipuris and the Moqui towns, is not more than three days of travel.

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45. Probably Gaibanipitea, a Sobaipuri village, referred to by Kino as Santa Cruz de Gaibanipitea.

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### SECTION THREE

*A chronicle of events in this Pimería, from the beginning of Christianity therein, with the progress and obstacles which it has encountered, and its present state.*

Thus lived the Pimas in their gentile and barbarous state, when the Holy Sacrament came to give them the light through the medium of Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, a native of the City of Trento, who after having been in the Californias in the company of the master [mariner] Don Isidro de Atondo<sup>46</sup> [for] eighteen months, with the title of cosmographer to His Majesty Don Carlos II (in glory may he rest!), and as superior of all the padres who were with the *armada* [of Atondo]; and having postponed the enterprise and the subjugation of that island, was appointed by his superiors to these new conversions of this Pimería, to which he dedicated himself promptly, as much with zeal and desire to employ himself in missions for the gentiles, as with the idea of investigating if in this Pimería there was a land passage to California.

To gain for his conversions the aid of the padres of the Province of Sonora, he secured a royal provision by the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara,<sup>47</sup> so that these worldly justices might help him in his sainted work. It was declared in the royal grant that for the first twenty years of the conversion of these nations, the Indians should not be obliged to pay any tributes nor under any circumstances be divided by the secular justices to serve and work in the

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46. Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón, a native of Navarre, was governor of Sinaloa when, in 1679, by royal *cédula* or decree, he was given the office of Admiral of the Kingdom of the Californias, with the right to hunt pearls therein, provided a colony was founded. Kino was Atondo's chief missionary (for the Spanish government usually sent missionaries to accompany such expeditions), and early in 1683 the expedition sailed to La Paz Bay, near the tip of Baja California. A short-lived attempt at a colony failing at this place, Atondo and his expedition returned to Sinaloa. Late in the same year, another effort was begun at San Bruno (not far from Loreto, and some distance up the coast from La Paz). This colony lasted until the summer of 1685, when it too was abandoned. Baja California had no more missionaries nor settlers of any consequence until 1697, when Padre Juan María de Salvatierra began his Jesuit missions in the peninsula. Kino, after seeing the failure of his San Bruno mission, returned to Mexico City, and thence was sent to Pimería in 1687. While head of the San Bruno missionaries, he seems in 1685 to have made a voyage across the Gulf to visit the Guaymas Indians in southern Sonora, and so came to know something of them.

47. That is, the royal Spanish judicial district of northern New Spain. Kino, in December of 1686, visited the *audiencia* and secured its permission to carry on mission work among the northern Indians, who were to be protected from the Spanish settlers by a royal *cédula*.

mines and ranches of the Spaniards.<sup>48</sup> He entered this Pimería on the 13th of March in the year 1687, and with the help of an Indian named Coxi [Cosari?] (and called at his baptism Don Carlos, in obsequiousness to our beloved king Don Carlos II, of glorious memory), who was native to this village, then only a small place; and with aid of neighboring villages, he began to make *entradas* among the Indians; and carried to them the light of the Holy Sacrament, explained through the medium of sure interpreters whom he brought from the Mission of Ures, in the lower province, where he had mastered the language.

The mildness and good manner of the Padre, along with various little gifts, and principally the purity of our Holy Faith by the explained and Divine Disposition, which had already opened the door and light of Heaven to those who for such a long time had lived in the shadows of death—all began to soften their hearts, so that inasmuch as they were free from idolatry and not as deeply rooted in vices as the other nations, they gave place to the seed of the Divine Word, offering then their children for holy baptism, while even the adults asked for it insisently.

They assembled at good sites to form villages and to build houses and churches as they had at first in this village. And in order that there might be a good beginning, progress and faith in these conversions, [this Mission of] Our Lady of Sorrows was dedicated in a suitable church, elegant, adorned and built of adobe and soil.<sup>49</sup> Then were begun a mission in the village of Our Lady of Cures,<sup>50</sup> and another in Santiago de Cocóspera,<sup>51</sup> large and suitable, with its chapels, to be the cross-bearer of all the missions of the district. Then were begun those of Our Father of San Ignacio,<sup>52</sup> San José de Imuris,<sup>53</sup> Santa María Magdalena,<sup>54</sup> and San Pedro de Tubutama,<sup>55</sup> and others as well. And with

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48. This *cédula* prohibited a common practice of the country, by which Spanish settlers obtained cheap labor for their lands.

49. Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, on the upper San Miguel River. Only a trace of the ruins remains.

50. Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, a few miles north of Dolores.

51. Near the headwaters of the Rio de San Ignacio (the eastern branch of the Rio del Altar), and nor far south of the international boundary line.

52. On the Rio de San Ignacio below Cocóspera.

53. Just above Mission San Ignacio and on the river.

54. Just below Mission San Ignacio and on the river. Still famous for its annual October fiesta, attended by thousands of the Sonora Indians.

55. On the Rio del Altar, a few miles south of the present boundary between the United States and Mexico.

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the occasion of other padres coming afterwards to the said conversion, although they did not continue very long, yet they greatly aided Padre Kino, with prosperous success everywhere; making much progress in the teaching of the Faith, in baptisms, and in the beginnings of churches and houses. Governors were chosen among the natives, as were justices, fiscal agents and constables; and as they turned to the Faith, they were introduced to political life and rational customs. In the year 1693 the Padre Agustín de Campos was chosen for the Mission of Nuestro Padre de San Ignacio, where he still remains. With Padre Kino, and sometimes alone, he began various *entradas* among the outer nations, and both worked gloriously, so that in a short time they had already gone all over this Pimería, and had enlightened its inhabitants with the light of the Holy Sacrament, having gathered the fruit of many children and sick adults who, bathed with the waters of baptism, departed to the eternal possession of the glory, to be treasurers in the Divine Esteem for the total conversion of their fellow Pimas. There was no lack of Divine Providences which took care that the Divine Lord now has them among His chosen.

With well-grounded Christianity, and with hopes of its total conversion, the five padres who were to be found in this Pimería made up a rectorship which had the title of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, separate from that of San Javier in which it had been. But in the year 1695, the common enemy of the good of souls, seeing that there had escaped from his clutchès those who had for such a long time whined beneath his domination, gathered together his forces to impede the progress [of conversion] and even to tear all away from the Faith, with the death of the Evangelical missionaries, and incited some malevolent Indians of the West, especially those of the village of Oquitoa,<sup>56</sup> about ten leagues from Caborca. And many of the villagers of Tubutama [caused] the death of a servant of the Opata nation, belonging to the Padre Daniel Januske, who was then the missionary of Tubutama<sup>57</sup> (at present he is at Oposura and is rector of the Santos Mártires district among

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56. San Antonio de Oquitoa, on the Rio del Altar, just above the present town of Altar, and some twenty miles below Tubutama.

57. Padre Januske was absent from Tubutama at the time when his servant Antonio maltreated certain of the villagers. On March 29, 1695, Antonio and the other servants of Januske and Kino in Tubutama were killed by the enraged Indians.



the Opatas), and of two other Indians who were coming from Caborca after leaving a few cattle with the Padre Saeta; and even the Padre Daniel would have died at the hands of these restless ones, if an old man who was less cruel than the others, had not prevented them, the padre having come out of his mission to hold Holy Week in the Mission of Tuape,<sup>58</sup> nearer to this Pimería, among the Eudeve nation and belonging to this rectorate.

The Padre Agustín had notice of the uprising, and had notified the Padre Daniel. But seeing that he did not come, Padre Agustín went out in search of him, in company with some Indians of his mission; and had even, believing him dead, made search for his body, by an unaccustomed road which he had not used before, and along which the Padre Daniel was proceeding without having known of it.<sup>59</sup> But by the special providence of Our Savior there were saved from death these two padres, who would probably have met it at the hands of the restless natives if they had both gone by the regular road. Thus the Padre Agustín was spared the shock which he would have had at the death of Padre Daniel; and the latter learned the danger in which he had been and of which he himself had been ignorant by not having received the notice from the Padre Agustín, he having passed the messenger on the road, to go on to Tuape to hold the Holy Week without fear that a rebellion would take place. And there was not present at this function, Padre Francisco Javier Saeta, because him Our Lord had chosen to shed his blood on this Pimería, and give his life for the Faith, in return for his angelical procedure and his innocent life and religious virtues.<sup>60</sup>

In great excitement, the Tubutamas, Uquitoas and other malevolent Indians who followed them, having killed the three mentioned Opatas, set fire to the house and chapel of Tubutama, outraging the chalices, altars, medals and holy pictures; and having destroyed various images of Jesus Christ, they divided and profaned the sacerdotal sacraments from which they made clothes after their fashion. Then, the poor Padre Daniel having been spared from their barbarous and cruel hands, they went toward Caborca on

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58. About thirty leagues south of Dolores and on the Rio de San Miguel.

59. That is, without having known of the insurrection at Tubutama.

60. Padre Saeta was killed at his mission of Concepción del Caborca, as will be seen.

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Holy Thursday, March 31,<sup>61</sup> and tried to seduce from the faith the natives of Pitiquin,<sup>62</sup> three leagues from that village, so that they might join them in their iniquitous designs; and not gaining them, on the Saturday of Glory,<sup>63</sup> well on in the morning, they arrived there, and then began to give vent to their ire with cries, and [to attack] the wild Indians who served the Padre Saeta.<sup>64</sup>

The padre came out, for according to the hour he was in prayer at the time when he heard the cries, and seeing what these barbarous people were doing, he said to them with notable meekness: "Why do you seek to kill these poor people?" The answer of the rebels was to fire at him two arrows, which almost at the same time entered his sides. He then knelt to offer up his soul to God, and a short time later he retired to the poor house which was his only home. His murderers followed him, and setting him up in his humble bed, they committed upon him a thousand cruelties, until at the blows of their clubs, accompanied by twenty-five arrows, as is presumed from the number found in the house, he surrendered his life, to enter triumphantly into the glory and to celebrate the triumph of Christ, receiving the palm and crown of martyrdom. I call him a martyr, this venerable Padre Francisco Javier Saeta, in the degree which is permitted by the decrees of our Holy Father Urban VIII and others concerned; for according to the protests of the Indians, and according to the treatment of the sacred ornaments, sacred pictures, chalices and medals, which was in the same excess as at Tubutama, and according to other incidents and circumstances, no doubt they killed him "in odium fidei."<sup>65</sup>

Fortunate death of a fortunate padre, for he deserved the reward of dying for Christ, which is only attained by the relevant virtues and innocence of life in which the venerable padre excelled. He was a Sicilian by birth, and had come to New Spain only two years before, with the desire of employing himself in the glorious work of the new missions. He finished his studies in Mexico, and was ordained and then directed to this Pimería, which was then

61. Kino gives the date as April 1.

62. San Diego del Pitquin.

63. April 2, 1695, according to Kino, and early in the morning.

64. The mission of La Concepción del Caborca, westernmost of the Altar valley missions, had only recently been organized by Kino, Padre Saeta having been conducted thither in October of 1694.

65. Saeta's four Indian servants were also killed.

poor, new, remote and with but few Christians although many gentiles. These qualities he accepted with joy, as much to employ the fervor of his spiritual zeal in the total conversion of these poor creatures, as for the chance to await an opportunity for the entering of California, to dedicate there a mission to his countrywoman, Santa Rosalía de Palermo, as he had promised to do.

He had the light of Heaven within him, for a few days before he had written to Padre Kino that his last days were approaching; and despite the nature of his death, it is presumed that he had a premonition, since although he was advised in time by some of his flock who knew of the conjuring and schemes of the rebels, he did not attempt to save himself.

[The tumult] being somewhat assuaged, and the enemies dispersed to various parts, a Christian Pima called Felipe, who at present lives with his son in the neighborhood of San Ignacio, burned the precious body of the padre, which, what with the strong poison of the arrows and the heat, was decomposing and swelling (this burning is the manner in which the Pimas treat their dead whom they most esteem). Instantly the news of what had occurred was given to Padre Kino, by the medium of the loyal Indians. He, already on the march, sent word immediately to the Padre Marcos Antonio Kappus, then missionary of Tuape and rector of that mission district (at present the most worthy Padre Visitador of the missions of the Province of Sonora), and they began to rouse the [Indians of] the necessary provinces, who, joining together with soldiers and *vecinos*, would stop the uprising before it could take on more volume; and [they sought] to give the venerable padre a more decent burial.<sup>66</sup>

Came then Don Domingo Xironza Petríz de Cruzat, military governor and *alcalde mayor* of this Province,<sup>67</sup> and with sufficient men he directed himself toward Caborca, accompanied by the Padre Agustín. He arrived there, and gathered together the Caborcas who remained (because the most, with fright at the death of the padre, had fled to the hills), they assuring him that the Tubutamas and the ma-

66. Obviously, cremation was considered unchristian by the missionaries, then as later.

67. He was the uncle of Captain Juan Matheo Manje, and had twice served as Spanish governor of New Mexico. In 1693, he was sent to Sonora as military governor and *alcalde mayor* or chief justice, which positions he held until 1700.

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levolent Uquitoas, and not they, had killed him; because, they added, How, or why, should we kill him when we loved him so much and he being a saint? Thus they explained it, and in this manner asserting themselves, they gave great testimony as to the virtue and saintliness of the venerable padre. In truth, argued the *Comandante*, we found not a single Caborca Christian or gentile connected with the death of the padre, although many were solicited [to rebel] and if they did not defend him, it was not through lack of love for him, but due to lack of strength, because the majority of them were scattered, preparing their lands for the sowing, and they were quite inferior in numbers to the seditious ones, none of whom could be found at hand from then on. After collecting the bones and ashes of the venerable padre, and putting them into a decent box, the governor conducted them to Cucurpe;<sup>68</sup> and in sight of that village, the governor dismounted, and leading by his left hand the mule on which were carried the venerable relics, he placed upon his own shoulders the box of relics, and was thus received at the entrance to the village by the Padre Rector Kappus. Covered with a cape, and with a deacon's ornaments and a cross, and with all due ceremonies and concourse, including the firing of arquebuses, [Padre Saeta's remains were] buried in the sacred church at the side of the epistle of the main altar.

They were there until the end of the year 1714, when there came as visitor extraordinary of these missions the Padre Luis Mancuso, missionary for twenty years in the new Tarahumara missions of New Spain.<sup>69</sup> A countryman of the venerable Padre Javier Saeta, from the latter's own kingdom<sup>70</sup> and in whose company he came from Europe, he arrived in this province in the course of his visits, and going over the tender memories of his sainted countryman, asked the Padre Agustín, a friend of both of them, for notices of the life and death of the Padre, which were given to him by the venerable Padre Agustín in a letter of information, but of which I shall not deal more herein.

He [Padre Agustín] also then opened the sepulcher of the venerable padre, as he had assisted in his burial and knew the place which was occupied by his bones; but very

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68. A mission on the Rio de San Miguel about midway between Dolores and Tuape.

69. In Durango and north central Mexico.

70. That is, Sicily.

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few were found (and it was lucky that any were found at all, he having died through such a violent death and having been burned), and the sole of a shoe, which was verified by the affirmation of the Padre Agustín. The said Padre Visitador then took them to send to his holy province of Sicily with the said letter, in virtue of which, and the rest of the information about his saintly life, I doubt not that Padre Saeta will have his rightful place in the history of the Company. The fury and passion of the homicides [had spared] a holy crucifix of rare material, flexible to the touch and of precious and very devoted workmanship, which the padre had brought from his homeland to locate in his mission; and a loyal and good Indian hid it for the time in his house in a planting of wheat that the padre had for his sustenance. And when a few months later the Spaniards entered [the village] he presented it on his bended knees to the Padre Agustín; and having been in the possession of various persons, both pious and devoted, it is at the present time in the Mission of Arispe of the better Opatas, [kept] with all respect in a rich sepulcher, gilded and formed of six large moons of rich, hard and resplendent crystal, which serves for the holy burial during Holy Week.

Although the rebels scattered, they returned to join together in a larger force, so that it was thought that the uprising of the Pimas was universal, and preparations were made to reduce them [to obedience] with arms. But neither the Indians of the North nor the majority of those of the West joined in the revolt. They moreover took in a bad way the murder of the padre and his servants, and looked with dislike upon the overtures of the seditious ones. Nevertheless, the white soldiers entered [the country] for the second time, and then, all being quiet as they thought, they left for Cocóspera, leaving the Padre Agustín at his mission of San Ignacio with four soldiers who were under Corporal Juan de Escalante, later Captain of California and at present lieutenant of the presidio of this Province.

But not two days after the soldiers had left, the Padre Agustín heard that the rebels [were going] to attack his mission. He sent word to the troops and, thinking to reach them in time, he waited until morning, but with horses saddled. And at breakfast time they heard the cries of more than three hundred Indians who attacked the house from the rear. They all mounted, and while the padre took the horses out of the village, the said corporal stood and held

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open the way with his companions, which he did with notable dexterousness and valor, and they joined the padre, who with another companion was ahead, going toward Cucurpe; although it seemed impossible, as it was in fact, to resist such a crowd of valiant and furious Indians. They were followed for two leagues, but seeing that the whites would escape them, the Indians in their rage turned toward the church and house of San Ignacio, which with all of their belongings were instantly reduced to ashes.

Spared for the second time was Padre Agustín, and spared due to the valor and thoughtfulness of the corporal in having taken the road to Cucurpe; because around this Mission [of Dolores] the enemy had put a cordon. Although Padre Agustín was regretful, since for the second time he had lost the palm of martyr from his hands, he gave thanks to Our Lord, Who without doubt saved him in the midst of so many dangers, so that with his zeal and sainted industry [he might] maintain, as he now maintains, this Pimería. The soldiers returned from Cocóspera, and although they did not reach there in time to remedy the ruin and fire of the house and church of San Ignacio, they succeeded in capturing various rebels, and punished several, and in the Tupó *ranchería*,<sup>71</sup> distant from San Ignacio about eight leagues, many cruelties were executed by the soldiers, without the Padre Agustín being able to restrain them; and many innocent folk paid for the crime which others had committed. A corporal, aid to the *Comandante*, after having unjustly killed his woman here, later found himself poor and destitute in Mexico, and was killed by a blow with a stool; if it was a punishment for the cruelty used with the innocents of Tupó, God only knows.

The two old men, heads of the sedition, and the first one who wounded Padre Saeta, were pardoned by the intercession of the padres; and even more, as I believe, by the blood spilt by the blessed martyr, which, more than vengeance, asked mercy for those poor, blind ones. Finally the sedition died down, not so much by rigor as by the kindness and good conduct of the other corporals and captains; peace returned, things took on a different light, and the triumphs and increase of the Faith continued with new *entradas* by the Padre Kino,<sup>72</sup> returned from Mexico, where he had been

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71. El Tupó, to the west of San Ignacio.

72. Since Velarde and Campos were still active as missionaries at the time this *relación* was written, and moreover were close friends and associates, it is not

to see his Reverence<sup>73</sup> to dispose of various matters to the betterment of this Pimería; and by the Padre Agustín, who remained to fill [Padre Kino's] place in this mission [Dolores] (whose Indians firmly maintained their loyalty). Upon [Padre Kino's] returning, the Mission of San Ignacio was rebuilt. He put his own hand to the work, and separating the wood and rocks, found in them a curious cross with counters of silver. It is venerated today in the new church, still bearing the marks of fire. New padres came, and they continued with fervor in the cultivation of this new vineyard, sown with the blood of a martyr, whose supplications in the Divine Presence, together with the young children who certainly enjoy the eternities of glory, as well as many adults, whom we are piously persuaded they accompany, will move the Divine Clemency so that He will grant mercy for these who have his precious blood, and will dispose that all be incorporated in the gathering of the Faith and attain the fruit of the redemption to which Old Lord has predestined them.

Other misfortunes have been met with in these new conversions, which although they were without bloodshed are more to be feared, for they are falsehoods originating with the pretext of good zeal. There have been those who were moved falsely to suspect and even to declare that the Pimas were the real Apaches, who caused the harm that has occurred in the Province of Sonora.<sup>74</sup> This was believed so widely that it was necessary for soldiers with a corporal to enter and investigate the large herds of horses which the Pimas of the North had in their corrals. They discovered nothing, and the visit only served to convince them of the fidelity of the natives; although these gentiles, who were not as deeply friendly with the Spanish [as were others] through the medium of the padres, would have broken out into war at the time. So many were the excesses that the soldiers committed by their military license, [that it is clear that] not only were they not restrained, but were even encouraged by the corporal who led them. But it was due

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surprising that Velarde makes Campos figure much more prominently than Kino, in connection with the rising of 1695. Now and then, one gets a hint that Velarde sometimes resented the harsh austerity of Kino, and perhaps some of the rules laid down by the latter.

73. The Padre Provincial, Juan de Palacios, head of the Jesuit missions of New Spain.

74. This complaint was frequent from Kino.

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neither to them nor to him, it seems to me, that they failed to receive what they deserved.

There is no doubt that there are some bad folk among the Pimas, but because of that the nation should not be made to suffer if it is mostly innocent. The truth of the matter is, in my opinion, that the devil sowed to impede in this manner the propagation of our Holy Faith, molesting the Indians as had been done in other parts by those who should promote the Faith, but who take advantage of the general feeling in order to gain parts of this Pimería to advance their own interests, or because they missed the convenience of having servants free of cost, or to say better, slaves at a very low price—slaves whom the soldiers took in any manner possible in the *entradas* which they made on the pretext of looking for the enemies of the province, a practice which the padres always opposed. Since the soldiers entered this Pimería, they have attempted to discredit the poor Indians with similar impostures; and in fact, at the request of the padres the *alcalde* [*mayor*] ordered restored to their nation eight Indians whom the soldiers had imprisoned. I affirm that if in the Pimería there had been discovered rich mines, the Pimas [would have been] apportioned out to work [in them] with all the extortions that the rest of the Indians [have known] on the ranches and *haciendas* of the Spanish, as well as those of the *mulatos* and *coyotes*<sup>75</sup> (for even these servile people wish to have servants in this land), [in the belief that the Indians] would be good, and would be friends of the Spanish and enemies of the Apaches. So much can blindness and passion originate from avarice, pride and personal interest.

Deadened already, but not altogether quieted, are these falsehoods; for there are still hundreds left in some of the few settlements, who would prefer to have the Pimas for enemies. Although without reason, and against all justice by their own good procedure of being satisfied, the captain of the presidio and the justice of the province did not fail to make his opposition to the advancement of Christianity, which others make public, although they should not, due to their profession, with the pretext of good zeal. For besides sharing the above opinion [of the Pimas] they affirm that the Pimería is very sickly, that the Pimas, besides being inconstant, are stupid and that it is lost time and money, attempting to reduct them.

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75. Persons of mixed white, negro and Indian blood.



Oh, Holy God! How many are the wiles of the devil! For the deaths of three or four padres, and because a few have become ill in the course of thirty years, they discount the souls saved with the blood of Jesus Christ! This becoming ill and dying, I suppose, is seen only in the Pimería? Is not the soul's life worth more than many healths and corruptible lives? If the Pimas are inconstant, let the spiritual administration of the rest of the Indians be abandoned, for hypocrisy and inconstancy are things that everyone on this earth possesses. Let these jealous ones, the apostates of the Faith, find false Pimas; and if they find one, I will give them full credit for their statements. And as a venture, are not salvation and predestination linked to much knowledge and understanding? Is it not true that God saves both men and idiots? I wish to explain, to the educated and the uneducated, to the learned and the simple alike, to the rude and the cultivated, the fairness of God. The knowledge of Hell is not very clear; if it were a little better known, perhaps they would have been saved. I should say that shortsightedness saves the Pimas, that their very rudeness and meagre knowledge make them incapable of committing many of the sins into which frequently fall the most learned men; and with the little which they understand they have enough learning to save themselves; for God does not ask for more than what He gave, and those who understand Him by comprehension and intelligence which are scant, need much less. On no point would I expand with more pleasure, than to break up the cavillings of those who call themselves zealous. But if will of a truth be necessary elsewhere to point a finger at that which they call zeal; for this work is not an apology nor a place for disputation.<sup>76</sup>

The truth of the matter is, that neither in this medium have affairs turned out as was hoped by the common enemy,<sup>77</sup> for if all of his wiles could have disturbed the Faith, it would not have persisted as it has in this Pimería. Its success, after Divine Disposition, is due to the zeal and work of the Padres Eusebio Francisco Kino and Agustín de Campos, who almost always maintained themselves aloof in

76. Velarde's description of the troubles between padres and military authorities is in some degree a reflection of the complaints of Padre Kino, although the latter was much more tactful in his remarks concerning the lay authorities. For a number of other documents illustrating conditions in Pimería Alta after Kino's day, see G. P. Hammond, (ed.), "Pimería Alta after Kino's Time," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV, No. 3 (July, 1929), pp. 220-238.

77. That is, the devil.

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it; although at times there have been other padres. The said Padre Kino died in the year 1711, having devoted himself for twenty-four years in glorious works in this Pimería, in which he made more than forty *entradas*, that afterward were only [occasionally] repeated by two or three missionaries, as they found time. He died at almost seventy years of age, and died as he had lived, with much humility and poverty, due to which he did not undress in his last illness, for his bed was as it had always been, composed of two pieces of leather for a mattress, two little blankets which the Indians use as covers, a pack-saddle for a pillow—and from these not even the insistence of the Padre Agustín could change him. He died in the house of the padre,<sup>78</sup> where he had gone to dedicate a remarkable chapel which a short time before had been finished in the village of Santa [María] Magdalena, and was consecrated to San Francisco Javier, whose entire body in an admirable image was shown in a gilded niche. Feeling ill at the singing of the dedication mass, seemingly the Apostle Saint<sup>79</sup> to whom he was devoted called him, so that, being buried in his chapel, he might accompany him, as we believe, in glory.

Allow me to add what I observed in the eight years during which I was his companion.<sup>80</sup> His conversation was ever of the mellifluous names of Jesus and Mary, and of the conversions of the gentiles, for which he always prayed to God. In saying over his breviary, he was often edified and moved to weep by the lives of the saints, of whose virtues he told us. He showed a natural anger when he publicly reprimanded those who had sinned against others; but those who maltreated him in person he treated with the greatest patience and kindness, even embracing any one who affronted him, and saying to such an one: "You are and ever shall be my dearest lord!"—even though he might dislike the person. And then he might go and lay the insults he had received at the feet of the Divine Lord and Our Lady of Sorrows, in whose church he prayed a hundred times daily.

After supper, seeing us already in bed, he would enter the church, and although I might sit up all night reading, never did I hear him come out to get the sleep which he be-

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78. Campos, at San Ignacio. Campos was in Pimería Alta for some eighteen years before Kino's death and a like time afterward.

79. San Francisco Xavier, famous Jesuit Apostle to the Orient.

80. 1702 or 1703 to 1711, at Dolores.

grudged himself. One night accidentally one of us saw him beating himself unmercifully [as a penance]. He ever took his food without salt, and often added to it mixtures of herbs, to make it the more distasteful. None ever saw in him aught of vice, for the discovery of new lands and the winning of new souls had purified him. These alone were the virtues of Padre Kino: he prayed much and was known to be without sin. He neither smoked, nor took snuff, nor wine, nor did he enjoy a siesta. So austere was he that he never drank wine, save at the celebration of a mass; nor had he any other bed than was formed by the sweat cloths of his horse, for a mattress, and two small blankets for a cover. Never did he possess white trousers, nor more than two coarse shirts, because he gave all else to the Indians, in charity. Although merciful to others, he was cruel to himself, and he punished his body with hardship. When strong fevers attacked him, he took no remedy for six days, save to get up and celebrate mass and then go to bed again. Thus by weakening and dismaying nature, he overcame the fevers.

The Padre Kino being dead, Padre Agustín continued and still continues in his *entradas*; and with dexterity of tongue and with his saintly industries, with the love and respect which the Pimas have for him, and with other mediums dictated by his prudence, zeal and experience and knowledge which he has of the Indians. He loves this Pimería in obedience to the King of Heaven, and in subjection to his most Catholic Majesty our King and Lord Don Felipe V (whom God prosper), and is fortunate in having been honored by our Padre-General with the charge of the two rectorates in the two preceding governments. He supervises the immediate superiors to the meetings of the Indians, the captains of the presidios, and the justices and *vecinos* of the land; [although they have] judged more by the glory of Our Lord what the padre wanted, as he has executed with pleasure, dedicating himself to these missions until death, and without wishing any other thing than this Pimería in which, with the wishes of Our Lord, he maintains the faith with many good Christians who live throughout it. There are also many gentiles, especially among the Sobaipuris and the remote *rancherías* of the North and the West, where live the majority of the Pimas; and this is because of the lack of missionaries, for due to the great distances from one point to another, it is

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impossible to visit them, administer them, teach them and bind them to the obligations of Christians. There is no doubt that many souls are lost, due to there not being those who will distribute the bread which they anxiously ask for and desire; for we are sure that if there were padres at least in the four other missions in which there formerly have been some, and if we had offerings in real money, there would not be found a gentile in this Pimería, in which, regardless of the illnesses and epidemics which have consumed so many people, there are still about ten thousand souls of both sexes.<sup>81</sup>

And not only the Pimas (who if they had padres to restrain them would be enemies of the wild Apaches; and lacking padres and control, it is probable that they will unite with them, giving the province much trouble), but also the Yumas, Cocomaricopas and the rest of the adjacent nations, and even the Apaches, would be converted into receiving missionaries and the Holy Evangel would be extended into regal domains, if Your Majesty<sup>82</sup> were informed of some points and some means, not very costly, which the padre-missionaries of the Company<sup>83</sup> would propose; the more so since we know the docility of these nations, some friendly to the Pimas, and all lacking idolatry and other errors, which have held back augmentations to the Christian faith in other barbarous lands.

The reduction of the Moqui to the dominion of our king was once attempted, and, and principally by the efforts of the church; but since the uprising of New Mexico,<sup>84</sup> [this nation] lives apart and apostate, having shaken off the arm of the Faith as well as its obedience to God and to Your Majesty, with the death of twenty-one religious seraphics, your missionaries,<sup>85</sup> and of six hundred Spaniards and other foreigners, who by their excesses have lost that kingdom without having been able to regain it. But we know that in truth they desire padres of the Company, who will reconcile them to both Majesties; and if it were not for the respect

81. A picture of the declining missions of Pimería Alta after the death of Kino.

82. Philip V of Spain, (1701-1746), to whom Velarde would appeal for help for the missions.

83. The Company of Jesus, or as often known, the Jesuits.

84. The great Popé rebellion of 1680, after which for sixteen years the Spaniards were unable to recover completely the upper valley of the Rio Grande.

85. Missionaries of the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans), who had been put in charge of the New Mexico missions. Franciscans and Jesuits were active rivals in their efforts to get control of the missionary work among the peaceful Hopi or Moqui Indians of northern Arizona.

due to the Seraphic Order, and lest I put myself into someone else's business, already the Padre Agustín de Campos would be there, although he formerly had some doubts about the matter; and he knows that he would be well received. We hope that Your Majesty (God guard you), will give us the necessary provision, for we have word that His Excellency, the Duke of Linares, Viceroy and Captain-General of this New Spain,<sup>86</sup> has informed you of this particular.

It might be successful to investigate what mystery is contained in what the Pimas of the North tell, of a Spanish woman, who in past years went out at certain seasons from a house on the other branch of the Rio Colorado, to preach what the padres taught, and to teach those native gentiles the road to heaven; which agrees with what is read in the life of the venerable Mother Mary of Jesus, known by the name of the Madre Agreda, and much more for her heavenly writings, who many times was seen in New Mexico and adjacent parts, preaching, catechizing and giving out rosaries and other little gifts to the Indians.<sup>87</sup> This was verified according to the manner in which it is written in her life to which I refer; and thus perhaps has originated the device of the cross, [found among the northern nations].

Attempts have also been made to investigate what the Pimas themselves say, who pointing out about one hundred leagues to the north of the Moqui, assure us that there is in that place a small tank or pool, of thick water of the color of silver, which moves much and is heavy and which upon being picked up goes through the hands; and that there is much red soil around there. These signs indicate quicksilver, whether the story be true or not. Who knows? Who would affirm it or disagree with it? This is true, that the natives of New Mexico claim that there is a quicksilver mine around there, although they do not know just where, nor which nation has that product which in New Spain is valued so highly. It is also true that the Cocomaricopas bring from a distance some balls of reddish earth, which appears to be vermilion, with which they paint themselves, and it would not be difficult to obtain some of this. These

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86. Fernando de Alencastre, Duke of Linares, and Viceroy of New Spain, 1711-1716.

87. The legend of Madre María de Jesús de Agreda was a fairly common one among the Indians and missionaries of northern New Spain. See Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 354, 387.

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things should not appear strange to anyone, for if so far away and in such remote places there should be found the said mine, the people of the place would help the missionaries and men of commerce, and lead them both to that which each desires.

Finally, an attempt will be made to investigate what rich nations, political and valiant, live in this Septentrional America, and where are those seven caves or cities whence came the populous Mexican nation, and where were learned the polity, government and actions which showed the Mexicans how to found an empire so far from their home; and there is no doubt that many were left to maintain those lands which gave them their origin. To say that the Casa Grande which has been mentioned in this work, is one of the seven cities that were divided, and that the Mexicans left, fleeing the other nations that pressed upon them, as some have written, is in my opinion a mistake, as the Pimas themselves tell us, and their statement appears the more correct. An attempt will likewise be made to discover the kingdoms of the Gran Quivira and the Gran Tegwayó, which I believe will be discovered here sooner than in New France, and it would be well for us to reach them before the French arrive, for those nations being discovered and the Sainly Evangel being published among them, it would be easier to introduce it among the adjacent nations, who are perhaps as humble as they are subjected, since we are told that they are ruled over by the king of the Gran Quivira.

I omit many other fruits which would follow from populating this Pimería with zealous missionaries, when such rewards are so obvious. And I also omit the inconveniences that will follow upon the contrary [lack of them]; for upon another occasion I have repeated some of them to the Padre Visitador, Marcos Antonio Kappus, and if it be necessary, they will be proposed again when I have concluded my *relación*; in which it seems to me I have detained myself too much by touching upon some things which appear to some to be trifles, not worth writing about. But as my intent was to propose at one time all that seems necessary to me to make a complete concept of the Pimería, without losing interest due to being too ponderous, as someone did it, nor leaving anything unnoticed due to obscurity, and that without conveying any false information, as many have written about the country. Moreover, I prefer to adopt the note of the tedious or impertinent, rather than give the notes

without that clarity which is required in a sincere *relación* which, passed by the censoring of the one who ordered me to write it and who is [himself] witness of many things, will, I doubt not, reach the sphere without which I might fear it would remain poorly accepted, due to its slovenliness, humble style and other defects, for it takes all of its recommendation from the glorious end to which it is directed; that is, that the superior ones may realize how important it is to procure the gift of the provinces that are at their hand (we hope that the King, Our Lord, will not omit those that are touched upon), so that the Company of Jesus will be able to enjoy the fervor of their zeal in gathering to the arms of the Church such copious grain, which appears already white and mature; hoping that it will be gained as we desire it, that this Pimería may be populated with glorious missionaries who, enlightening it with the splendor of the Faith, and bathing it with the pure waters of baptism, will pass afterward to evangelize it and carry the light to so many and so numerous nations, who living in the shadows of death lack the greatest of its benefits.

So I desire it unaffectedly, and so I ask it from your Divine Majesty, and so I await it from the heaven of our superiors, being desirous that the high standard of the Company of the glorious and sainted name of Jesus, with which it ennobles itself, will be known and venerated in all of the nations, peoples, tongues and countries, to the greater honor and Glory of Our Lord.

Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, May 30, 1716.