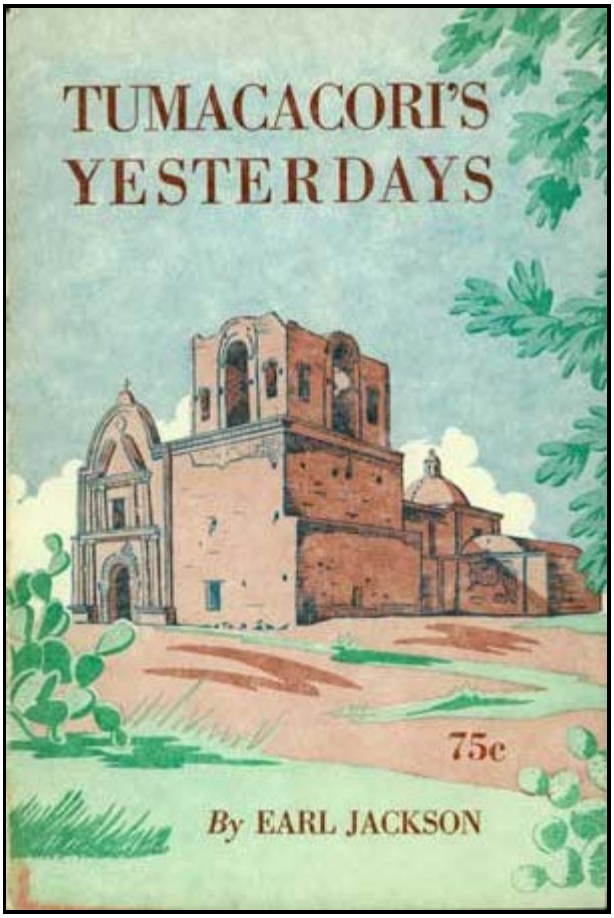
TUMACACORI

Tumacacori's Yesterdays



TUMACACORI'S YESTERDAYS

By
Earl Jackson

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SOUTHWESTERN MONUMENTS ASSOCIATION

POPULAR SERIES NO. 6
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by **Earl Jackson**

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Santa Fe, New Mexico

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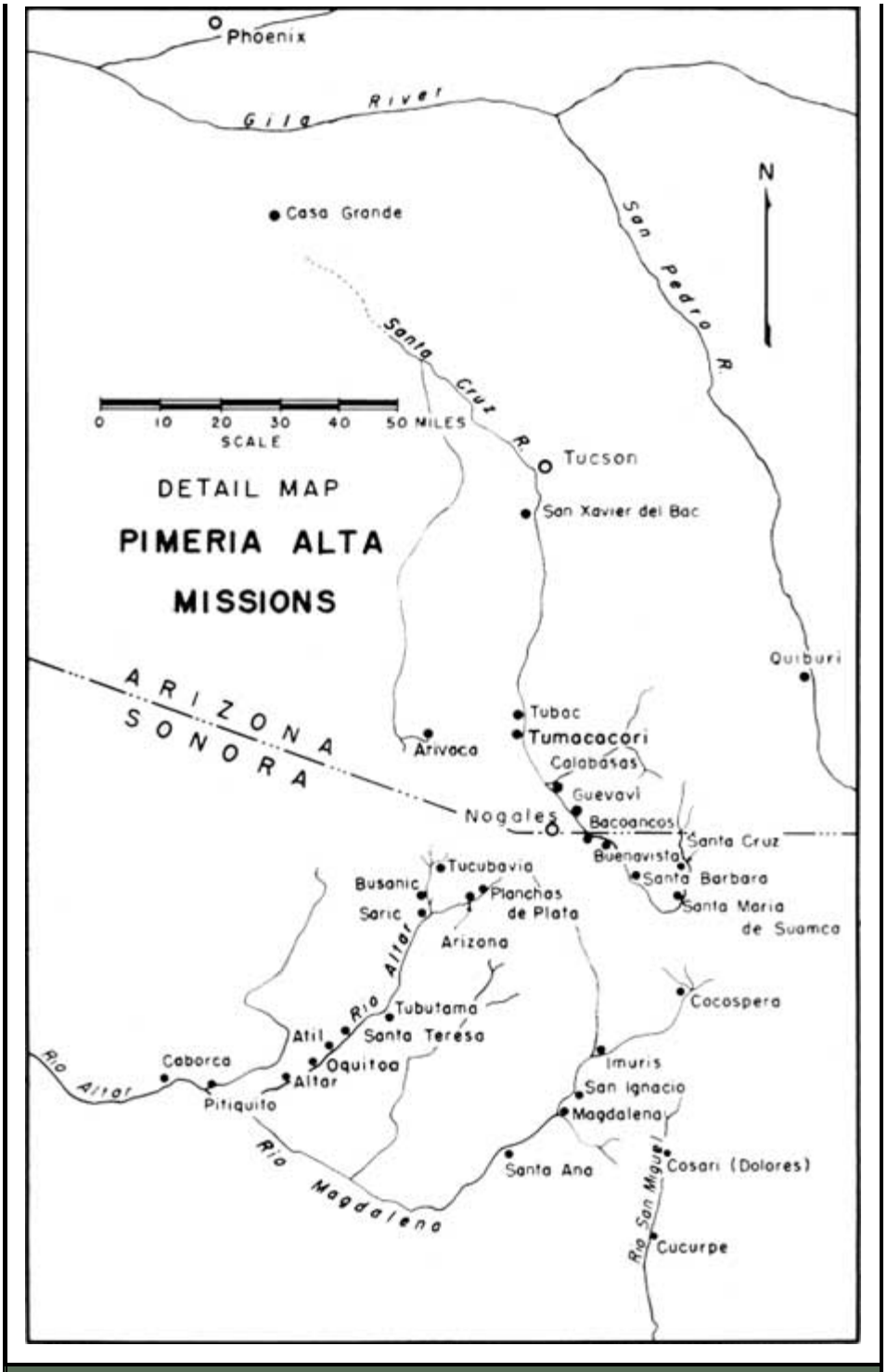

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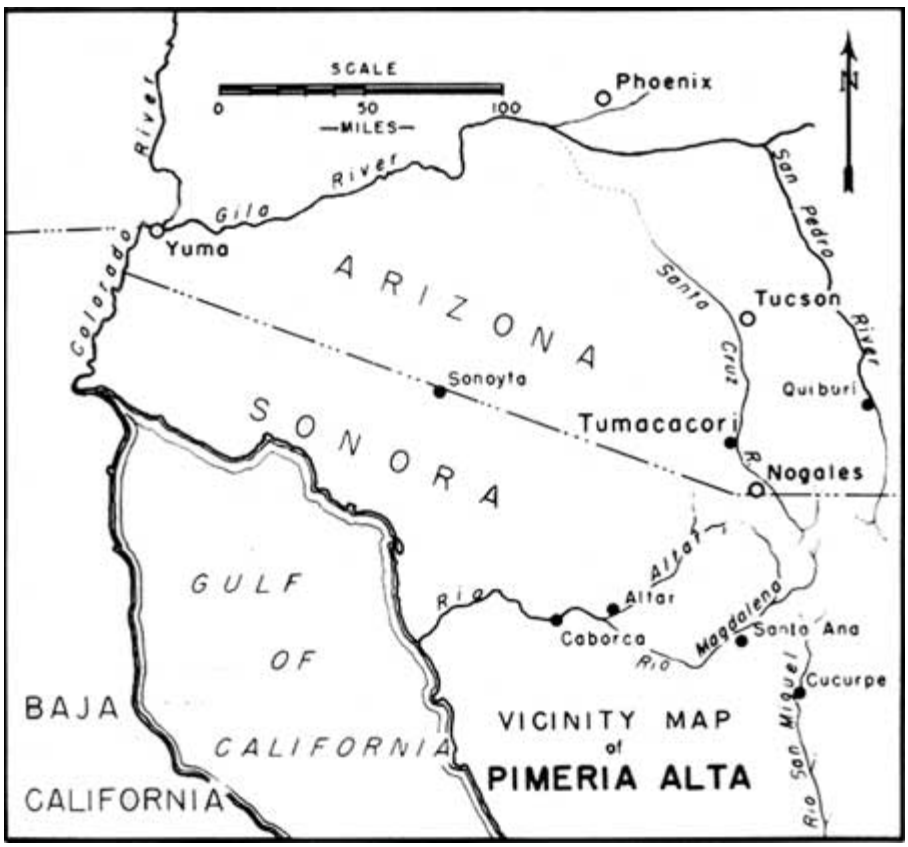

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TUMACACORI

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INTRODUCTION

On U. S. Highway 89, a scant 18 miles north of the Mexican border, lies one of America's most historic landmarks, the mission church of San Jose de Tumacacori (tooma-COCK-oree). At this picturesque spot in the fertile Santa Cruz Valley, Christianity was ushered into what is now southern Arizona.

Over two and a half centuries ago, indomitable missionary priests brought a new religious concept into one of the most hostile Indian frontiers of this hemisphere. This concept took root, struggled for growth, and flowered after more than a hundred years in the paradox of an Indian-built edifice to the new God.

Map of Pimeria Alta

This structure was built of the timeless earth itself, and its walls have endured the ravages of age and vandalism to see the flags of four governments wave over the land.

To understand mission development, as it is illustrated here, it is necessary to have a quick look at Spanish colonial policy. In the late 17th century Spain was one of the world's great colonial powers, claiming territory far north of the present Mexico. In defense of her far-flung empire she dotted her frontiers with presidios, garrisons for the soldiers who maintained dominance over adjacent territory and kept the Spanish flag flying as a warning to possible aggressor nations.

It is apparent that if you spread a sand pile over a large enough area you eventually reach the point where the scattered grains lose their identity and merge with the soil, leaving it essentially as it was before. Spain had so spread her available military manpower that the capacity of her soldiers alone to hold territory against insurgents or invaders would have been inadequate.

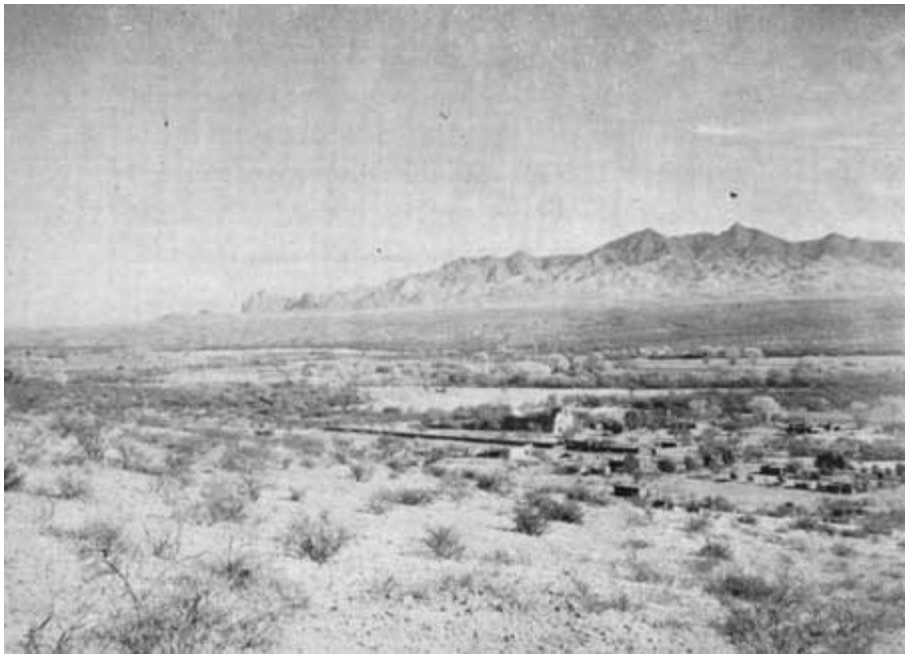
Tumacacori in 1944 before the columns and bases were restored. (Harry Reed photo)

By masterful strategy, she spread her grains of sand very thin, but in such a way that instead of losing by the merger, they grew stronger. While the soldiers established presidios in the vicinity of Indian towns, their small forces, unaided, could not long have held supremacy over the vastly more numerous natives. So, shoulder to shoulder with the military commander, came the missionary priest to carry the Cross. It was his responsibility to convert the Indians to Catholicism, the state religion, and to establish a mission.

On the one hand the soldiers, as they sought to maintain military control and peace in their districts, were encouraged to fraternize and intermarry with the Indians, and to settle in the neighborhood of presidios. On the other hand the missionaries, in the dual role of apostles of the Church and envoys of the Crown, were expected as priests to convert and educate the natives, and as civil administrators to make them a part of "civilized" society.

The facade in 1946 after restoration to protect the original columns. (Stan Davis photo)

These tactics, although occasionally suffering reverses, were on the whole brilliantly successful. Friendships thus established secured from many native groups a loyalty which was far more potent than guns in holding frontier control. The desire of the Church to save souls dovetailed perfectly with the more mundane desires of the State. This colonial policy so thoroughly implanted Spanish language, religion, law, and social custom in New Spain that it profoundly affected the course of history.



The valley of the Santa Cruz River at Tumacacori as it appeared in 1934. The Santa Rita Mountains in background. (C. P. Russell photo)

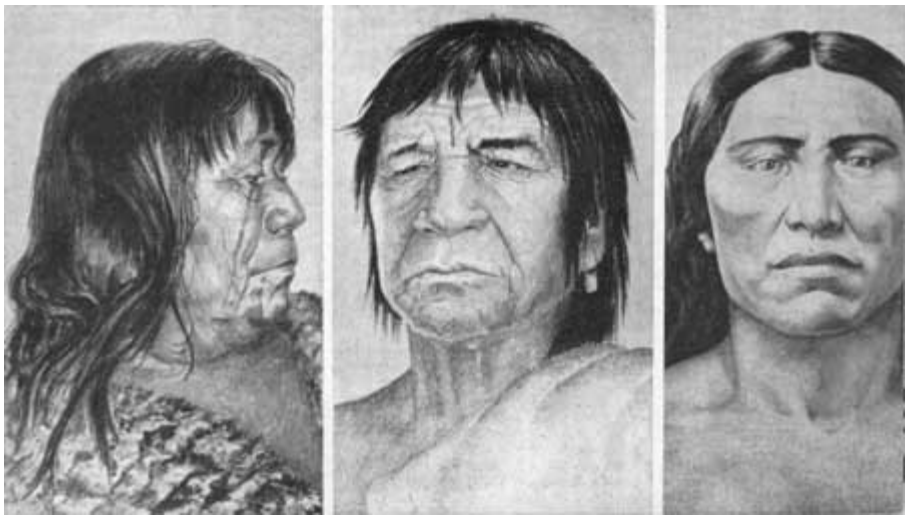
TUMACACORI

Tumacacori's Yesterdays

JESUIT PIONEERING

On the extreme northern part of New Spain was a large. rugged and dangerous area which came to be known as Pimeria Alta (Land of the Upper Pimas). This land included much of what is now northern Sonora, and all of what is now southern Arizona, save for the territory east of the San Pedro River. It was bounded on the north by the Gila River, on the south by the Altar River Valley, and on the west by the Colorado River and the Gulf of California, and to the east by the San Pedro River Valley.

This was a land of ragged mountains and rocky and barren deserts, slit here and there by fertile and well watered valleys. Over the hill and mountain country of the northeastern portion roamed the nomadic and fierce Apaches, while to the southwestward were the almost equally fierce Seri Indians. In the valley bottoms were numerous villages of sedentary agricultural peoples, who were essentially of a peaceful disposition. They consisted mainly of the Papagos, Pimas, and Sobaipuris, all with a common basic language and culture, and supposedly the same ancestral stock.

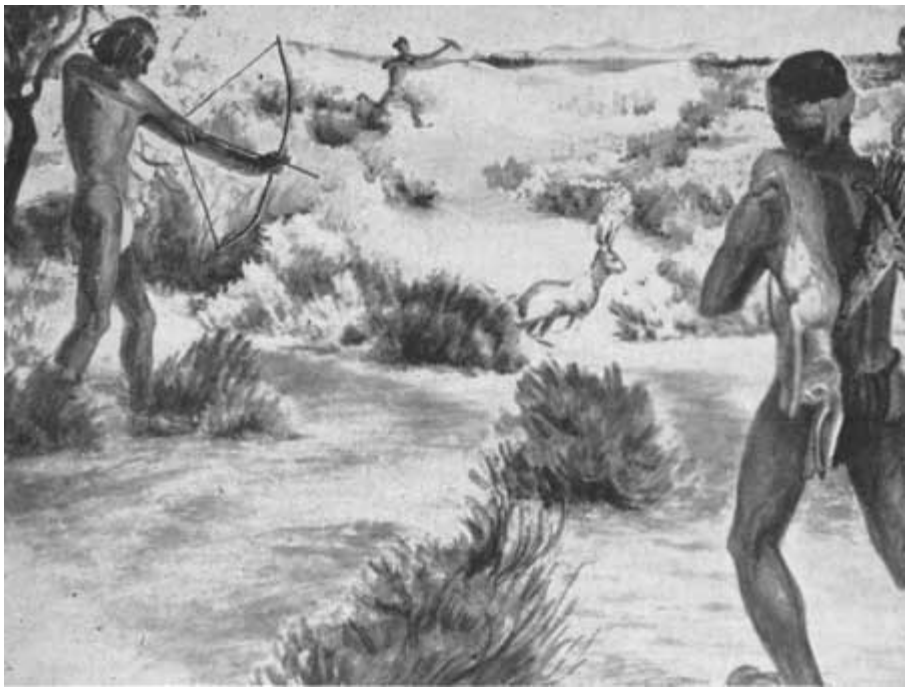


Pima woman, Papago man, and a typical Apache man, right.

The Santa Cruz River, lying west of the San Pedro, starts on the oak-clad western flank of the Huachuca (Wah-CHOO-kuh) Mountains, wanders southward for several miles into what is now Mexico, slowly veers westward, and then, having made up its mind, returns to Arizona, flowing northward east of Nogales and close by Tumacacori, to be lost in the sands before it reaches its apparent destination, the great valley of the Gila River.

Above the floor of the Santa Cruz the rocky foothills support a rich growth of cactus and Ocotillo, pushing upward into Oak clumps and the craggy rocks of the mountains, which spread their long and knobby arms on either side of the river's course.

Pima gathering mesquite beans, upper, and maize farming, lower.

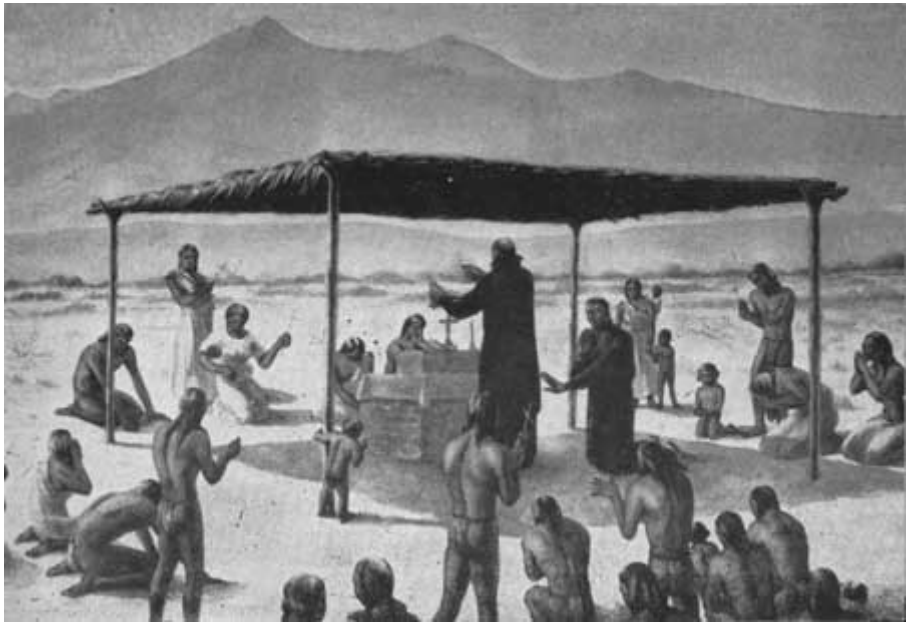


Pima rabbit hunting, above, and making of pottery and basketry, below.

Two hundred and sixty years ago there were several stretches along the Santa Cruz where the water ran the year around. Along its banks grew great groves of Cottonwoods and Mexican Elders. The river flats, in the lower places, supported thickets of grass and Sunflowers, and a little higher, feathery forests of Mesquite and Catclaw. It was on the flats that the Indians who lived here managed to grow their crops of corn, squash, beans, and cotton. By small dams and short ditches they could irrigate, and could build their houses close at hand, perhaps in the shade of the larger Mesquite trees close above their fields. Little is known of these people in prehistoric times, except that they did farm these crops, and lived in what must have been wattle-and-daub huts, generally gathered in clusters or villages. Apparently

Tumacacori [1] was originally a Pima town, although later in Spanish times it contained a number of Papagos as well, and possibly some Sobaipuris.

On a day in January of 1691, some of the headmen of Tumacacori, in company with other men of influence from the much larger town of Bac (later San Xavier del Bac), entered the pages of history. For some time they had been hearing of the mission work of the white-skinned Europeans to the south, and especially of one man called Padre Kino, who wore a black robe and feared nothing, perhaps because he carried some shiny crossed sticks which warded off all evil. This man talked often with a strange God, and had a faculty for making friends with strange people. There was curiosity about him, and his power, and especially about the fruit trees, the wheat, and the livestock which he was reported to be giving away to the Indians.



As Father Kino might have looked saying Mass in the ramada at Tumacacori in 1691. (Illustration in the Monument Museum)

The group decided the padre must be invited to come among them. So at Tumacacori they proceeded to construct a suitable guest house. They built a little shelter for him to sleep m, and one to use for a kitchen. And because they had heard that he liked to talk to his God in a special place, they made a shelter of poles with a roof over them *(ramada)* where he could pray. Lastly, they made some crosses. Although the crosses might not make strong medicine like those of Father Kino, they should impress him with good intentions. Then a group set forth, southwestward from the Santa Cruz Valley, up over the hills away from the river, across the divide into the Altar Valley drainage, toward the town of Tucubavia.

Terrain near the site of the Dolores mission, Sonora, Mexico

Let us introduce you to this priest. Eusebio Francisco Kino, born in Segno, Italy, in 1645, educated in Bavaria, Italy and Spain, was sent as a Jesuit missionary to Mexico in 1683. From that year to 1687 he worked to establish missions among the Indians of Lower California. Upon the temporary failure of colonizing efforts there he was transferred, in February, 1687, to Pimeria Alta, to be rector of the Indians in this vast area. On the southern fringe of this virtually unknown land, Kino established the mission of Nuestra Senora de los Dolores, near Indian town of Cosari. This was to be his headquarters for the remaining 24 years of his life.

Artist's conception of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino (Museum illustration)

Kino was a man of great natural abilities, combined with zeal and enthusiasm. His character welded the contasting elements of consuming religious fervor with a very down-to-earth practicality. Single-heartedly devoted to the conversion of the Indians and the saving of their souls, he knew that religious teaching was more readily heard by primitives when their stomachs were full. So he introduced cattle and wheat and fruit trees, and taught the natives how to realize the fullest value from them. This exerted a tremendous effect on the domestic economy of his region, gaining for him many supporters and friends.

With his prestige at a high point as he travelled on horseback through his uncharted domain, he achieved great success in gaining conversions and in persuading the Indians to give the work necessary toward construction of churches. By 1691 he had already established a chain of missions along the Altar and Magdalena rivers in Sonora. At several of these, mission churches had either been built or were in process. Early in January of this year, while visiting the Indian village of Tucubavia, in company with the Father Visitor, Juan Maria de Salvatierra, a significant meeting occurred.

Quoting Father Kino: "It was our intention to turn back from El Tucubavia to Cocospera, but from the north some messengers or couriers of the Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac, more than 40 leagues' journey, and from San Cayetano del Tumagacori [2], came to meet us, with some crosses, which they gave us, kneeling with great veneration, and asking us on behalf of

all their people to go to their rancherias also. The father Visitor said to me that those crosses which they carried were tongues that spoke volumes and with great force, and that we could not fail to go where by means of them they called us."

Accordingly, the two priests followed their new friends to the north, and arrived at the rancheria of Tumacacori, which at that time consisted of more than 40 rather closely spaced houses. Here they conferred with the Tumacacori headmen, said Mass, and baptized some infants. The seeds of Christianity had been sown in southern Arizona!

After this visit the two fathers returned southward, and it was not until late summer of the next year that Kino again came to Tumacacori, and rode 40 miles northward to make his first visit to the town of Bac. Here was a populace numbering about 800 people. After a cordial welcome, he passed on to the northeast into the San Pedro Valley, to meet other friendly, though less docile, Sobaipuris.

But our story is concerned principally with Tumacacori. Although Father Kino wanted to give the village a resident priest, and to build a mission church here, such was not to be for a long time. It was very difficult to obtain funds for sending additional priests into this remote frontier. So Tumacacori was established simply as a *"visita"* or place of call, to which Kino and later Jesuit missionaries came for occasional visits and services as opportunity arose.

Father Kino on one of his many horseback trips, as portrayed in a diorama in the Tumacacori museum.

In 1695 Kino commented that at Tumacacori were sheep and goats, and that there were fields of wheat and maize. Maize, or corn, was native, but wheat and livestock were introduced. He also mentioned that there were earth-roofed houses of adobe, which is our first indication that the natives were beginning to use adobe bricks for house construction.

Two years later we find our first census of Tumacacori, made by Captain Cristobal Martin Bernal. He counted 117 persons, living in 23 houses([3]. In this year he visited the Sobaipuri villages at Kino's request, to see how peaceful these folk were. Incidentally, while on the San Pedro River the two men found some of the "peaceful" Sobaipuris having a scalp dance, after having killed a number of their deadly enemies, the Apaches. This did not break the Captain's

heart, for the Apaches were a constant menace to Spain's northern New World frontier. In the same year Kino traveled to Tumacacori and San Xavier to leave *"ganado mayor"* (larger livestock, presumably cattle) so that by multiplying they would serve to sustain the Indians, and the missionaries who were expected. A year later there were 74 cattle at Tumacacori, which was one indication that today's great southern Arizona cattle industry was by then well started.

In March of 1699 Lieutenant Juan Matheo Manje (who had been delegated by the *alcalde mayor* of Sonora to accompany Kino on many of his trips) made an interesting entry in his diary. While he and Father Kino were returning from a trip to the Gila River, the padre became ill from a drenching received in a terrible storm. When they came along the west bank of the Santa Cruz River, opposite the village of Tumacaconi, the river was so high they were unable to cross it. The Indians then obligingly brought mutton across the torrent to make a stew for the sick man. That must have been a rugged crossing, and a real act of devotion!

Since the town apparently was, at the time of this entry, on the east bank, we are curious as to when it was moved across the river. It must have been on the west side long before construction began on the present church, but we can find no reference to the move.

In October of this same year Kino records, "We slept in the earth-roofed adobe house, in which I said Mass the following day." We believe this to be the "adobe chapel" referred to by later writers, and that it was the only "church" at Tumacacori in Kino' s time.

Finally, in 1701, Kino succeeded in having four missionaries assigned to Pimeria Alta. Among these was Father Juan de San Martin, who was assigned as his resident station the rancheria of Guevavi, about 15 miles upstream and southeast of Tumacacori, with Bacoancos and Tumacacori as *visitas.* At Guevavi they built a small house and church in the next few months, and laid the foundations of a more pretentious church and a large house. Unfortunately, Father Juan's stay was very brief, for by 1704 we find he was at work near Hermosillo.

In a report for 1706 Kino informs the Father Provincial of nine pueblos which "we three fathers . . . are actually administering." This list does not include Guevavi and its visitas, which of course means that Tumacacori was no longer receiving regular visits from a priest. Kino also asked for new missionaries, but did not seek a replacement for Guevavi. He did ask for priests for a mission at Santa Maria de Suamca, a few miles southeast of Guevavi, and for the rancheria of Quiburi, to the eastward on the San Pedro, where lived some very staunch Apache-fighters and allies. We forgive him for overlooking our neighborhood at this time, for we suspect he was finding the Apaches plenty of trouble, and had to plan limited missionary help for more strategic positions on the Apache frontier.

Museum illustration of Father Kino blessing Indians in front of the adobe house in which he said Mass in 1699.

During the balance of his life no new missionary came to work in what is now southern Arizona, and Kino labored alone in this area, visiting the people as often as opportunity arose. His last days were filled with disappointment, for he was unable to get any help, just promises. Spain was up to her neck in war, England was chopping away at her colonial frontiers in other areas, and other frontiers were considered more necessary for expenditure of priests and soldiers than Pimeria Alta.

Kino died in 1711, while dedicating a new chapel in Magdalena, and was buried under the chapel floor there by his loyal co-worker, Father Agustin Campos.

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THE CLOSE OF THE JESUIT PERIOD

For many years missionary work in upper Pimeria Alta was at a standstill, and we learn almost nothing of the region during that time. In 1731 three new priests were assigned to the district, and after a training period south of the present border, went to their stations. A year later we find Father Grashofer assigned to Guevavi, with four *visitas*, including Tumacacori, under his charge. Father Segesser went to San Xavier, and Father Keller to Suamca, with the whole San Pedro Valley as his charge. Before the close of 1732 these three missionaries had baptized more than 800 people, validated some marriages, and done a lot of other work.

But the continuity was soon interrupted, this time by the death of Father Grashofer, and by 1736 Father Keller alone remained in upper Pimeria Alta, responsible not only for the San Pedro Valley, but for the missions of San Xavier and Guevavi and the other Indian villages of the Santa Cruz. It was impossible for one man to handle such an enormous territory adequately, with the result that progress generally began to die again.

Into the picture at this time came Father Jacobo Sedelmayr, a Bavarian Jesuit, to take charge of all missions in Pimeria Alta. Sincere, enterprising, and ambitious, he might have established, if properly aided and encouraged, strong mission outposts clear to the Gila and Colorado Rivers. As it was, his energies were limited mostly to restoring several of the missions to their former strength. While we learn little of Tumacacori during his time, he was destined to see Pimeria through one of its most critical periods.

By 1741 Tumacacori was again receiving attentions from a missionary. On May 23 of that year Father Joseph de Torres Perea, stationed at Guevavi, joined in marriage the governor of Tumacacori, Joseph Tutubusa, to a San Xavier girl named Martha Tupquice. One can guess that this must have been quite a social and diplomatic event, and was probably preceded by three or four days of *"fiesta."*

Ten years later, in 1751, Tumacacori remained without a resident priest, but was still a *visita* of Guevavi, under charge of the latter's priest, Jose Garrucho. Despite setbacks here and there, conditions in Pimeria Alta looked better than they had for a long time. Father Sedelmayr was still in the region, there were eight missions which actually had resident priests, and mission affairs were thriving in most spots.

The year opened well, but was destined for a bloody ending. In the Altar Valley to the south and west, a Pima Indian named Luis Oacpicagua (I can't pronounce it, either) , became ambitious because he had been appointed a captain of his people as a reward for aiding the Spanish against the Seris, and decided to organize the Pimas and Papagos to drive the Spanish out of the country. He thought he would like to rule the province himself. Luis had been distinctly impressed by failure of the Spanish attempt at missionary work among the Seris, who were often regarded as the Apaches of western Sonora.

On the night of November 20 Luis figured the time was ripe, and succeeded in igniting the historic Pima rebellion. Father Sedelmayr, at Tubutama, was warned only a few hours in advance that the uprising was to occur. A faithful mission Indian, Ignacio Matovit, was

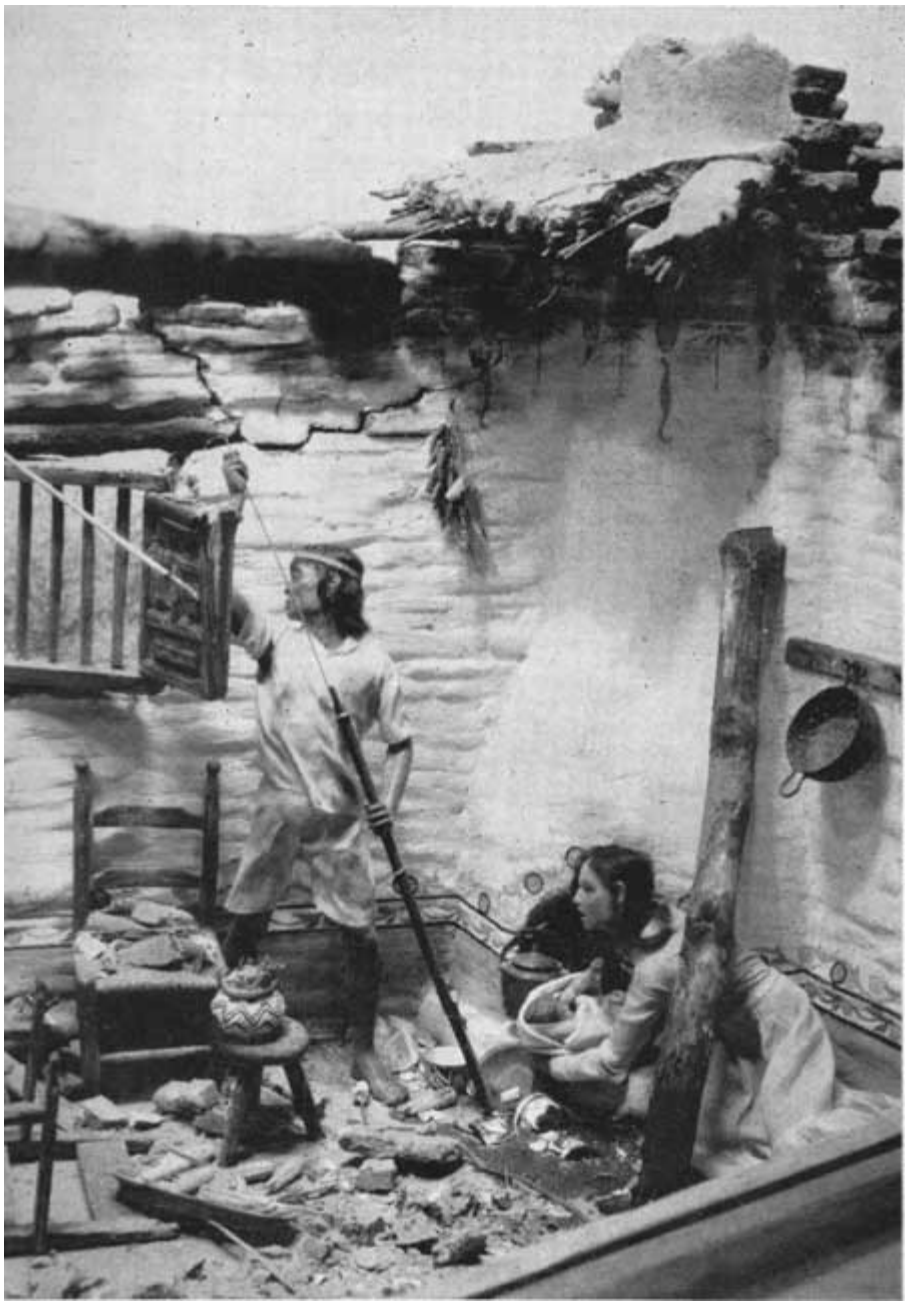
responsible for this. Sedelmayr immediately notified several neighborhood Spaniards of the danger, and they joined him in taking refuge in the mission buildings: He sent word to Father Juan Nentwig, at the *visita* of Saric, urging him to come at once. Nentwig received the message and fled, on horseback, spared of martyrdom by only a matter of hours.

The revolt started with destruction of the church at Saric, and the murder of Nentwig's servants and the wife and children of the *mayordomo* of the town. Luis' men quickly pushed on to the mission at Tubutama. Here, after a two- day siege, Father Sedelmayr's fine new church and new house were destroyed, and the padre barely escaped with his life. He, Nentwig, and several other Spaniards fled under cover of darkness, and finally reached Santa Ana nearly two days later.

The isolated missions of Caborca and Sonoyta (on the west) received the main fury of the uprising, with great destruction ensuing, and the murders of Fathers Tomas Tello, of Caborca, and Enrique Rhuen, of Sonoyta. Within a week's time the insurgents had laid waste the larger settlements in western Pimeria Alta, and more than 100 persons had died the hands of the rebels.

Not a great deal is known of the effects of the revolt in the northern part. At Arivaca, across the mountains about miles west of Tumacacori, the Pimas attacked and killed several families. At San Xavier, Father Francisco Pauer decided a few days later that revolt was brewing, and fled Guevavi. Here he joined the resident priest, Father Garrucho. In company with a number of other people from the district, they retreated to the south. Apparently all except Garrucho, who for some unknown reason turned back, succeeded in joining Father Keller at Suamca, which was not attacked.

After considerable difficulty, Governor Parrilla of Sonora finally put down the revolt. He then engaged in a bitter quarrel with the Jesuits, claiming their cruel treatment of the natives had caused the uprising, while the Jesuits countered with the charge that Parrilla was responsible, for having given Luis his honors, and that military blunders had been made in suppressing the uprising. Another item of fuel for the dissension had been Luis' earlier attempts to discredit Sedelmayr with the civil authorities, since the latter's extensive travels in Pimeria Alta had been a threat to his growing plan of revolt.



Portion of the diorama in the museum showing the defense of Tubutama mission, Sonora, in the Pima Rebellion of 1751.

Eventually the Jesuits were exonerated of the charges placed against them, but their influence in Pimeria Alta had been irreparably damaged, and the later phase of their activity in the region, while busy, did not indicate expansion. For several years however, despite lack of support from the civil government, they continued to operate the missions of San Xavier, Guevavi, Suamca, Saric, Tubutama, Caborca, and San Ignacio.

A direct result of the rebellion was the establishment, in 1752, of the presidio of Tubac, three miles north of Tumacacori. Here a garrison of 50 soldiers was made responsible for protecting Tumacacori, Guevavi, the rancheria of Arivaca, and points as remote as San Xavier! This action was a little like trying to make a waterproof coat out of mosquito netting, but it did keep the Spanish flag flying in this frontier, and enabled the two missions of Guevavi and San Xavier, with their *visitas*, to exist. However, the going must have been tough, for the priest at Guevavi reported that it had been three years after the rebellion before

the Indians returned to the Guevavi pueblo. At the same time, San Xavier became a *visita* of Guevavi, which was something of a come-down for a large town. This condition was to exist for several years.

There is good evidence to indicate the first Jesuit church Tumacacori, (as distinguished from the adobe chapel of Kino's time) was built by 1757. Through all the early years of the Guevavi church register there is no mention of a church building at this *visita,* although there were entries of burials in the Tumacacori cemetery, and others to indicate the people of the town were being married in Guevavi. Then, on July 7, 1757, comes an entry in Guevavi's burial register, that Lorenzo, the *alcalde* of Tumacacori, was buried in that church. [Probably Tumacacori.]

A distinctly confusing reference comes in the *Rudo Ensayo,* an anonymous but apparently authoritative document of the period, (believed by some to have been written by Father Juan Nentwig) which indicates that in 1761 or 1762 the presidio of Tubac "was a *visita* of Guevavi, whose people now inhabit Tumacacori, but because they do not have there as good land for irrigation as at Tubaca, their residence there depends upon the season for the crops." It would be interesting to learn why people who could have lived within the protective shadow of the Tubac presidio went to live with the villagers of Tumacacori, three miles away, when their very important farming activities here were hampered by irrigation difficulties.

From several references it appears there was considerable shifting into and out of the community, although there probably was always a stable element of the older families which consistently stayed on. One source states that in 1763 the Guevavi *visitas* of Tumacacori and Calabasas (Calabasas was between Guevavi and Tumacacori) were composed of Pima and Papago neophytes, but "the latter had run away in this year." Yet, the population of Tumacacori in 1765 was 199 persons, representing 87 families. This is the largest count we know of for the town.

The chapel of Jesuit times as envisioned by the artist in a museum illustration.

Nicolas de La Fora, out on a map-making expedition in December, 1766, came through the San Pedro and Santa Cruz River Valleys. Entering the Santa Cruz near the abandoned ranches of Santa Barbara, San Francisco, and San Luis y Buenavista "abandoned through the hostilities of the Apaches," La Fora's party went downstream to the mission of Guevavi,

populated by 50 Pimas. Onward they went to little town of Calabasas, "which was of upper Pimas, those who all perished in a bad epidemic, and repopulated Papagos; five leagues farther on we found that of Tumacori [evidently Tumacacori] of the same nation, and both dependent on the mission of Guebabi, this being one league the presidio of San Ignacio of Tubac . . ."

If the Papagos had run away in 1763, they didn't stay away very long! The very high population of 199 persons in 1765 almost certainly included some Papagos, and there is mistaking the meaning of La Fora's comments a year later.

The epidemic to which he referred probably was typical of colonial America, in that it likely was a disease introduced by Europeans, to which natives had developed little resistance. It may have been smallpox, which so often marked the New World trails of the white man with sanguine reminders.

Abruptly, this frontier reached another historic milestone in 1767 when, by royal decree, the Jesuits were ordered expelled from all of New Spain. We have seen that there was some dissension between Jesuit missionaries and the military. The Jesuit order included many of the most brilliant men of the time, who occupied particularly influential positions as teachers and missionaries, and were not famed for reticence, but rather were forward, in speaking their minds. Their almost militant defense of mission Indians against exploitation as virtual slave labor in mines and on great ranches made them unpopular. Some persons thought the Jesuits were too ambitious, and gaining an undue amount of influence. The entire and somewhat confusing story of why Jesuits were expelled from New World Spanish dominions is too detailed for inclusion here. At any rate, King Carlos III of Spain expressed himself to the effect that continued activity of the Jesuit missionaries was not in the best interests of Spain, and they were ordered out.

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TUMACACORI GAINS IMPORTANCE UNDER FRANCISCANS

A year later, in 1768, Franciscan missionaries of the College of Queretaro were placed in charge of the Pimeria Alta missions. Guevavi in this year received a resident Franciscan priest, Father Juan Crisostomo Gil de Bernave, with the three *visitas* of San Jose de Tumacacori, San Cayetano de Calabasas, and San Ignacio de Sonoitac. We note that San Cayetano, who in Jesuit times was the patron saint of Tumacacori, was succeeded in Franciscan times here by San Jose.

At this time Tumacacori had adobe houses for the Indians to live in, and some walls for defense purposes, and there is a reference that the church and priest's house were bare of furniture and ornaments. One could infer from this statement that there had been a resident priest at Tumacacori, but we do not believe that such could have been the case. We think the priest's house was simply the house in which the visiting priest stayed on the occasion of his visits to the town.

In 1767 the King's commissioners held a sale of the property, mostly stock, of the expelled Jesuit Order.

If the church and priest's house were bare in 1768, they were in even poorer state the next year, for we read of an Apache attack which left Tumacacori almost in ruins [4]. Presumably this attack caused some of the native population to flee, for in 1772 we find two census figures which show a decided drop below the 199 figure given a little earlier. Unfortunately, statistics have a habit of being frequently confusing, and such is the case here. One count for this year gives only 39 inhabitants for the town, the other gives 93 persons. Of course, both

figures *could* be right, for different times of the year!

Tumacacori's future definitely brightened in 1773, for on this momentous date she took over Guevavi's role as head mission for the district [5]. At the same time we see the first mention in the church register of the new name, *"este pueblo de Joseph de Tumacacori."* Guevavi then dropped to the rank of a *visita.* Reasons for this change are not completely clear, but apparently shifts in intensity of attacks along the Apache frontier caused the authorities to regard Guevavi's higher status as untenable. This reasoning is well borne out in a statement of October 15, 1775, by Father Font, diarist of the famous De Anza expedition to California. In his account, he says he left the main group and went ahead with four soldiers to say Mass at the pueblo of Calabasas, "which is a *visita* of the mission of Tumacacori, and formerly was a sub-station of the mission of Huevavi, which was depopulated by Apaches." He then went on to Tumacacori, staying there for several days.

After being placed in charge in 1768, the Franciscan Order took over the church's property from the King's commissioners.

Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, *commandante* of the presidio of Tubac, had for long desired to prove that a feasible overland route could be laid out to California. Spain was particularly desirous that missions and presidios be established in that land, especially on the coastal region, to prevent Russian encroachment southward. Work of California missionaries, which started with establishment of a mission at San Diego in 1769, was being encouraged, but there was great expense, delay, and danger in having to send all supplies to he California outposts by a water route from Mexico's west coast around the peninsula of Baja California.

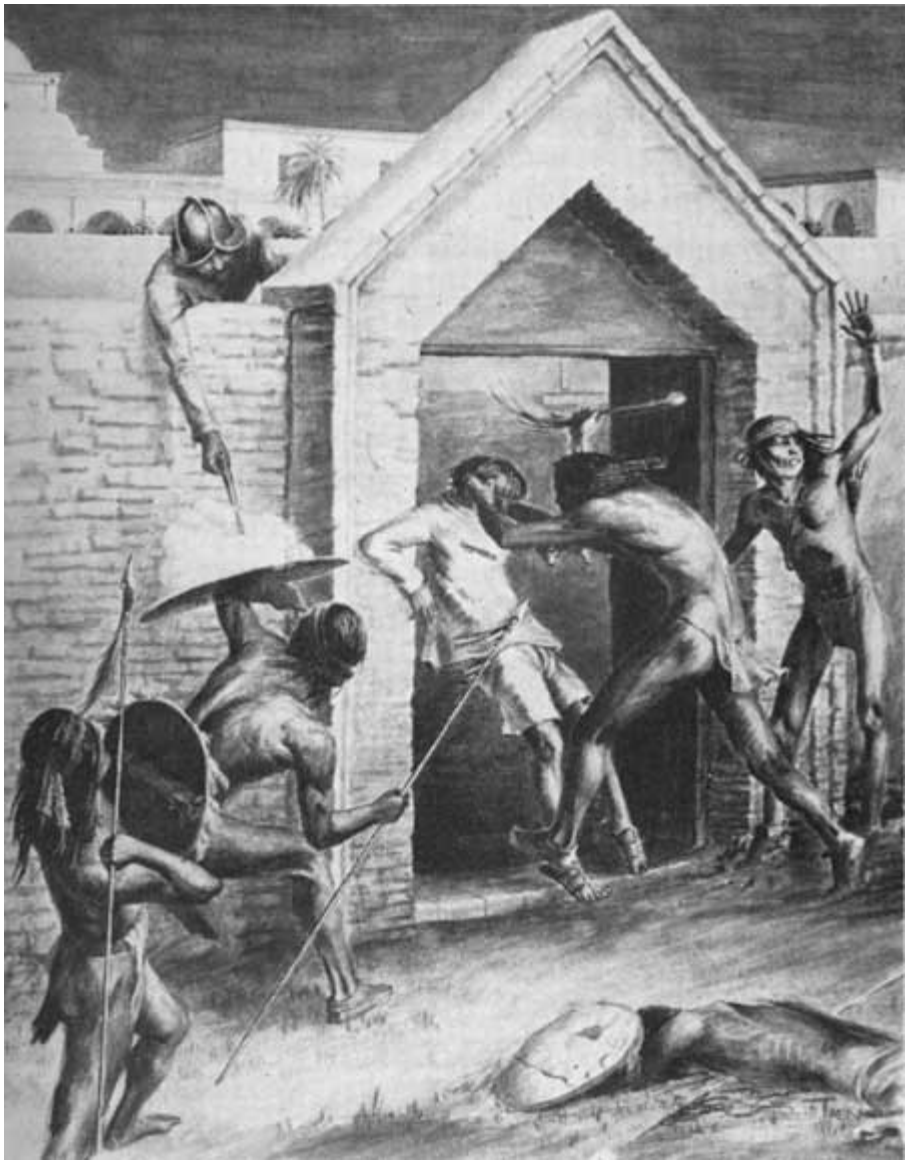
In 1774 De Anza made a preliminary trek to the southern part of California, and now, late in 1775, he had secured authorization to undertake a more extensive expedition, and take along colonists. The group started from Horcasitas, Sonora, went northward into the Santa Cruz Valley, via Tumacacori, Tubac, thence north and west down the Santa Cruz to the Gila, westward to the Colorado, across it northwestward through the California desert, and eventually to Monterey and San Francisco Bay, where a mission and presidio were established, and the great city of San Francisco had its origin.

Tumacacori contributed to the founding of San Francisco, by furnishing some of the beef cattle which were driven on foot with the expedition! But she suffered because of this trip,

for while part of Tubac's garrison of soldiers was absent with De Anza, the Apaches raided. On May 24, 1776, Don Felipe Velderrain, *alferez* of Tubac, came to see Father Font at Caborca, and reported that "nothing now remained at the mission of Tumacacori, for the Apaches had carried off everything and caused much damage . . ."

More bad news for 1776 was the transfer of the Tubac garrison to Tucson, although later there were soldiers again at Tubac. However, the most confirmed optimist could never have considered its handful of soldiers as really adequate protection for the several pueblos, rancherias, and mission areas of what is now southern Arizona. Even at Tubac, while the soldiers were stationed there, the crafty Apaches succeeded, in the course of several raids, in stealing over 500 precious head of horses!

Nevertheless, the dauntless missionaries did not give up their work. Entries in the Tumacacori church register continued in 1777, to be followed by many entries in the follow ing year. The church was evidently repaired not too long after the raid of 1776, for we have a reference, commenting on the commonplace grim reality of the frontier, that the killing of Father Felipe Guillen in 1778 on the road between Atil and Santa Teresa (south and west of Tumacacori) did not deter the padres in their work "Other church buildings were repaired and roofed, as at Tumacacori, Cocospera, and Calabazas, or decorated . . ."



A museum illustrator pictures how one of the Apache raids on Tumacacori could have appeared. Note use of lances, shield, and war club.

Incidentally, Father Font drew a map in 1777 which showed Tumacacori's mission church on the east bank of the Santa Cruz. There is a bit of confusion, however, as to which side of the river the church was on. La Fora prepared a map as result of his 1766 trip, which showed the mission on the west side. But a map made *"por los jesuitas en 1757"* indicated the church on the east bank. There are inaccuracies in all these maps which leave them open to question. It is the belief of this writer that the church was on the west bank of the river, as will be explained later in this paper.

In a list of churches repaired and decorated in the period 1768 through October 23, 1783, we find our pueblo was given added protection by construction of a wall around it, made of "adobe material of clay." Before 1791 there was not only a new roof over the church, but the protective wall around the pueblo contained adobe houses inside it to serve as homes for the neophytes.

It is doubtful if defensive walls built around several of the frontier pueblos during this period would have been of very great value, in themselves. But a radical policy change, introduced by New Spain's Viceroy Galvez in 1786, was to have far reaching effects in Apache management for many years. Since the military, with its scattered forces, had been singularly unsuccessful in subjugating or decimating this most hostile and resourceful enemy, Galvez decided a bad peace was better than a good war. At the expense of the government, old wants and weaknesses of the Apaches were to be increased. Trinkets for personal adornment were to be given out. Whiskey, and inferior quality fire-arms and powder, were to be given them, and different tribes of hostiles were to be incited in every way to warfare between themselves. Extermination alone was the policy to be favored. He felt that after a long time God might miraculously show the hostiles the way to conversion and civilization, but that at present it was folly to think of such things.

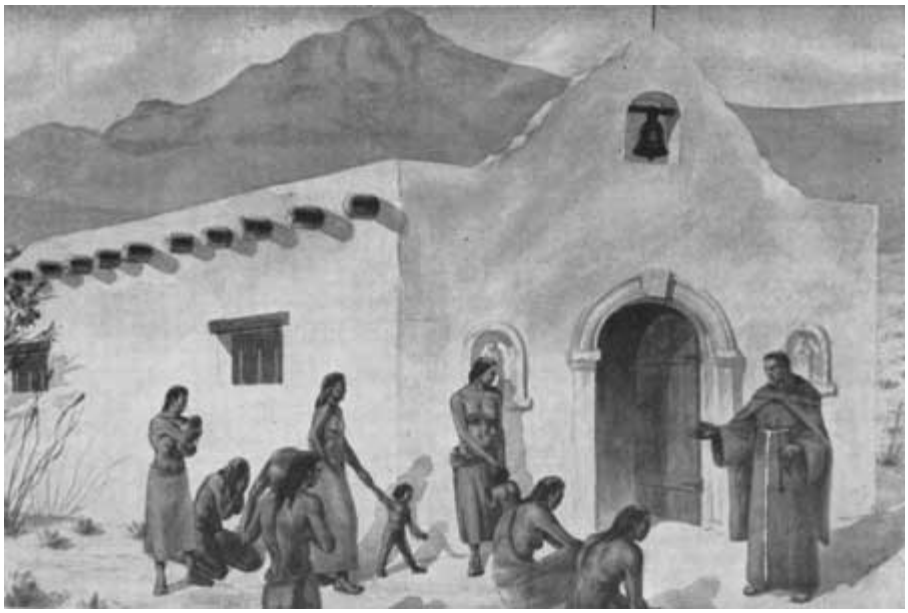
The new policy was soon put into effect, and during the next 30 years, at great expense to the Spanish government, the Apaches enjoyed its fruits to such an extent that frontier warfare reached its lowest point up to that time. The comparative peace that existed from about 1790 to 1820 saw the work of the missionary priests attain a high point, and during these years came Tumacacori's heyday.

But it seemed that nothing should ever come easily for our town. Reports for 1790 and 1793 indicate that the missions, as a group, were prospering, with Tumacacori an exception. It is possible the reporter may have been more impressed with the physical evidence of handsome church buildings at other places than with the spiritual life of the natives alone. Certainly, the mission church of that time at Tumacacori was anything but an imposing structure. A description of 1795 says, "The church was a very cramped and flimsy little chapel, which has been made over piecemeal; and today it is big enough to hold the people of the Pueblo; it is made of earth and is in bad shape . . ."

It was in this year also that Father Balthazar Carrillo, who had been missionary at Tumacacori since 1780, died. He was buried by Father Narciso Gutierrez, who had come to work with him in 1794, and who was to labor here until his own death in December of 1820. Each of these men, much longer in service at Tumacacori than any others during the Franciscan period, was, during the greater part of the time, alone. Only during the last year of his life did Father Carrillo have a brother missionary to share his work.

A most interesting census of Tumacacori was made in 1796 [6] by Father Mariano Bordoy, who worked with Father Gutierrz during the period 1796-9. He counted 103 people for the

pueblo, a population which was essentially Papago and Pima, with 48 of the former and 36 of the latter. There were also 12 Yaquis, 4 Spanish, 1 Apache, 1 Yuma, and 1 Opata. The majority of the older people were Pima, which indicates the probability, despite numerical superiority of Papagos, that the older and more stable element of the community was dominantly Pima. Most of the Yaquis were listed as *"vezindarios,"* or from "surrounding area," or "vicinity," which suggests they had not been a part of the community long enough to merge their civic identity with that of the townsfolk.



The Franciscan chapel or church as it could have appeared about 1795.

Father Bordoy's comments about the church at Tumacacori are quoted: "As to the church structure, I say: that it is now split open into two parts and that consequently there is some need that a new one be built. The resources which the mission at present has for that purpose are quite small. Since it scarcely has lands in which to sow, not because these are lacking, for there are lands, but because the water is lacking with which to irrigate them; so that this year of the four parts of wheat which I had sowed three were lost because of lack of water. Cattle are not worth much, since they have increased in these lands. And consequently, the resources which the Mission has for the building of a Church are small as has already been said."

Much can be read between the lines of Father Bordoy's comments. Although it was customary that most of the actual labor for construction of a mission church should be donated by the converts, there were certain costs that had to be met. The mostly highly skilled work probably had to be done by artisans, who frequently were not members of the native community. They had to be paid. Obviously, certain items used in church construction and furnishings had to be paid for in coin or negotiable goods. Royal treasury funds were either inadequate or lacking here at that time. A missionary would scarcely have planted four times as much wheat as he expected to be able to irrigate, so we can assume a drought. The low price of beef, and the shortage of wheat, either for food or trade, gave a rather somber economic outlook.

TUMACACORI

Tumacacori's Yesterdays

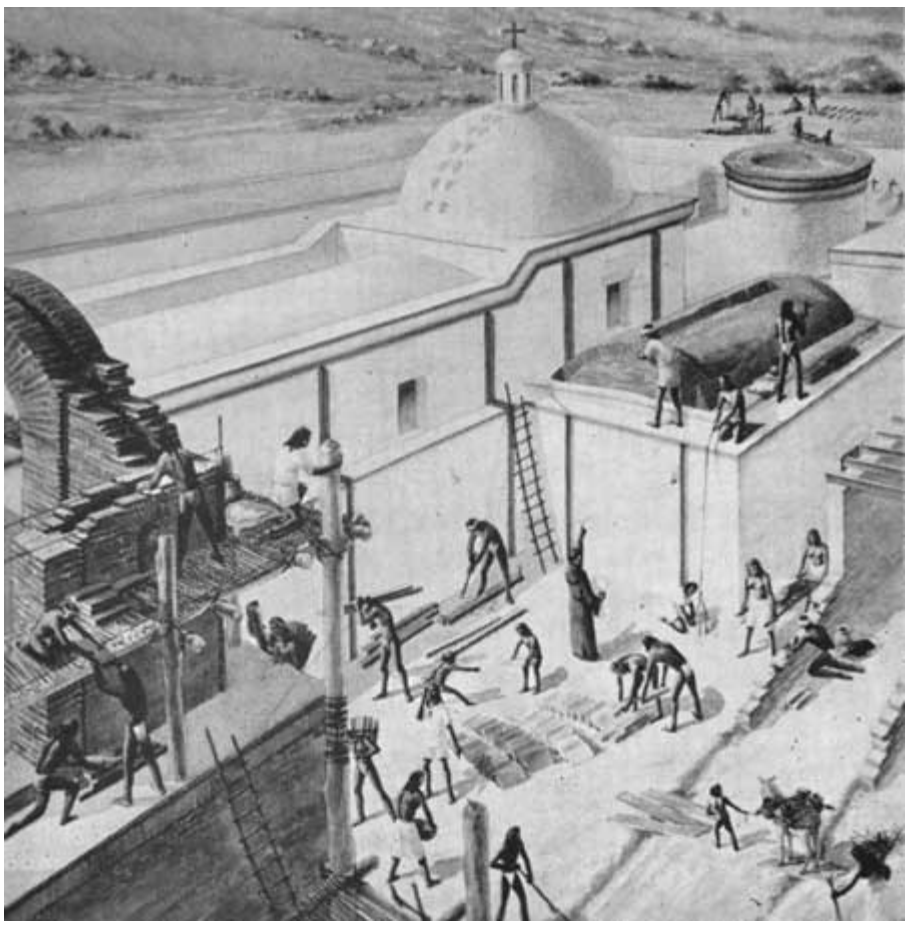
THIS CHURCH

Yet, there was not shortage of leadership and energy, for at some time during the next ten years a new and sizeable church was begun at Tumacacori. That was the building which still stands here as the chief feature of Tumacacori National Monument. So far we have found little about the area during that period, other than routine entries of marriages, baptisms, and burials in the church register which give no clues as to the actual time work started on the new building.

It is indeed regrettable that such a man as Father Gutierrez has to be classified chiefly as a statistical figure, merely because we have been unable to find a diary or other more or less intimate day by day or even year by year account covering his many years of service here. He spent over a quarter of a century, longer than any other priest in its history, at this station, or at least making registry entries here, and must have been of great vigor and character to cope with the incessant challenge that was always met with on this fluid frontier.

"Routine" entries in a mission church register are not always a prosaic catalog of names and dates! Note what happened at Tumacacori on the harrowing day of June 5, 1801: Juan Antonio Crespo, a Caborca Pima of about 50 years, husband of Gertrudis Brixio, of Tumacacori, was killed by the Apaches, who attacked the town this day.

Jose Maria Pajanito, aged 20, died on the same day at the hands of the Apaches. "His body could not be brought until the 6th, *por ser mucha la Apacheria*, and the people did not dare to take out the body until the troops came."



Laying fired brick on the barrel-vaulted roof of the sacristy and on the bell tower. A museum illustration depicting the last stages of building activity on the present church.

Felix Hurtado, a boy of 15, died, like the other two, at the hands of the Apaches. There was no opportunity to give any sacrament whatever, since the Apaches stayed until six o'clock of June 6. By then the people of the town had succeeded in getting the troops (evidently from the Tubac presidio) and such neighbors as they could muster in the two days, to come to Tumacacori to help them. The Apaches then departed, and it was possible to go out and bring back the bodies for burial.

It is not difficult from the above to understand what occasionally happened to those venturesome persons who got outside the safety of the town or its environs at the wrong time! Apaches did more than make a fast raid and a killing here—they loitered near the town for two days. Undoubtedly in that time they sampled liberally of any products of orchard and fields that could possibly have been ready for eating as early as June, and took away a little "beef on the hoof" when they left.

We have a reference of 1806 [7], a report on the missions, which says the minister at Tumacacori "had begun to build the church anew, because it was narrow and very deteriorated," but that the work had been halted. No reason was given for stoppage of the work, but this is not surprising. Many factors affected construction of mission churches. Donated native labor, requiring much urging and encouragement, was a part-time and very slow process in most cases. Indians had their own problems, and their own very deliberate tempo. There were times when harvests, or nut-gathering in the hills, or repair work on an irrigating system, must take precedence over everything else.

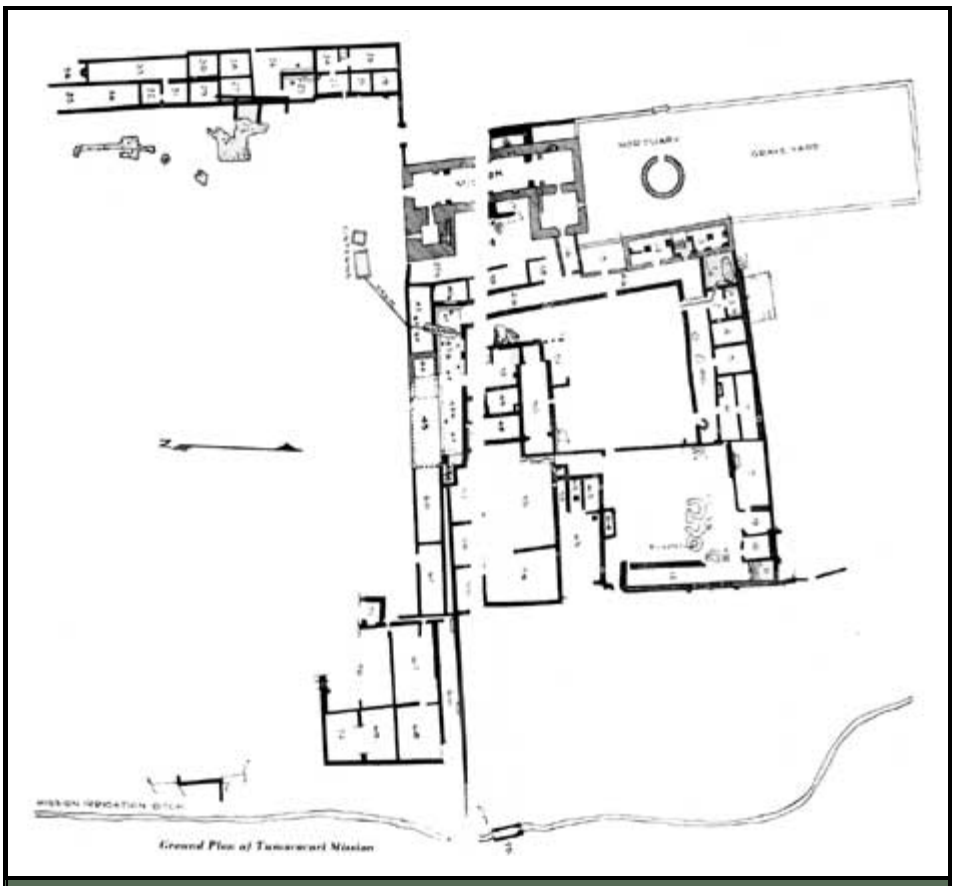
In this same year Juan Legarra, governor of the pueblo of Tumacacori, petitioned the *intendente* of the province to issue new title papers for the Tumacacori land grant [8]. The previous title papers from the Spanish government had been lost. The petition asked the grant of four square leagues of land for the *fundo legal* (farming purposes) and two *sitios* for the *estancia* (stock farm) of the pueblo. After measurements and testimony, the final petition was sent to the *intendente* in 1807. It is interesting to note that Legarra also asked, in an attached petition, for the lands previously occupied by the pueblos of Calabasas and Guevavi, explaining that ". . . the stock cattle and horses are increasing each day under the direction of the present minister, Fray Narciso Gutierrez; wherefore the whole land is necessary for the preservation of said livestock . . ."

Typical costumes of the wealthier Spanish classes in the early 1800's.

Accordingly, new title papers were issued, for over 52,000 acres of land. That is a lot of territory, even by modern cattle ranching standards. Father Gutierrez evidently was quite a cattleman. As a church builder it is possible that he was characterized more by tenacity than by brilliance. The present church was a long time in the building. But how many interruptions may there have been, and for how serious cause? We do not know.

One interruption came in 1817, chronicled by a lamentably brief comment, obviously not by the resident missionary, that the church building "of brick and stone" was still unfinished, and no work was being done on it, "perhaps because of the insurrection" [9]. That word "insurrection" is very frustrating, for we find no other word of such event , and no apparent break in routine church registry entries for the period. For all we know, the "insurrection"

might have been at some other area, and the application of the term in connection with Tumacacori might simply have implied the equivalent of a sympathetic "sit-down" strike.



Ground plan of Tumacacori Mission. *(click on image for an enlargement in a new window)*

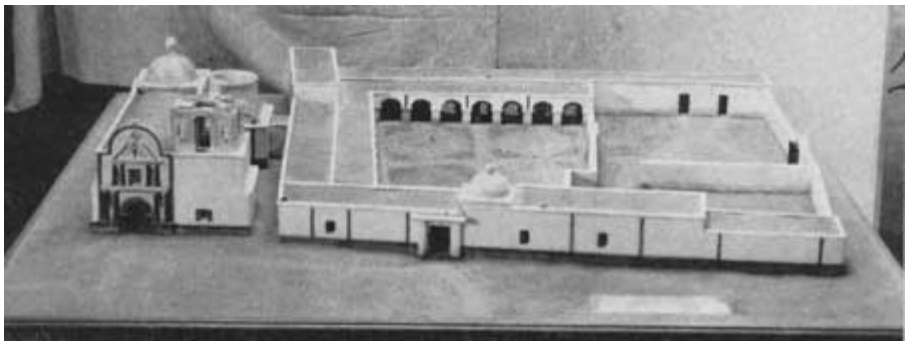
Father Gutierrez ended his long career of service with death, on December 13, 1820, and was buried under the floor of the old church, which obviously must have continued in use while the new one was being built. It was ironic that he had labored so many years to bring the new church to completion, and then should have missed seeing it function by such a narrow margin of time.

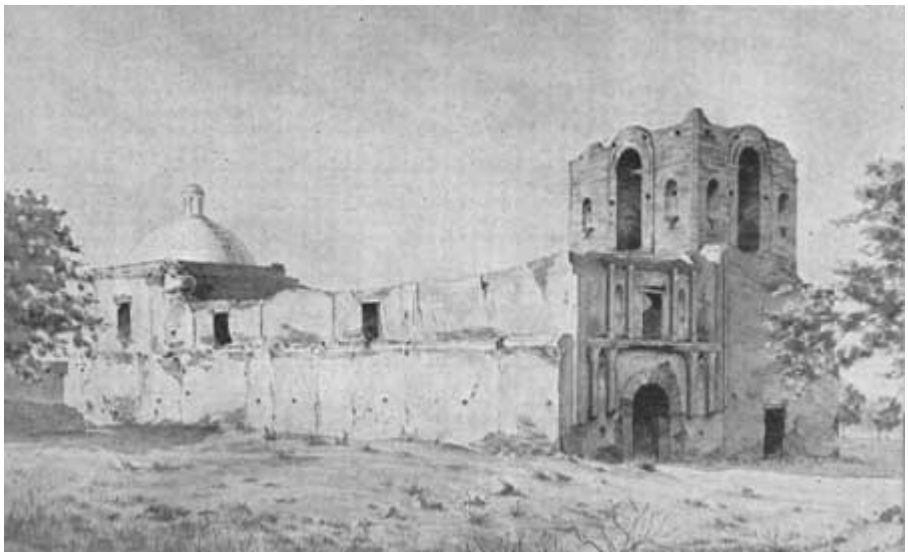
Shortly before the death of Father Gutierrez, on November 17, 1820, Father Juan B. Estelric took over the task of making entries in the church register, work which he continued through May 1, 1822. Whether he was formally listed as missionary in charge at Tumacacori after Gutierrez' death, or was simply "filling in" for a time, is not known, because we learn from another source that Father Ramon Liberos was officially recognized as the minister as early as June, 1821. However, Liberos did not begin signing entries at Tumacacori until July 18, 1822, and certainly was not regularly in residence here before that date. In March of the same year he was busy checking mission records in the Altar Valley and giving them an approval signature followed by the title "Secretary."

Whatever the status of Father Estelric was, he was given some authority, for he sold some 4,000 head of cattle with which to obtain funds, and evidently intended the proceeds to aid in completion of the new church. Then, at some time in 1822, work on the church was suspended on account of trouble about the pay for the cattle he had sold. And to this day we do not know whether Tumacacori was ever paid for those cows!

There is also no written evidence available to indicate that any later construction work was

done on the church. However, such negative evidence is meaningless, unless we split hairs. It may be that no more actual major building work was done, but we know *something* was done, if only on interior finishing or decorating, for there is unquestionable proof the church was in use before the end of the year.





Top image—Tumacacori as the padres may have dreamed of it as completed with a two-story bell tower. Second image—the same as seen from the patio garden. Third image—bird's-eye-view of a model in the musem. Bottom image—the ruin of Tumacacori about 1968.

The following quotation from the burial register is self-explanatory: "In the year of our Lord 1822, on the 13th of Demcber, I Fr. Ramon Liberos, minister at this Mission of San Jose of Tumacacori, removed the remains of the Reverend Fathers Balthazar Carrillo and Narciso Gutierrez from the old church to the new, and buried them in the sanctuary at the Gospel side. As proof I sign this statement *ut supra."*

This occurred two years to the day after Father Gutierrez' death. Maybe Father Liberos was a sentimentalist, and intended this function, presumably the first of the many services to be held in the church, as an unofficial dedication, honoring on this particular day the memory of the priest who had spent so many years trying to make the new building a reality.

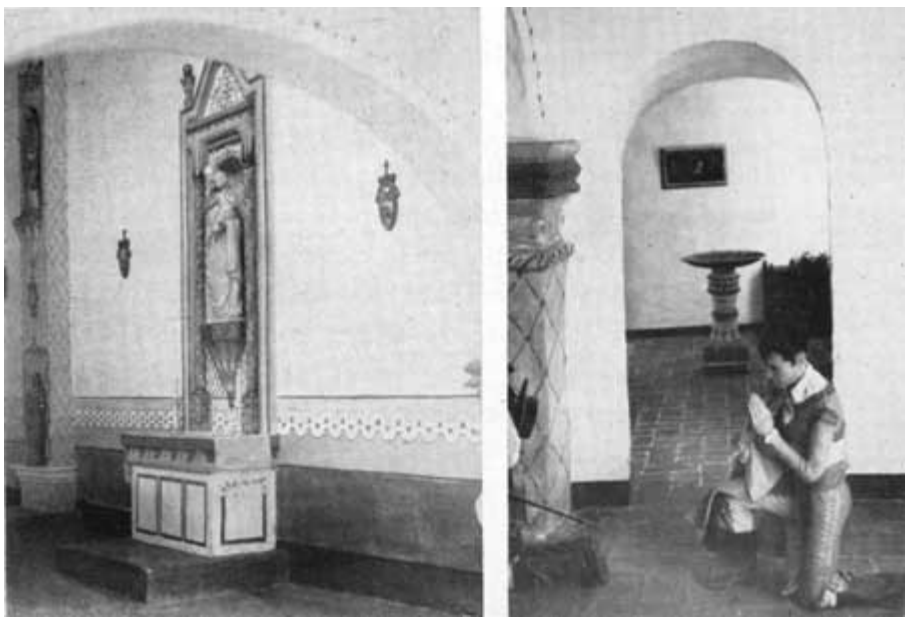
The church building never became a really finished product. The dome was never built over the bell arches, and no finish plastering was applied on the portion below the arches; the mortuary chapel was left with only a scratch plaster coat, and no dome. Those unfinished exterior features, while desirable, were time consuming and not strictly essential for function of a church.

On the inside, we find that the entry (narthex), the nave and the sanctuary were all finish plastered, then coated with a beautiful was of pure gypsum, which served as an effective base for the painted decorations which were applied over it. But, in the baptistry and sacristy, portions not so conspicuously and frequently seen as other parts of the interior, no gypsum finish was applied to the plaster, and no painted decorations. Doubtless it was hoped that at a later time these two rooms could be really finished.

The famed diorama in Tumacacori museum showing the church interior at High Mass.

Such evidence suggests that Father Liberos probably pushed worked ahead on the church just as fast as he could during the closing months of 1822, leaving untouched any feature that wasn't strictly necessary for the beginning of official function. Even before the church was ready, he was making use of new facilities, as is seen from a heading *"cementerio nuevo"* at the top of a page of burial records which has the first entry dated October 1, 1822.

He had ample reason for speeding things up. For one thing, he was a new man here, and without doubt had the newcomer's characteristic energy and enthusiasm. For another, it was only a few months after that momentous date of September, 1821, in which Mexico had declared her independence from Spain. Radical changes in frontier policy were shaping up to draw the closing curtain on missionary activity, and Liberos must have felt that by hurrying the long-drawn out building process of the Tumacacori church to a functional point he might better present it to new civil rulers as a going activity, and one worthy of continuance, either as a mission or a parish church.



Details of the diorama: an altar with flickering candles to the left; and the Spanish worshiper, with the baptistry in the background.

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MISSION WITHOUT MISSIONARIES

Let us glance at pertinent results of the growing pains which beset the struggling new republic. With a host of internal problems and great financial difficulties, and possessed of a great deal of hostility toward the old Spanish regime and persons who might conceivably be more loyal to the old order than the new, Mexico promptly terminated grants of government financial aid to missions. Other restrictive legislation followed, as outlined below:

1827, December 20—Mexican decree formally required expulsion of Franciscans from their mission churches.

1829, May 10—All mission goods still found upon mission property were ordered confiscated.

1833, Mexican Congress provided that education should be free, lay, and obligatory. Church officers were to be appointed by the national government. Legal collection of church tithes was suppressed and civil obligation of monastic oaths annulled.

1834, April 16—The Mexican Congress decreed:

a. All missions should be secularized.

b. Missions should be converted into curacies, the limits of which were to be designated by governors of the states where missions existed.

c. The decree was to go into effect in four months.

As a result of the secularization law, all missions in Arizona and California are believed to have been secularized or abandoned after 1834. In fact, any missionary priest remaining at a mission after the expulsion decree of 1827 would have done so in opposition to civil law, and some missions were abandoned before that date. In Upper Pimeria only Tubutama, Oquitoa, Cocospera, San Xavier del Bac, Caborca, San Ignacio, and Tumacacori remained functional until the date of the expulsion law, and they were described as being in a very debilitated condition. They had indeed fallen into troublous times, and by 1828 were left without management [10].

The church register of Tumacacori shows entries were made as late as November 26, 1826, by Father Rafael Diaz, but since some following pages had been removed, it is impossible to state just when the last actual entry was made. Diaz may quite possibly have made entries on through to the expulsion date in December of the following year.

We do not learn a great deal of what ensued at Tumacacori after the departure of the missionaries. Don Ignacio Zuniga, who for years had commanded the northern presidios, made a very discouraging comment in 1835. He stated that since 1820 this frontier had lost everything but demoralized garrisons of worthless soldiers, "Though in the most recent years, for lack of anything worth plundering and on account of the hostility of the Pimas and

Papagos, Apache raids had been somewhat less frequent than before."

Routine entries were being made in church records during the 1830's at other towns farther south, but so far we find no reference in them to Tumacacori. However, we have no reason to assume our town was deserted. The Journal of Private Land Claims, General Land Office, Phoenix, Arizona, has provided us with some illuminating quotations which give evidence that the pueblo of Tumacacori was still definitely in existence in 1841. The material is from a report of surveyors and measurers who were seeking to establish reliably the boundary between the Los Nogales de Elias Grant and the Calabasas Grant:

"November 13, 1841, notifications were made to neighboring ranches the contiguous ones which I am going to measure is only the ranch 'La Casita,' property of said Elias, and Calabasas, belonging to the mission of Tumacacori in charge of the Reverend Father, Friar Antonio Gonzales, His Reverence being summoned to appear by himself or empowered attorney with the corresponding title in order to define the boundary of the said Calabazas . . ."

On the 25th of November the measurers ". . . reached the place called Los Nogales where I stopped on account of sundown. Don Marcelo Bonillas empowered attorney of Rev. Antonio Gonzales having stated that he had today summoned the Governor of the natives of Tumacacori, with the view that he should show them the landmarks of said town, or of the deserted town of Calabazas and requested me to delay the continuation of the measurement until the Governor's arrival to which I agreed . . ."

The above references clearly indicate that Tumacacori was still occupied, and had a governor. They also indicate a priest was in charge of the mission, which has led some history-minded folk to believe that one was still in residence here. However, a study of old parish records in Magdalena and in the Altar Valley reveals that frequently a priest was in charge of several missions at one time, while having residence at only one, and making routine visits to the others as opportunity or need arose. Father Antonio Gonzales was such a man.

He is known to have spent most of his time south of the present international boundary. During the years from December 9, 1837, to August 24, 1841, he made very numerous entries in the church registers at Oquitoa and Atil, in the Altar Valley. During the next three months we find no entries by him, and then, on November 30, 1841, his name shows up after entries in the Magdalena register. (Some entries before that date are missing, and probably account for the three months.)

The above data practically rule out the possibility that Father Gonzales was a resident priest at Tumacacori in 1841, as he would not have sent an attorney to summon the native governor of the town to show the landmarks to the surveyors—it would have been so much simpler to just step next door and summon the governor himself!

In 1842 the Mexican government passed a law providing that abandoned pueblo lands valued at $500 or less could be sold at public auction. On April 19, 1844, the treasury department of Sonora held such a public sale, calling the lands of Tumacacori abandoned *(despoblado).* At this time, Don Francisco Aguilar purchased the entire Tumacacori holdings for $500, presenting the only bid offered. It is believed Aguilar made this purchase in behalf of his brother-in-law, Manuel Maria Gandara, who was several times governor of Sonora. That was not an excessively high price to pay, for the more than 52,000 acres of highly desirable range and river bottom land!

How Tumacacori could have been regarded as an abandoned pueblo in April of 1844 is something we find difficult to understand. We believe the Indians were living in the town at that time, as they had been doing for a long, long period. We also believe they were not as conversant with legal technicalities as were better educated people living in more populous regions to the south.

One might have thought the inhabitants of Tumacacori, having had the land sold out from

under their feet, might have departed from their ancestral home at once. But such was not the case. Only four months after the sale, Father Trinidad Garcia Rojas, visiting priest, baptised three girl children in *"La Santa Iglesia de Tumacacori,"* on August 28, 1844. Next day he went on from the "abandoned" town to make 15 similar entries at Tubac, and was in Tucson on September 1.

Father Rojas had a tremendously big job to handle. He was, in his own words, in charge of the "Mission of San Ignacio and other points of the line." His records for 1844, now kept in Magdalena, show entries for Magdalena, San Ignacio, Imuris, Santa Ana, Santa Cruz, Tumacacori, Tubac, Tucson, and San Xavier.

A year later, in 1845, Father Rojas was in Santa Cruz, where he made an entry, on August 23. The following day he baptised a girl child at Tumacacori, and on the same day he went on to make eight entries at Tubac. The next day he made entries in the register for San Xavier.

On September 8, 1846, the same priest conducted 13 baptisms at Tumacacori, which was hardly an indication of a diminishing or failing population for the town! The same year shows numerous of Rojas' entries at Tubac, Tucson, and San Xavier.

The year 1847 brings the last church record we can find for the Indian population at Tumacacori. To read dates of baptismal entries at different places makes one picture Father Rojas as a distinctly busy man. Look at the following list:

1847—February 12—baptisms at San Xavier.
February 14—6 baptisms at Tumacacori.
February 18—in Magdalena.
August 23—at Magdalena.
August 26—at Tumacacori, for at least 1 baptism.
August 28—at Tucson.
September 1—at San Xavier.
September 3—to Tumacacori, where he merely posted 8 entries for San Xavier.
September 9—to Santa Cruz and back toward Magdalena.

That entry of September 3, 1847, is the last entry for Tumacacori, although on January 1 of 1848 he was in Tucson, on January 9 at San Xavier, and stopped at Tubac on January 10 for baptisms, and for more baptisms at Santa Cruz on January 16. How regrettable that some comments could not have been dropped into the routine records, to give a better picture of Tumacacori as its people approached the last days before abandonment!

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TUMACACORI

Tumacacori's Yesterdays

AND DUST TO DUST

Our next reference to Tumacacori comes from an entirely different type of source, the diary of a traveler, Cave J. Couts. The following is a quotation from his diary entry for October 25, 1848:

"At Tumacacori is a very large and fine church standing in the midst of a few common conical Indian huts made of bushes, thatched with grass, huts of most common and primitive kind. This church is now taken care of by the Indians, Pimas, most of whom are off attending a jubilee, or fair, on the other side of the mountains. No priest has been in attendance for many years, though all its images, pictures, figures, etc., remain unmolested and in good keeping. No Mexicans live with them at all."

Many years ago the Papago Indians, although lacking a true written language, used to keep records by means of notched calendar sticks. From interpretation of the story told by these sticks, and from memories handed down by word of mouth as well, we have learned that the winter of 1848 was one of unheard-of intensity in Papago land. Intense cold swept the desert country, with snows over two feet deep on level ground. The people suffered terribly, and much of their livestock died. With people in the lower desert lands suffering as badly as this, imagine the sufferings in the higher country of Tumacacori.

Heavy snowfall, of course, would have meant considerable moisture, more than normal. From tree-ring records we learn that the winter of 1848-9 was a period of above normal precipitation in the Santa Catalina Mountain country, north of Tucson. While moisture conditions in the high mountains were not necessarily the same as those of the desert country, this fact at least gives a measure of support to the likelihood that the Papago calendar stick record was correct.

It was in this terrible winter of 1848 that we believe the Tumacacori people finally abandoned their village. They were undoubtedly a very saddened and disheartened group. Plagued by Apache raids in the district, having their home ground sold even while they lived on it, having no priest or hope of one again, suffering from the unprecedented weather, they took such cherished items of church property as they could, including the statues, and left, never to return. They transferred to San Xavier, donating the furnishings they carried to the church there (also abandoned at that time), and joining their kinsmen of the town.

Only a few months later, on September 1, 1849, another traveler passed by Tumacacori, and in his diary wrote, "This morning we passed a deserted mission and obtained a further supply of peaches." On October 6 of the same year, H. M. T. Powell visited here, sketched the mission church, and wrote a description, which included no reference to any inhabitants, or to any movable furnishings in the church. Part of his description is quoted below:

"The houses, extending East, are adobe. The church inside is about 90 x 18, painted and gilded with some pretensions to taste. The altar place under the dome was, of course, more carved, gilded, and painted than anywhere else. Behind the Church, north side, there is a large burying ground enclosed by a neat adobe wall plastered and having niches in it at intervals. There was a circular ovatory at the south end of it near the Church. East of the Church there was a large square yard, on the west side of which, passing under some solid arches, we came to a flight of steps leading to a granary, etc. It is a very large establishment and the monks or priests had every

accommodation to make life comfortable. In the square tower there were three large bells, and there was one lying inside the church, dedicated to Senor San Antonio—dated 1809."

In December of the same year another visitor, by the name of Hayes, wrote a description of Tumacacori. He refers to some 50 peach trees in an enclosure, and states that in places the ground was covered with the seeds.

"The fruit has fallen and none to gather it. Corrals still standing—not a living thing seen. It had a melancholy appearance. The walls of the church still stand, no roof, and only the upright piece of the cross. It looks desolate indeed . . . built of beautiful large burnt brick; the walls inside plastered with cement, and adorned with paintings in the cement. The dome over the altar covered with cement which shines white in the sun; portico in front, with two tier of columns; rich and exquisite carving inside, 4 bells, one has been taken down; . . ."

As a mission, Tumacacori had reached its end. There was no return of priests or natives. The mission church began its rapid descent into a ruined state. History continued its hectic march in this region, but it by-passed Tumacacori for many years.

For a time Manuel Gandara conducted a prosperous ranching business on the lands, which included the territory formerly used by the people of Guevavi and Calabasas, as well as those of Tumacacori. Gandara's son, and others, ran the place. It had a woolen factory, with 18 employees, and there were 22 farm laborers. There also were 10,000 head of sheep, and 600 head of goats.

With the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, ratified by the American Congress in 1854, all of Arizona south of the Gila River became property of the United States, instead of continuing as part of northern Sonora. Not long after the year of the Boundary Survey, 1855, Gandara abandoned the ranch.

A member of the survey party wrote: "Tubac is a deserted village. The wild Apache lords it over this region, and the timid husbandmen dare not return" to their homes. "The mission of Tumacacori another fine structure of the mother church stands, too, in the midst of rich fields; but fear prevents its habitation, save by two or three Germans . . ."

In 1854 Charles D. Poston and his associates began search for gold and silver in the Tubac region, losing no time in getting American enterprise started. Eastern capital was obtained, the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company was incorporated, and Tubac was set up as field headquarters in 1856. Soon the great Heintzelman silver mine, about 14 miles northwest, was opened, and the Arivaca, Sopori, and Santa Rita mines were being developed, all within a 20-mile radius of Tubac.

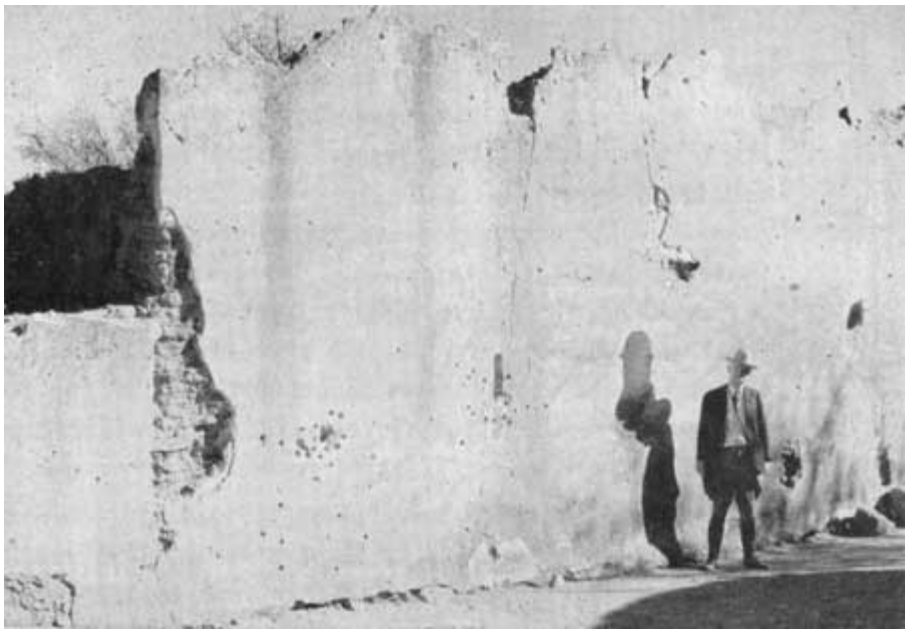
Poston, a real organizer, with a group of vigorous young men accompanying him, soon made the town a young metropolis of the frontier, which boasted a population of around 2,000 at its peak, not long before the outbreak of the Civil War. On March 3, 1859, Arizona's first newspaper, "The Arizonian" received its first printing in Tubac. In the same year comes a reference to Tumacacori, which states the walls of the mission were sheltering political exiles from Sonora, and a few enterprising Germans, and that its rich lands were being cultivated by the American squatter.

In 1860 Professor Wrightson, in the Second Annual Report of the Santa Rita Silver Mining Company to its stockholders, says this of Tumacacori:

"The roof of the church was flat and covered with cement and tiles. The timbers have now decayed and fallen. Adjacent to the church, in the form of a hollow square, were the residences of the priests, containing spacious and airy rooms, with every evidence of comfort and refinement, while surrounding these in the interior, was an arched colonnade, forming a shady walk around the whole enclosure."

As a mining metropolis Tubac was destined for a short life. The Civil War broke out in 1861, defensive manpower in the frontier was in part drained away, Apaches were quick to cash in on opportunities caused by withdrawal and confusion, and pandemonium reigned. By the end of the year Tubac was abandoned. For a time Arizona was a part of the Confederacy, although it was not until early in February of 1863 that a force of 200 Texans entered Tucson and raised the Confederate flag. On February 24 of the same year President Lincoln signed a bill creating Arizona Territory (which previously had been called part of Dona Ana County, of the territory of New Mexico). In May of that year a troop of California Volunteers came eastward into Arizona, and on the 20th of the month entered Tucson. The Texans retreated to the Rio Grande, and the Union Flag was raised over Arizona.

In 1864 Tubac was visited by J. Ross Browne, a traveler and writer. He said Tubac was completely abandoned, with roofs of the adobe houses falling in and walls crumbling to ruins. At Tumacacori he was impressed by the evidence of former extensive irrigation. The structures he described had by now been considerably defaced by time and vandalism. He referred to a strong adobe corral adjoining the back part of the main edifice, with a massive gateway and with loop holes for defense. The "corral" must have been the mission cemetery, which in truth was used as a round-up corral after abandonment. The massive gateway to which he referred could not likely have been the comparatively narrow passage way through the west cemetery wall. What he probably described was a pair of heavy and wide wooden gates which were, at at unknown date, put in place of part of the adobe wall forming the south end of the east cemetery wall. The gates could have dated from Gandara's occupancy of the ranch, and it is possible they may have been the same double wooden ones which were there in 1884, and were described to the writer by Mr. Joe Wise, of Nogales, as "smooth gates," not rough ones. However, if gates from Gandara's time were still usable in 1884 they must have been exceptionally well made.



The part of the cemetery wall formed by the two-story granary, showing a loophole to noted photographer George Grant's right, and a statue niche in his shadow. The niche held one of the Stations of the Cross.

Browne's reference to loopholes for defense doesn't fit the cemetery as well as it does the rooms of the patio which lay to the east. But the patio was not in the rear of the church, and if he had been describing it, he could hardly have failed to note the fact that high walls of the

rooms still stood around the space. He probably saw only the two loopholes, which are still visible in the east wall of the cemetery, in a portion which originally was outside wall of two of the court rooms. We believe the rooms of the courtyard antedated construction of the cemetery, so that there was a time, with open country to the west, when loopholes would have been of possible value for protection of the court from Apache attack.

For a number of years after the Civil War southern Arizona was literally a "no man's land," which the Apaches made into one of the most dangerous places on earth. Available military forces were inadequate to cope with these foemen, and there were few men hardy enough and lucky enough to live in the region south of Tucson. Among these was Pete Kitchen, a Kentuckian who feared neither man nor the devil. On his ranch called the Potrero, 14 miles south of Tumacacori, he built a hilltop fortress and ranchhouse, and while not fighting off Apaches, conducted a lucrative hog ranch, selling hogs in Tucson.

Some time before the arrival of the railroad on the border in the early 1880's, the city of Nogales was founded, by one Jacob Isaacson. He built a store at or near the site of the present Southern Pacific station. After railroad construction gangs arrived he apparently found the district too congested with people, and moved away.

The railroad brought a steady trickle of settlers to the border region; after the surrender of the famous Geronimo in 1886 marked the official end of the Apache wars, the trickle became a stream. People began settling in the Tumacacori district, with the result that the church changed hands several times before the turn of the century.

Way back in 1869, several years after Manuel Gandara had used and abandoned Tumacacori's lands, his brother in-law, Aguilar, finally deeded the Tumacacori, Guevavi, and Calabasas grants to him. Gandara in turn sold the lands, in 1877, to Charles P. Sykes, who was interested primarily in the development of a town at Calabasas, about 10 miles south of Tumacacori. A year later Sykes sold part of the property to John Currey, and in 1879 they transferred their interest in the land to the Calabasas Land and Mining Company, whose title later was vested in the Santa Rita Mining Company.

In 1898 the Supreme Court of the United States affirmed a lower court decision to the effect that the action of the treasury department of Sonora when it sold the Tumacacori grant in 1844 was irregular. It said that, according to Mexican law of the time, abandoned pueblo lands belonged to the public domain and could not be granted to the treasurer of a department to sell, and accordingly, the Supreme Court said the land reverted to the public domain. This meant the lands were open to homesteading.

In 1899 Carmen Mendez filed homestead application to a portion of the grant which included the old Tumacacori mission church and grounds. By this time there were numerous homesteaders in the district. On June 30, 1908, Mendez relinquished to the federal government his rights to 10 acres of this, which included the mission and most of the site of the abandoned Indian village. By this time a great many people from various parts of the country were taking an interest in the historic old church, and there was much desire that it be set aside and protected against the elements and vandalism.

On September 15, 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed the Mendez relinquishment as Tumacacori National Monument. However, it developed that title to the lands was to be complicated by a historic controversy over what became known as Baca Float No. 3. This grew from an old grant in New Mexico made to Luis Maria Baca. When the Mexican government in 1835 granted a tract of land to the town of Las Vegas, the Baca heirs protested the new grant conflicted with their claims. Apparently the Mexican government took no action on this, and after the region had become part of the United States, the Baca

heirs successfully presented their claims to the American Congress. On June 21, 1860, the heirs were authorized to select in lieu of their original grant an equal quantity of vacant land, not mineral, in the territory of New Mexico, to comprise not over five tracts. In 1863 Baca Float No. 3 was filed for by attorneys for the heirs, and a year later was approved by the Land Office as being vacant and non-mineral in character. The land embraced the Tumacacori mission.

An involved history then followed, of attempted surveys, attempted relocation of the claim to include more valuable lands, and finally action in 1914 by the Supreme Court, upholding a lower court decision that Baca Float No. 3 had passed from the government to the Baca heirs when the selection of 1863 was approved by the Land Office as being vacant and non-mineral. Hence, a survey of the land was not necessary for title to pass. Homestead entries therefore became invalid and illegal, and so Mendez' relinquishment meant nothing, and the government's title to Tumacacori was nullified.

In 1917 homesteaders on the Float were ordered evicted. On December 8 of this year Weldon M. Bailey, James E. Bouldin, Jennie N. Bouldin and Helen Lee Bouldin, owners of this part of the Float, deeded Tumacacori to the government. In 1921 a bill was passed for relief of the many disappointed settlers of the district who had been deprived of their lands and homes by the Float decision, and they were given two acres of unsettled land to every one acre they had lost.

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TUMACACORI

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TUMACACORI AS A NATIONAL MONUMENT

When Tumacacori was proclaimed a national monument in 1908, the Forest Service was first responsible for it. They built a fence around the 10-acre tract, and occasionally inspected the area, but were unable to provide local care for the place.

On August 25, 1916, Congress established the National Park Service, which has since carried out the protection of Tumacacori mission and the interpretation of its history for the visitors. In 1921 some repair work was done to the church and the ruins of the other old buildings and walls to protect them against excessive weathering; a new roof was placed over the long nave, and lesser repairs were made to other portions. Repair work since that date has been limited almost entirely to preserving existing original construction. In other words, the National Park Service is seeking here not to restore the building to its original appearance, but to so stabilize it that it will not go into further ruin.

The modern visitor to Tumacacori National Monument arrives by paved U. S. Highway 89, 48 miles south of Tucson, 17 miles north of Nogales. From the roadside parking area he enters first the Spanish-Colonial type museum building. This structure houses a series of historical exhibits and some outstanding dioramas (three-dimensional exhibits in miniature) which combine to give the visitor a good cross section of mission history in this portion of the Southwest. Adjoining the museum has been developed a patio garden which is typical of the mission gardens of the Spanish period.

Visitors, after payment of a small guide fee, are accompanied by a National Park Service ranger as they leave the museum building for a guided walking trip through the mission church and grounds, a short distance to the north. There are a number of these guided trips each day, during every day of the year.

Entrance of the Tumacacori Museum. (Harry Reed photo)

The church is a massive structure of adobe and brick (burned adobe) facing south. In plan it has the shape of a great capital letter E, minus the middle arm. The vertical part of the E is the long axis of the building, running north and south, extending from the entrance through the nave, into the sanctuary at the north end. The lower right arm of the E has the baptistry on the ground floor, a room for the choir at the second floor, and the bell arches at the third floor level. The upper right arm of the E is the sacristy.

The pool and fountain in the patio garden of the museum. (Harry Reed Photo)

Some of the interesting outside dimensions of the church are:

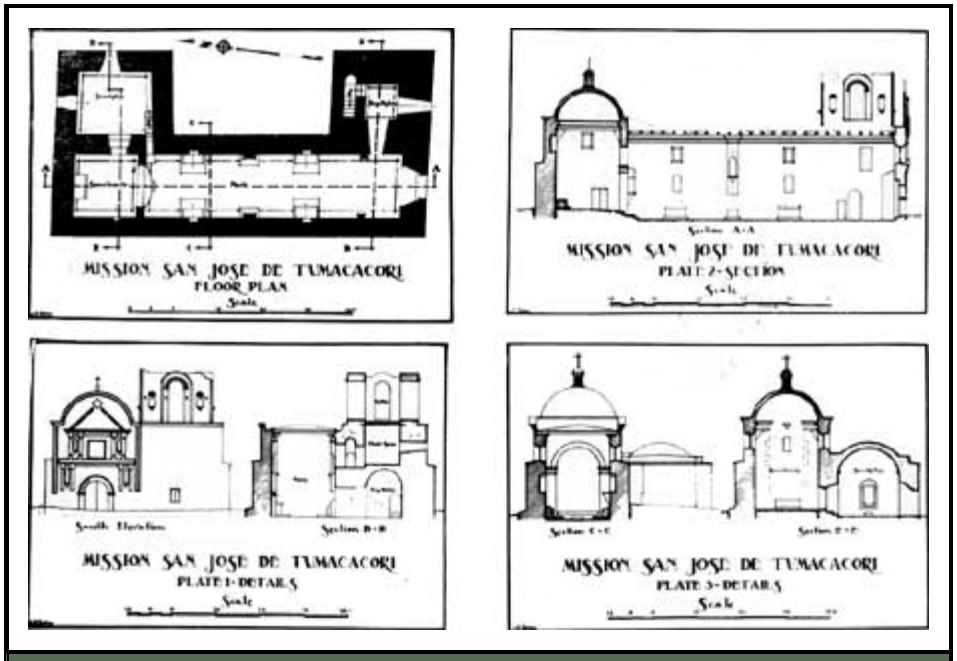
Greatest length: 101 feet.
Width across south end: 50 feet 7 inches.
Width across north end: 49 feet 9 inches.

Distance between the two "arms" of the E: 42 feet 2-1/2 inches.
Width of nave: 28 feet.
Ground level to top of unfinished bell arches: 39 feet 9 inches.
Ground level to top of lantern (domed colonnade on top of sanctuary dome): approximately 41 feet.

Some interesting inside dimensions are:

Greatest length: 89 feet 1 1/2 inches.
North-south length of entrance (narthex): 10 feet.
East-west: 17 feet 3 inches.
Length of nave: 54 feet. Width: 17 feet 3 inches.
North-south length of sanctuary: 17 feet 4 inches.
East-west: 17 feet 5 inches.
Baptistry, north-south: 9 feet 1 inch. East-west: 9 feet 6 inches.
Sacristy, north-south, 20 feet 1/2 inch. East-west: 16 feet 6 inches.
Ceiling height of nave: 23 feet 6 inches.
Ceiling height of sanctuary: about 32 feet.

The foundation of the building, running about five feet below original ground surface, is made mostly of great river boulders, set in mud mortar. Above this the walls range in base thickness from slightly over 9 feet in the baptistry to a minimum of 5 feet, with average base thickness, for all except the three-story section, of about 5 feet 6 inches. At about three-fifths of the distance from ground level to the nave roof occurs a reduction in wall thickness of about 2 feet, which extends around the west, north, and east sides of the building. Another similar offset occurs at the base of the bell arches, extending all the way around them.



Mission San Jose de Tumacacori.

At one spot in a lower portion of the wall we have a cross section visible, showing a building technique which presumably extends throughout the lower more massive walls of the structure. This reveals a core of rubble masonry, river boulders set in mud mortar. Sun-dried mud bricks (adobes), set in mud mortar, to a thickness of two rows, both on inside and outside of the wall, retain this core. Over the outer and inner wall surfaces were applied two heavy coats of lime (calcium carbonate) mortar, which is simply a mixture of fired lime and

water (lime putty) and river sand. The walls above the offset probably also have a stone core, but it would have to be thinner than the core at the base.

Where greater strength was necessary, adobe bricks were burned by fire, and, where used, were set in lime mortar. These red, fired bricks were used for all wall capping, such as in the cornice around the top of the nave, for interior molding below the cornice, for the construction of the sanctuary dome and the sacristy barrel vault, and for the bell arches. Seen from above, the unfinished bell arches show a thin brick shell for a rubble masonry core. Fired brick was also used in other portions of wall construction, although in small areas, and in making the altars inside the building. In all probability, had there been an abundance of native labor available, the missionaries would have had the entire building made of the vastly more durable fired brick. But with labor at a premium, the builders had to be content, for the most part, with the less time-consuming adobes.

Interior of the nave, looking toward the sanctuary, before the modern brick floor was installed.

All interior plaster of the long axis of the church was coated with one or two brush-coat layers of gypsum plaster. Over this chalky white base was applied all the painted interior decorations. Since one decorated layer of gypsum wash occurs over a base layer, also decorated, it is clearly evident the church was redecorated once. The first decoration logically would have been completed not long before or after Father Liberos put the church into use, in 1822. We do not know when the second gypsum wash and its paintings were applied.

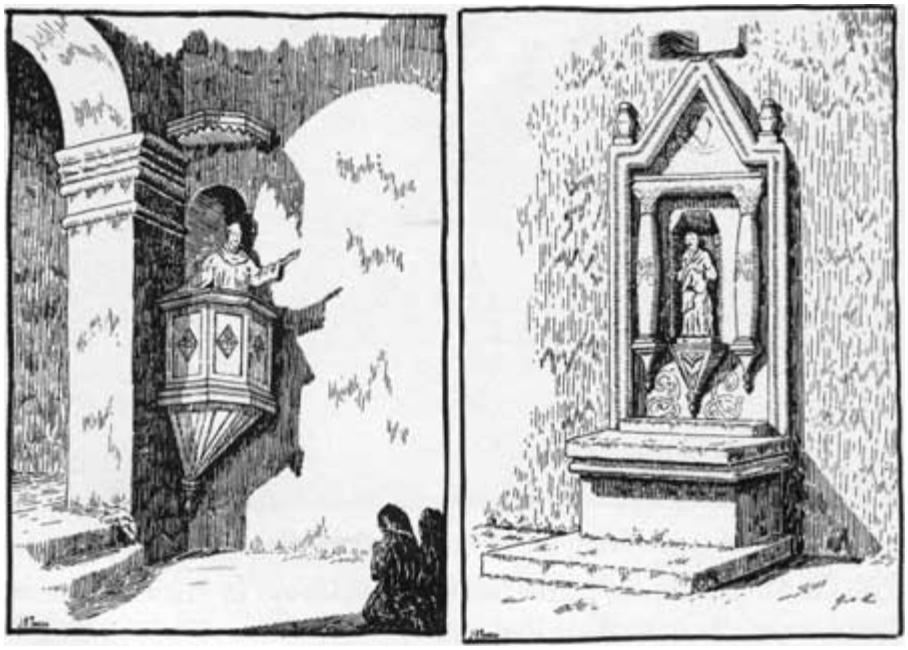
The original floor of the church, long since ripped up by treasure hunters, was a six- to eight-inch thickness of lime mortar and broken fragments of burned adobe brick. This had a well-smoothed upper surface, painted a deep red with ferric oxide pigment. In 1939 the National Park Service replaced the missing floor with one of mission-type fired brick.

Over the length of the entrance and nave was originally a timbered roof. Horizontal beams of Ponderosa Pine, roughly squared to about 6" by 6" cross section, rested on the inside cornice. These supported smaller material, probably a mat of Ocotillo stems or small tree branches. Above this we can also presume was a practically mortar-tight matting of grass or wheat

stems, which in turn would have supported a several-inch thickness of lime mortar and brick fragments.

The original roof of the nave was gone by the end of 1849. This can reasonably be inferred from reports of travelers, quoted earlier in this narrative. The collapse probably occurred from neglect and resultant moisture at the timber ends, and termite action. The present roof over this portion is purely a utilitarian one, and not intended as a faithful copy of the original.

The baptistry, connected on its west side with the narthex by a 9-foot-long arched passage, has a large rectangular window in its south wall. This gives plenty of light to the room. In the old days there must have been heavy wooden shutters which could have been bolted from inside to protect the building from possible invasion by hostile Apaches through this opening. In the northeast corner of the room a passageway and steps lead through the north wall upward to the west, angles southward in the west wall, and angles eastward in the south wall as it rises to the base of the bell arches. An opening from this passage enters the west wall of the room for the choir, directly above the domed baptistry ceiling. This room received direct illumination solely from a slit in the east wall, a slit which tapered greatly to a very wide interior opening, to make maximum use of the tiny amount of light which entered.



Theoretical restorations of the pulpit, left, and a side altar, right. Drawings by J. H. Tovrea.

Across the passage west from this room another opening led out into the choir loft. The loft extended across the south end of the long axis of the building, resting at the north end on an arch which separated the narthex from the nave. The loft long ago collapsed, probably when the nave roof fell in, and now only the arch bases remain. Light entered the loft from a large window in the south wall of the church, a window directly above the arched entry door. Four other large windows at the same height provided illumination through the east and west walls of the nave, and two others served similarly in the east and west walls of the sanctuary.

The north end of the nave is separated by a lofty archway from the sanctuary. The archway supports the south side of the dome. In the extreme northeast corner of the nave was the pulpit, entered by an arched passageway and stairs from the southwest corner of the sacristy.

The original pulpit and stairs long ago were destroyed, and are now represented by partial restorations.

Along the east and west walls of the nave are the remnants of four side altars and their bases, all of fired brick and lime mortar. They are directly beneath the four high windows. Midway of the walls, between the side altars, facing each other across the room, are two ceiling-high pilasters, each with a small base at the bottom. These each contain two statue niches, one above the other, and probably served as shrines.

Above each of the side altars are statue niches, and around part of one is the remnant of an attached column which once formed a decorative framing for it. There is evidence that another column paralleled it, reaching a gabled point at the top, and that all the side altars had similar embellishment. There were undoubtedly statues of several saints in the various niches.

Close-up view of the sanctuary.

In the sanctuary the main altar of the church, against the north wall, was long ago destroyed. Tradition has it that the present partial reconstruction of the altar was done by Pedro Calistro, a very devout Opata Indian who lived nearby in the early part of the present century, and who for years constituted himself an unofficial caretaker for the building.

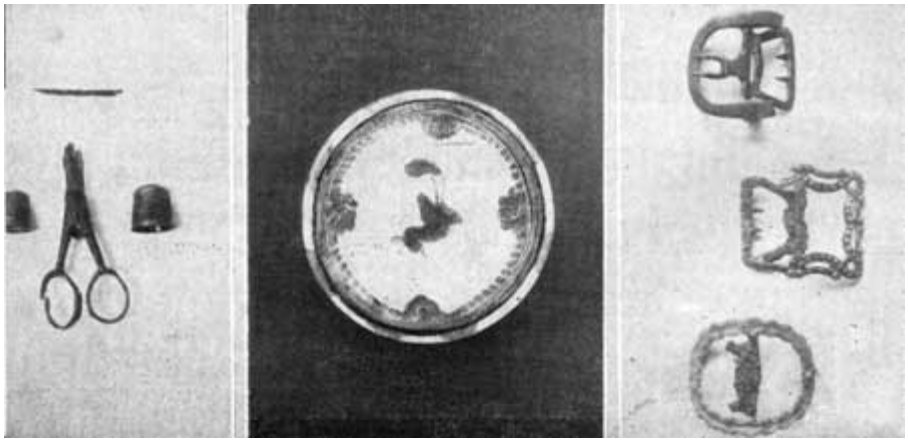
Above the altar is a roughly cross-shaped broken area in the plastered wall, and at first glance one always assumes the crucifix rested here. Closer examination, however, makes it fairly evident that to have fitted the present depressions, a crucifix would have had to be reversed. Therefore, it is more likely that (a) a statue, such as a figure of the Madonna, may have been attached here, or (b) that only a part of the cross-shape is from original structural insertion, and that possibly a brick canopy was attached to the wall here. In the latter case, the crucifix or figure of the Madonna could have stood or been fastened beneath. It should be borne in mind that, in any case, the cross need not necessarily have been fastened anywhere, but could have been portable and standing on the altar.

Above the questionable cross-shaped spot is a deep, ragged hole in the wall, where originally must have been a niche. It likely contained a statue of St. Joseph, the patron saint of Tumacacori in Franciscan times. There are masks to indicate that a reredos in partial relief was attached against the wall around the cross-shaped area, but we have no evidence as to its appearance.

To either side of the niche for St. Joseph, broken brick ends show where free-standing attached columns rose, to support a pediment. The pediment is now gone, but the outline shows it consisted of relief work in the shape of a gable, with the upper tip left out. Above this are two nicely executed, plaster relief, crossed palm fronds, the traditional Christian symbol of martyrdom. Above the fronds is a shelf-like plaster and brick corbel, which may have supported a tri-fold set of figures or pictures. Outlines of where these objects may have been attached to the high wall are still visible. They could have represented the Holy Trinity.

Framing the space for the reredos and crucifix and the niche for St. Joseph, are black and brown painted lines on the plaster. Several of these lines form a rather wide border, vertical on the sides, save for lateral partly rectangular extensions near the top. This framing is capped, on left and right, by two painted volutes in the same colors.

To the left and right of the painted framing are grooves in the wall which must once have contained pedestals. The pedestals in turn would have supported small statues, against a background of red curtains painted on the wall.



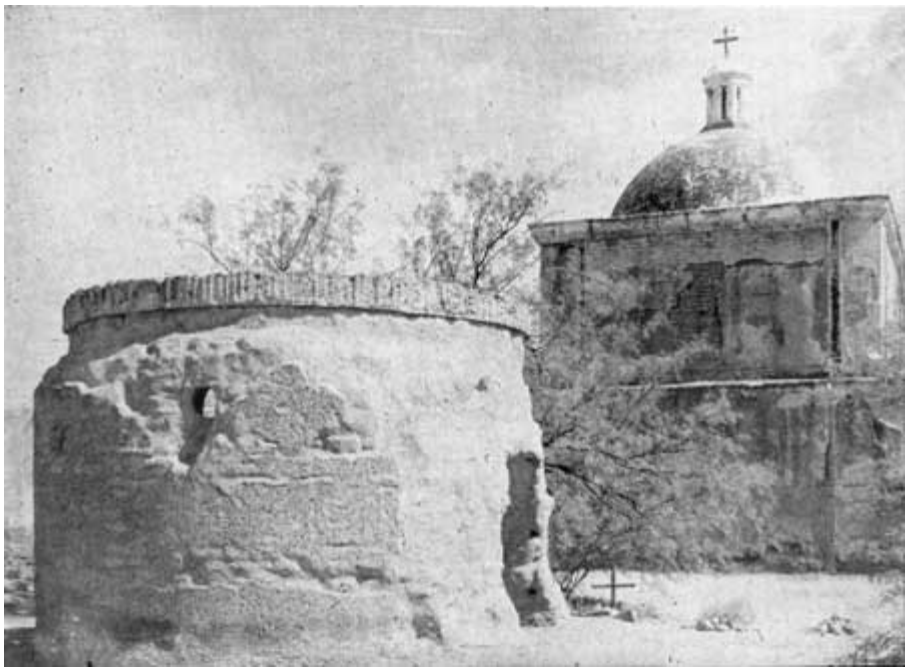
Spanish items from Quiburi mission, Arizona: steel scissors, bronze thimbles and iron needle, left; restored Majolica dish, center; and bronze buckles, right. Courtesy, Charles DiPeso, Amerind Foundation.

Religious items from contemporary Quiburi: bronze candle-snuffer, left; bronze crucifixes, a Jesuit medallion, and a piece of book applique, center; and bronze candlestick, right. Courtesy Charles DiPeso, Amerind Foundation.

Along the east and west walls of the sanctuary, just below window level, and on each side of the south arch, are a total of 12 rectangular outlines where once were fastened pictures, evidently of the 12 apostles. There are also several friezes of stencilled flower patterns across the east and west walls, and circling above the south arch, as well as many other small stencilled designs circling the base of the dome, and inside some compass-drawn circles in the extreme top of the dome. In the center of the arch, other compass-drawn circles have tiny free-hand designs painted inside them. Some free-hand scroll work is also visible in horizontal bands on either side of the arch.

The sanctuary is by far the most highly decorated part of the church, with remnants in several colors, of a number of designs. One of the pigments, a blue, is from the Indigo plant. It is doubtful if the missionaries made plantings of the Indigo here, probably bringing the pigments from more southernly areas where the plants were grown. All other colors are mineral, including the brilliant red of cinnabar, the yellow and orange of the ocherous hematites (iron oxides), the green of one of the copper compounds, and the black of carbon, presumably charcoal. With the exception of the charcoal, which was most likely locally made, we have no idea whether the missionaries had the other pigments ground from minerals obtained in this district, or brought them in from the south.

The vehicle, or carrier, for the pigments has long ago disintegrated, and disappeared, which has left the pigments very soft and powdery. Presumably the vehicle was a water-soluble vegetable base, such as Mesquite gum. In order to stabilize the pigments, and the soft gypsum wash on the plaster surfaces beneath, the National Park Service has sprayed all interior plaster and decorations with a vinyl acetate spray, which is invisible, and fixes the pigments after the manner of a pastel fixative.



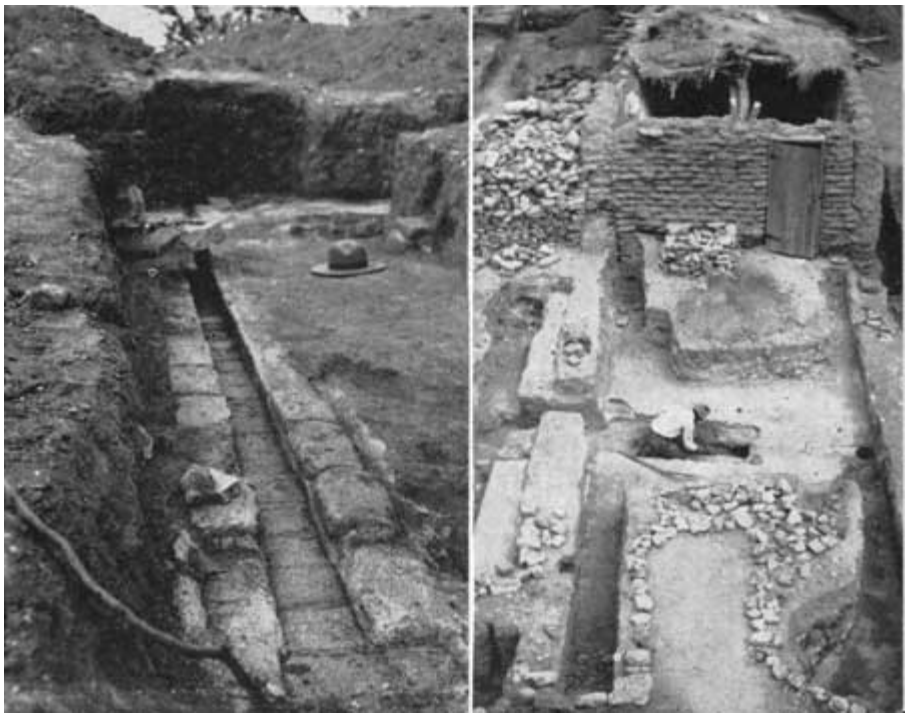
The mortuary chapel in the cemetery, with adobe bricks coated with cement stabilization plaster.

From the sanctuary a door opening leads east into the sacristy. On the sanctuary side this door opening has original pine headers, and on the sacristy side it changes to an adobe arch, covered in part with original lime plaster. The sacristy walls are of adobe, except for some fired brick near the top, and the barrel-vaulted ceiling is of fired brick and lime. The restored steps to the pulpit, in the southwest corner of the room, have already been referred to. On the east side of the room is an opening, arched on the interior, rectangular on the outside, which leads into what was once a corridor to the patio. On the north side of the room is a large window, which was long ago used so much that most of the lower part wore away, and it is now used as a door into the cemetery to the north.

In J. Ross Browne's description of the "corral" north of the church we have given location of the gates, and have mentioned that the west rooms of the patio formed part of the east wall. The cemetery wall was of adobe bricks, capped with fired bricks, and had the conventional two-coat lime plaster surface treatment. Fourteen deep oval niches regularly spaced around the wall once contained medallions to picture the Stations of the Cross.

The unfinished mortuary chapel occupies the south center of the rectangular enclosure. This building, evidently intended as a place in which to lay out the dead in preparation for burial, where the priest would likely have urged the Indians to have their wakes, is of adobe bricks, with fired brick cornice and molding, and had one plaster coat. Entrance was by means of an arched opening on the west side. In the north and south sides of this circular building, well above head height of a standing person, are two round holes, much larger on the inside than on the outside. These were presumably for light and ventilation.

The dome of the mortuary chapel was never built, nor was the second plaster coat applied. Many brick fragments were worked, without a pattern, into the base plaster, and must have been intended to give it a rough surface, so as to provide a good bond for the intended finish coat. The entire structure has suffered severely from weathering, with plaster peeling off and adobe washing away. The National Park Service has coated the weathered earthen surfaces with a cement-lime-sand mortar which follows the irregular contours, and keeps rain water from continuing its destructive action.



The brick-lined ditch or drain, left, and a view of excavations of 1934 in Rooms 42 and 43, right. Note brick floor in lower right hole. (Paul Beaubien photo)

It should be mentioned that a mortuary chapel was quite an unusual feature in Southwestern missions, although we know of one other, a rectangular one, at San Xavier.

The south wall of the cemetery, which is also the north exterior of the church, has two of the original water drains left, which run from the top of the building to ground level. These drains, of plaster, in cross section having the shape of a shallow arc, were painted a rich red with ferric oxide, and were highly decorative as well as utilitarian. Into the finish plaster surface of all the lower wall portion below the offset, here and on the east and west sides of the church, as well as all around the outside plaster surface of the cemetery wall, were worked handfuls of red and black brick fragments. These fragment clusters, placed in rows, horizontal, diagonal, and vertical, originally provided a beautiful contrast with the light colored lime plaster. Certainly the missionaries had ideas for beauty as well as utility, and were able to achieve it with minimum outlay of money.

Along the north and west exterior of the cemetery wall, as well as along the west side of the church, is a low brick, stone, and mortar retaining wall. This was doubtless to protect the plaster and earthen walls from the effects caused by rushing water when torrential summer rains hit the hills directly to the west of the establishment.

Although the missionaries made a considerable number of Christian Indian burials in the cemetery, none of the original markers remain. Long after the abandonment, cattlemen used the area as a roundup corral, and cattle must have done some damage. Later, treasure hunters destroyed any other original grave markers that remained, and dug up many graves. The grave markers visible today are from much later Mexican-American burials, coming down to as late as 1916.

Leaving the cemetery, one goes back into the sacristy, then eastward through a door into the corridor that led into the patio. Approximately 50 years ago a native family rebuilt missing parts of the corridor walls, constructed a wall across the open east end, roofed the chamber,

and lived here. In the walls are built-in cupboards and windows made of boxes, which this family installed.

Entering the courtyard, the visitor sees that most of the wall structures have disintegrated into low mounds of earth. Of the rooms and arcades which went across the north, west, and south sides, only a small two-story remnant of the west side rooms adjoining the cemetery, and a short section of the south side rooms, remain standing today. On the east side of the rectangular enclosure was a wall, with no rooms. This wall has almost entirely dissolved.

In some of the courtrooms originally lived the one or two resident priests. Other rooms would have been for shops, granaries, storerooms, guest rooms, etc. Some rooms were undoubtedly used mainly for the Indian school, as the priests used to spend a great deal of time teaching the natives, not only how to become good Catholics and how to speak Spanish, but how to earn a living in any of several trades. Much of a missionary's success depended on how adequately he taught his converts to cope with Spanish civilization as it crept northward from Mexico.

East of the patio, in lower ground, was the great mission orchard, which extended over several acres. Nothing remains of the orchard now except part of the adobe and stone wall which surrounded it. Beyond and around the orchard undoubtedly were the fields, in the locations of modern fields of today.

1934 excavations in the rooms southwest of the church. The large tree is in Room 26. These rooms were part of the Indian town connected with Tumacacori mission. (Paul Beaubien photo)

South of the patio and mission church, only a few feet away from the southeast corner of the latter, were two brick-and-lime-mortar tanks. These originally must have been water tanks, presumably fed by a small ditch coming in from higher ground to the west or south. On the west there is the possibility a large arroyo may have had a small regular flow of water which, dammed, would have ditch-fed the tanks. Or, a small ditch may have taken off from the main ditch some distance to the south to feed the tanks.

Although the connection is broken, there is good evidence that a brick-lined ditch flowed from the tanks, under the south rooms of the patio, into the west-central part of the enclosure, where must have been the patio garden. Fragments of a possible extension of this ditch may

have led to a kitchen in the northwest corner of the patio, also.

Mounds, only partially excavated, indicate that the houses of the Indian town (the houses which were used while the present church was still active, with a resident priest) extended around a large rectangular plaza to the south of the church. We believe complete excavation would reveal that these adobe houses, or at least a compound wall of which they were a part, formed a closed area, connected at the northeast side with the patio walls, and at the northwest side with a wall which projected westward from the south face of the church itself.

The main ditch for the mission came from the Santa Cruz River. At its nearest point, the bed of the river comes within about half a mile of the church, to the east. However, to insure gravity flow of water where needed, the ditch came out of the river nearly a mile south of Tumacacori. It carried water as late as 1938, but stopped in that year, largely as the result of modern farmers putting in more and more wells. Pumping from these wells lowered the water table so greatly that now the Santa Cruz does not run in this portion of its course except during flood times after heavy summer rains.

Our description of Tumacacori would be incomplete without reference to structures that lie in the patio area east of the church. Late in 1934 an FERA project, under direction of Archeologist Paul Beaubien, was initiated for the purpose of extensive exploratory trenching, to locate and map historic structures in the vicinity of the mission church which are no longer visible on the surface. During the next several months a large part of this work project involved locating all wall and floor remnants of the old patio. This activity revealed that under some of the walls are remnants of older walls.

Less than 100 feet east of the present church building, underlying part of the patio garden area, are the stone wall foundations of what we believe was its predecessor. By this we mean the church which succeeded the adobe house chapel of Kino's time; the church in which Lorenzo, the alcalde, was buried in 1757; the one which Father Font located in his 1777 map on the *east* side of the river; the one which in 1795 was "a very cramped and flimsy little chapel, which has been made over piece-meal; and today it is big enough to hold the people of the Pueblo; it is made of earth and is in bad shape . . ."

This structure (Rm. 50, see ground floor plan, pp. 48-9), running east and west, facing east, had a total length of 59-1/2 feet. The east part was 50 feet long and 15 feet wide, and would have been the nave, somewhat smaller and more cramped than the nave of the present church, which is 54 feet long by 17 feet 3 inches wide. The west part, 9-1/2 feet deep by 8 feet wide, is a much constricted part of the foundation, and would have supported the sanctuary walls. This definitely was "very cramped" by comparison with the present sanctuary, which is over 17 feet across, each way.

We quote Beaubien's report on this discovery: "Possibly these foundations mark the site of an early mission. Facts in support of this belief are: the large size; appropriate proportion of length to width; foundation stones correctly placed to support the pilasters of a choir loft; the absence of any knowledge of other foundations which might locate one of the early missions supposed to be at Tumacacori; and, stone foundations high enough to carry plaster, unlike any other building on [the] monument except the present mission. The constricted sanctuary is not uncommon in early Southwestern missions."

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THE TREASURE OF TUMACACORI

"One authority has called the history of mining the history of civilization. Men in search of valuable metals have blazed trails and made roads into dangerous and inaccessible parts of the world, and in their wake have followed trades, industries, and social institutions. But for every great mine development there have been thousands of small operations that failed for lack of time and capital, thousands of prospectors who never 'struck it rich,' and scores of promoters who exaggerated the richness of a mineral deposit.

"We have no real evidence of mining in this region during the Spanish Mission Period; the story on this frontier, in the 18th century and first two decades of the 19th, is rather that of the occasional prospector and explorer, who knew that the only sure way to capture attention and support for his particular project was to report every possibility of mineral wealth to the King of Spain, whose treasury was never sufficient for Spain's world-wide commitments. South of the Spanish outposts along the Santa Cruz Valley, a few adventurous men did a little prospecting and worked a vein of silver or washed gold for a short time, until the vein or pocket pinched out, or the Apaches drove them away. Even the fabulously rich find of the *'Planchas de Plata,'* 30 miles south of Tumacacori, where large pieces of silver were picked up on the surface, was not developed into a mine; the 'mother lode' was never found. The only known operating mine in the whole of Arizona and New Mexico during Spanish times was the copper mine at Santa Rita, New Mexico, developed after 1800.

"After Mexico won her independence from Spain, prospectors continued to scout along the border; the first mineral deposits in the Papago country were discovered in 1835; mines in the Planchas drainage of Sonora were worked; and no doubt there were a number of hardy men who followed the mountains north into the Santa Ritas and Patagonias, where they carried on small scale operations during the 1830's and 1840's.

"With the passing of those men who had personal experience with conditions in the Santa Cruz Valley of the 18th century, and with the lack of authentic written history on the frontier, legends of 'lost mines' and 'buried treasure' grew with a fine disregard for fact.

Artist's sketch of how the finished church might have looked if the architects had planned a one-story bell tower. By J. H. Tovrea.

"When the first American mining men came into this region in the 1850's they heard these legends, and found some old workings. Knowing little history of this frontier, except that it had been the scene of Spanish mission activity, and knowing Spain had developed rich mines in other parts of the New World, they jumped to the conclusion that any 'old' tunnel, shaft, or dump had been made by the Spanish Jesuits. Perhaps writing that their property had been worked hundreds of years ago by Jesuits who 'amassed unbounded wealth' made it easier to get capital for their mining companies. Their promotional literature thus bore the erroneous idea of 'Spanish mission mines in Arizona,' an idea that unfortunately has become part of the literature on mining history of the region."

The material quoted above is from text prepared by Sallie Brewer for the mining exhibit in the museum at Tumacacori National Monument, and is the best brief explanation we know of for the countless persistent stories that have sprung up with regard to mission mines in southern Arizona.

It would require a thick volume to recount the treasure tales that have been told about Tumacacori Mission and the surrounding hills. Many people have believed, and still believe, that the missionary priests here spent a large part of their time in using mission Indian labor to remove great quantities of gold and silver and copper ore from the mountains to the east and west. Some of the stories hold that a great quantity of gold ore was gathered here, and that the priests, having to leave suddenly, buried it, with no later opportunity to reclaim it. The hiding place often assumes the form of a secret "escape" tunnel, running underground from the church to the bank of the Santa Cruz, over a quarter mile eastward. The theory is that this tunnel was for escape in case Apaches attacked, and that in some part of its interior the walls are lined with rotting sacks of gold.

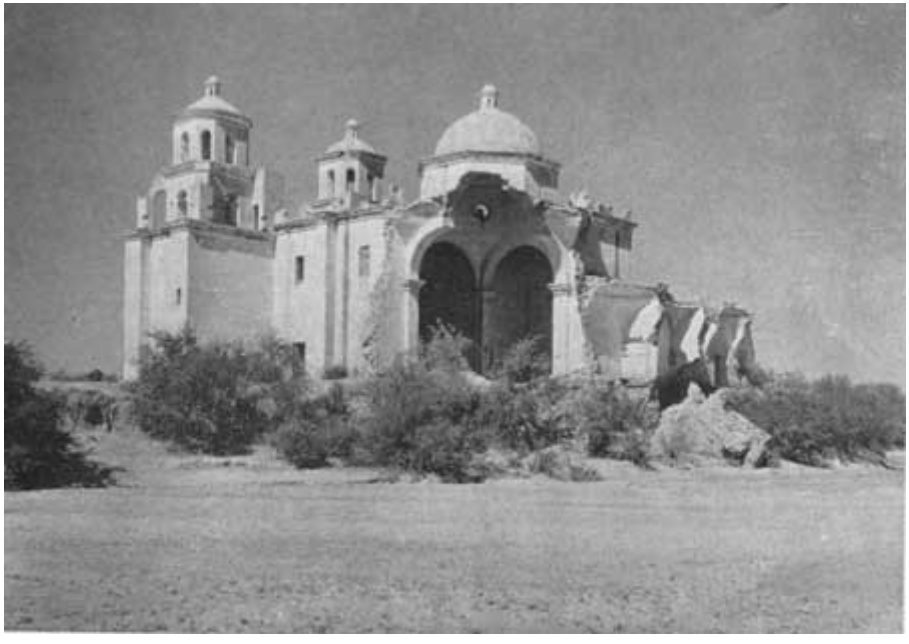
Some Other Missions of the Pimeria Alta Chain

Beautiful San Xavier del Bac mission church near Tucson, Arizona; still in use as an Indian mission.

The elaborate nave and sanctuary of San Xavier del Bac.

San Diego del Pitiquito church at Pitiquito, Sonora.

San Antonio de Oquitoa, upstream from Altar, Sonora.



Nuestra Senora de Concepcion de Caborca at Caborca, Sonora.

Nuestra Senora Guadalupe de Cocospera at Cocospera, Sonora.

San Ignacio de Caborica near Magdalena, Sonora.

San Pedro y San Pablo de Tubutama on the Rio Altar, Sonora.

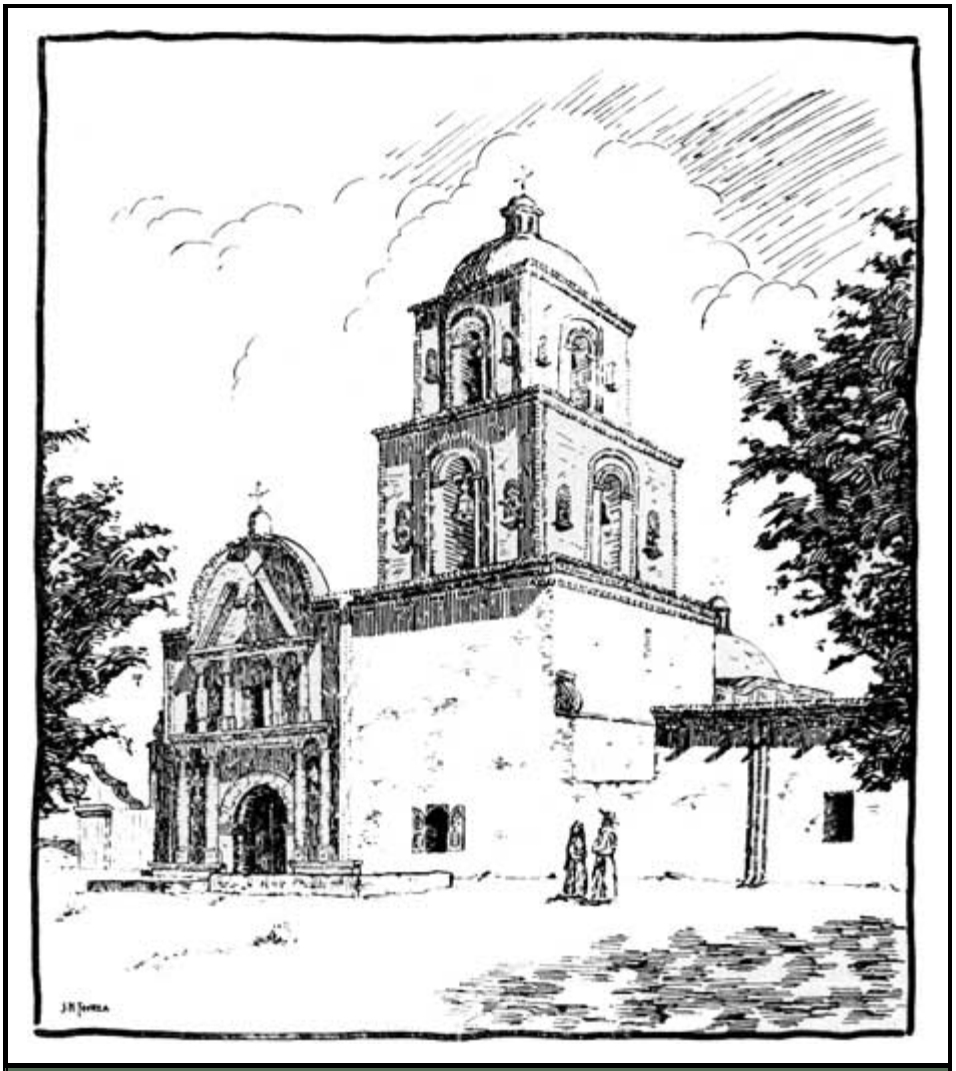
Other stories follow the line that ore-bearing caravans used to stop at Tumacacori en route to Sonora, and that some of their wealth is buried here. Others refer not to gold ore at all, but simply to very valuable church furnishings, allegedly left by the fathers when they departed. Why such valuable objects should have been hidden here, on other than a very temporary basis, in view of the fact that priests repeatedly came through this district for a number of years after the mission was abandoned, is not explained.

Another belief, that the missionaries cleverly concealed gold dust by having it mixed with the soil of which the adobe bricks in the church were made, is so fantastic that it deserves mention only to show what a truly wonderful thing an untrammeled human imagination is.

Other persons point to the fact that the National Park Service, during the progress of the exploratory trenching work directed by Archeologist Paul Beaubien in 1934-5, found remains of adobe and brick structures used in copper smelting operations, in the patio area east of the church. To this can be added the fact that small pieces of slag have been found scattered widely over most of the grounds.

On September 19, 1948, Mr. C. W. Walker visited Tumacacori and showed the author a location about 100 yards southeast of the mission church, on a mound which is presumably part of the unexcavated east wall of the long-abandoned Indian town. Mr. Walker picked up a few small ore and slag specimens from the top of this mound, and showed them to the writer. He then explained that in 1918 he had shipped approximately 120 tons of slag from old slag dumps adjacent to three round adobe furnaces along this stretch of high ground. He says the slag contained about 8 per cent lead, 3 per cent copper, about 8 ounces in silver, and about 1/6 ounce of gold, per ton.

There is no doubt that mining has been done in this district, and that ore was reduced on the mission grounds. The point so often overlooked, however, is that neither the exploratory trenching of 1934-5 nor the earlier activity referred to by Walker has produced *any* proof of structural or stratigraphic tie-in between smelting structures and mission period buildings or occupational levels. It should be mentioned, also, that the trenches covered a wide enough area, and were deep enough, to definitely disprove the idea of an "escape" tunnel from the church or patio to the river.



A conception of how a completed Tumacacori would have looked with a two-story

bell tower. Drawing by J. H. Tovrea.

Nowhere do we learn of the prosperity which should have been the lot of Tumacacori Mission, had the missionaries been the miners they are so often alleged to have been. Nowhere, that is, except in stories. But there will always be the credulous, to fall prey to careless exaggeration, fanciful yarn spinning, and vicious misrepresentation. Some of the luckless ones have spent money which they could ill afford, digging hundreds of feet into the sterile boulders of nearby arroyo bottoms and tunneling through hard and barren hillside slopes, seeking rich mines which they believed the Jesuits sealed off from discovery when they were forced to leave the country. However, there are others among the hunters of lost mines who are not pathetic, who find the eternal chase of the will-o'-the-wisp a truly enjoyable, healthful, and fascinating occupation.

To some persons Tumacacori Mission, stripped of its golden aura of treasure legends, is simply a ruin, a dead shell of a vigor and grandeur that was here for a fleeting instant of history and was gone. To them, it was a creation of futility, built by dreamers who came, struggled, failed, and disappeared, leaving only a sad and gaunt skeleton which waits merely on time itself to merge again into the anonymity of the earth from which it sprang.

But to others, the rugged beauty and stateliness of the massive old structure is a sublime manifestation of much that is finest in the human spirit. Here they find an enduring monument to the faith, courage, and vigor of men who entered an alien frontier and by supreme effort blended the contrasting elements of European faith and culture with those of native peoples to form a new civilization. The missionary priests so thoroughly implanted Spanish religion, language, laws, and social customs in the Southwest that those elements have remained and continued dominant in a large proportion of its people of today.

Who, then, can say the missionary priest failed, or that his converts failed, when into the foundations of Tumacacori Mission they placed not only the massive stones which support the walls, but the faith and good will which have carried through succeeding generations to form an imperishable part of twentieth century civilization here? In that heritage we of today find the real treasure of Tumacacori.

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NOTES

1. (Page 16). Tumacacori, according to Papago informants, is from two words, *"tchumak,"* meaning "light colored earthy material," and *"cacori,"* meaning a "bend" or "curve" as in a stream channel or mountain formation. Slightly different is the Pima version, with the first word meaning "caliche," or "limestone," and the second "leaning rock," or "bluff."

It seems to us Tumacacori is undoubtedly a place name, and probably referred to a conspicuous light colored formation in the base portion of the "leaning over" Tumacacori Peak. In certain light one can see a definite light color to some of the felsitic rocks in that area, although any true resemblance to caliche or limestone is only superficial.

2. (Page 21). You can interpret this to mean "Sobaipuris from Tumacacori," as well as "Sobaipuris of San Xavier del Bac." We have accepted Bolton's theory, that Tumacacori was Pima, not Sobaipuri, at Kino's time.

3. (Page 22). Father Kino in 1691 mentions more than 40 houses at Tumacacori. Bernal, in 1697, mentions only 23 houses. This is quite a discrepancy, for only six years of difference. One explanation is that possibly some of the houses Kino saw were unoccupied, and, being lightly constructed, had disintegrated in six years, or been torn down for the salvage material to be used in patching other houses.

4. (Page 34). Hubert Howe Bancroft, in Volume XVII of "History of Arizona and New Mexico" gives no primary source for his statement about the 1769 attack on Tumacacori, or his census figure of 39. Until we find a source, those statements will have a small question mark after them.

5. (Page 34). Reverend Victor R. Stoner, in "The Kiva" for April and May, 1937, gives his opinion that Tumacacori took over Guevavi's role as head mission for the district in 1773. The opinion is based on evidence derived from translating Guevavi records to that period. Copies of pertinent portions of that translation are in the Tumacacori library.

6. (Page 39). The 1796 Tumacacori census was copied by Alfred F. Whiting in December, 1949, from a manuscript discovered by Sr. Antonio Nakayama in archives of the Bishop of Sinaloa, in Culiacan.

7. (Page 43). Charles Ramsdell, Jr., obtained these data, while a junior historian in the National Park Service. He gave no specific source, saying only that the material was from the National Archives in Mexico City. He quoted pertinent portions, in typewritten monthly reports for April and May of 1937.

8. (Page 44). New title papers for the Tumacacori grant. This material from photostats of voluminous Report and Opinion of John Wasson, Surveyor-general of Arizona Territory, contained in Senate Executive Document No. 207, of 46th Congress, 2nd Session.

9. (Page 44). The source of this 1817 reference is Charles Ramsdell, Jr., (same as in No. 7,

above)

10. (Page 55). This 1828 reference is from Jose Francisco Velasco, in the 1850 report "Noticias Estadisticas del Estado de Sonora." Quoted by Robert H. Rose in "Kino Mission Records." From Southwestern Monuments Special Reports No. 11 and 12, November and December, 1936.

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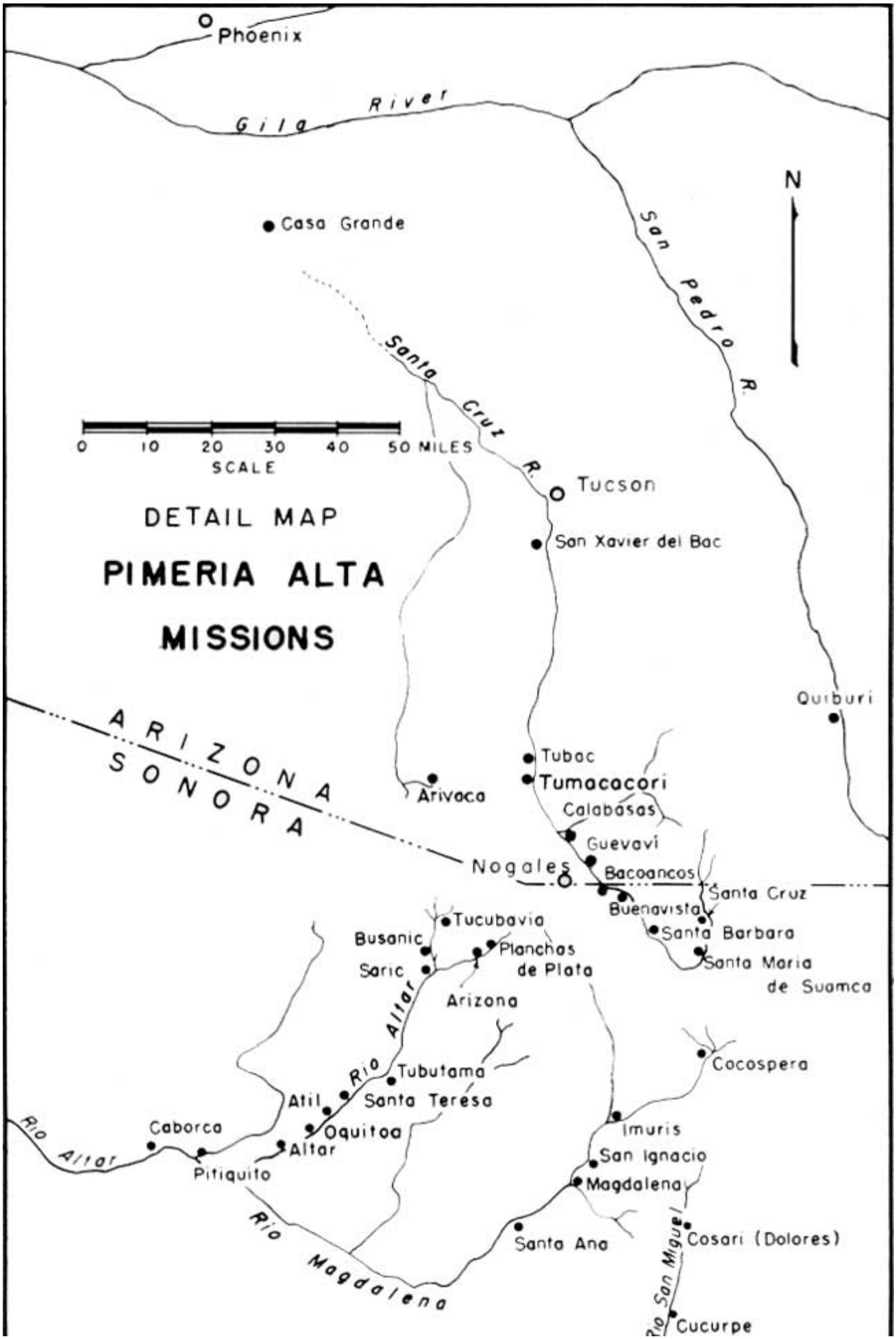
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DETAIL MAP
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San Xavier del Bac
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Arivaca
Calabasas
Guevavi
Nogales
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Saric
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Tubutama
Cocospera
Atil
Santa Teresa
Caborca
Oquitoa
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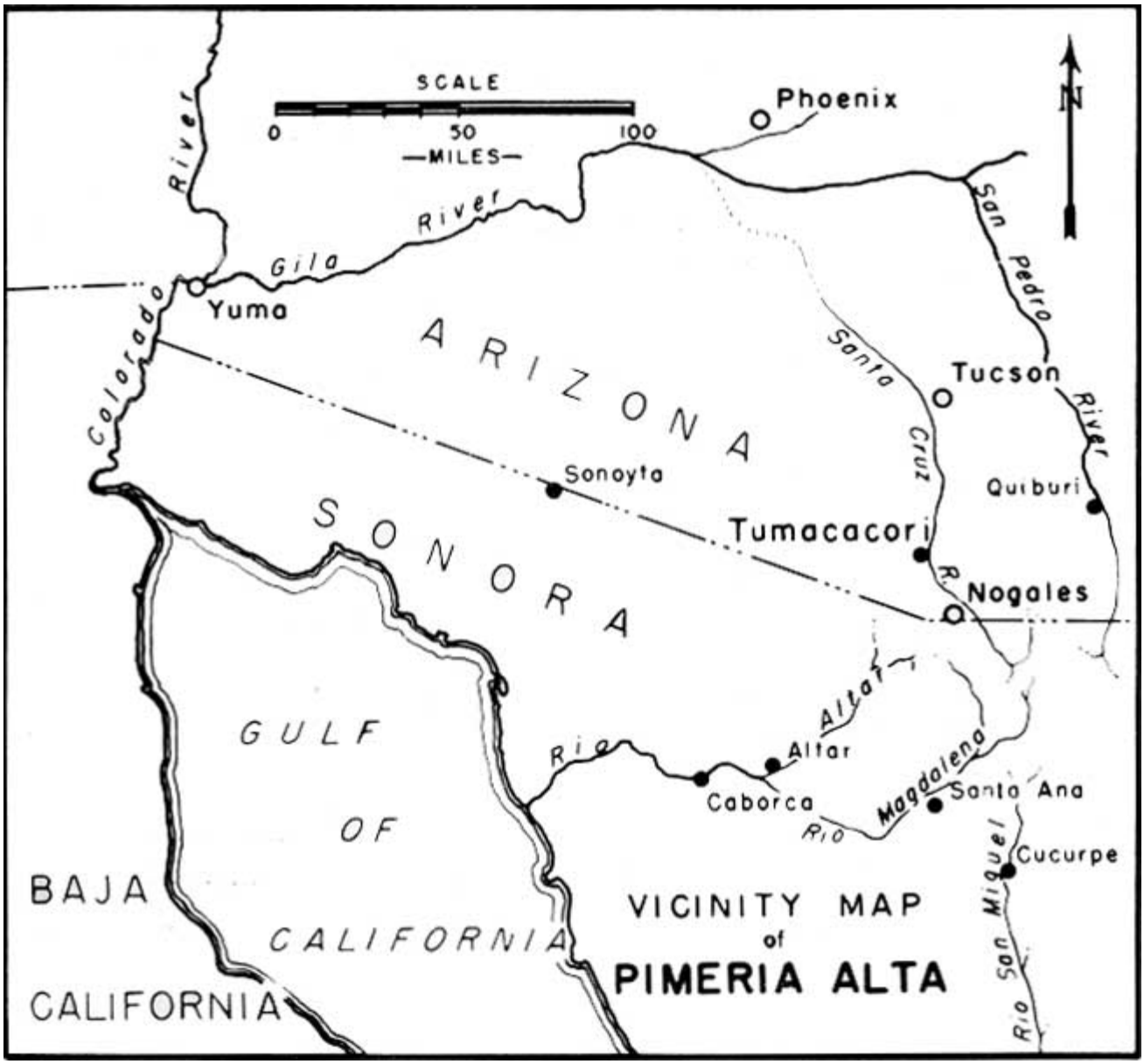

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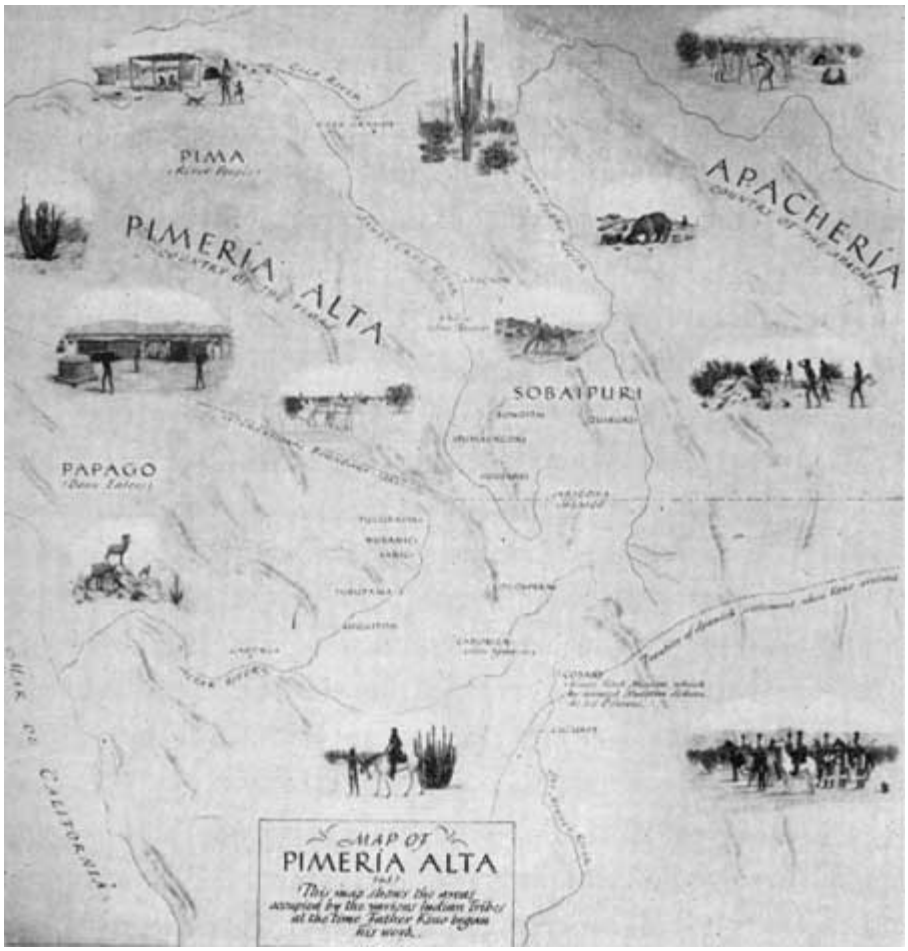
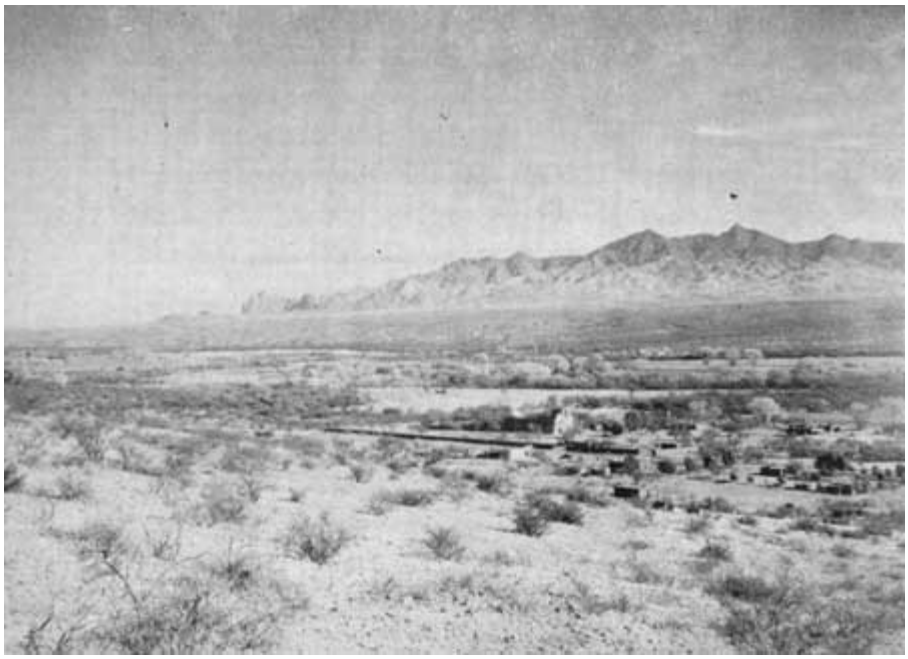
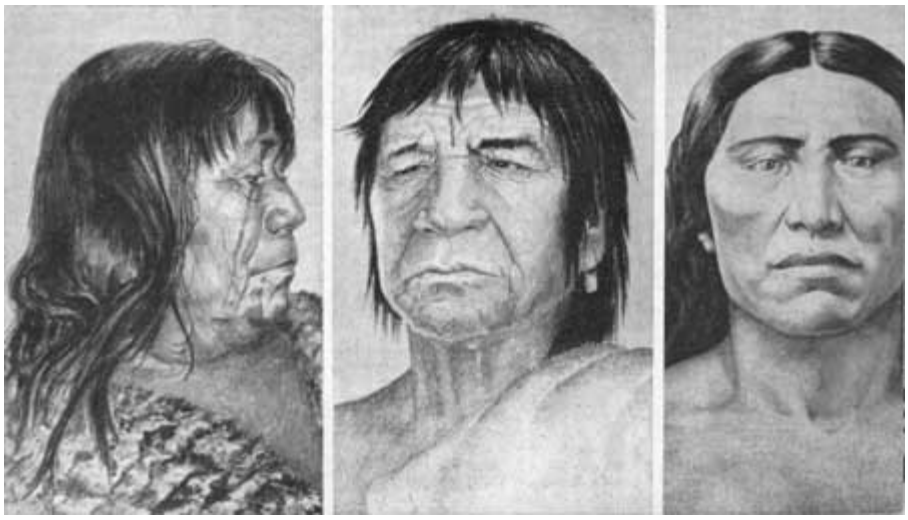
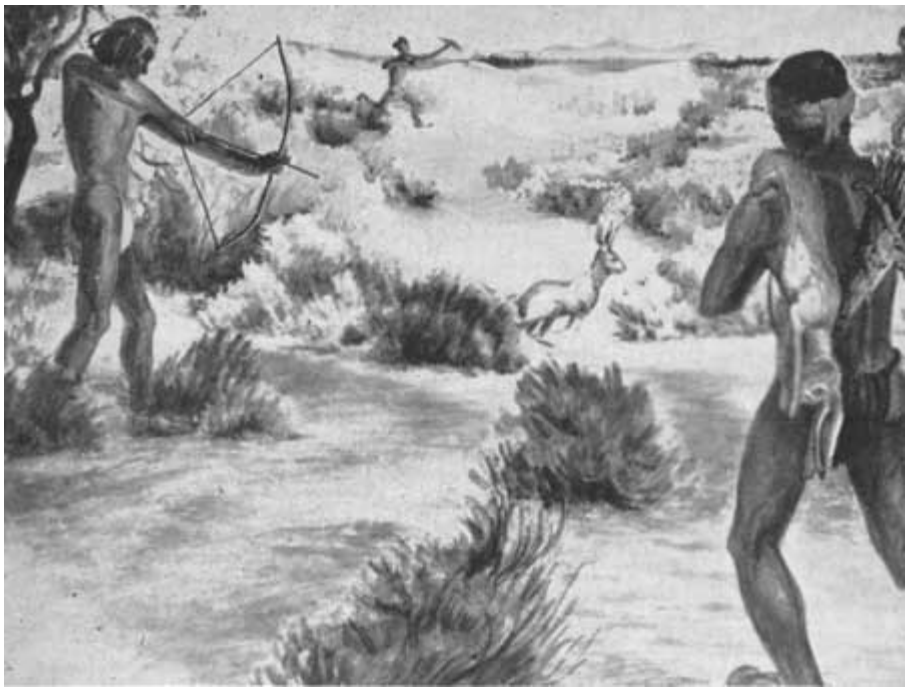
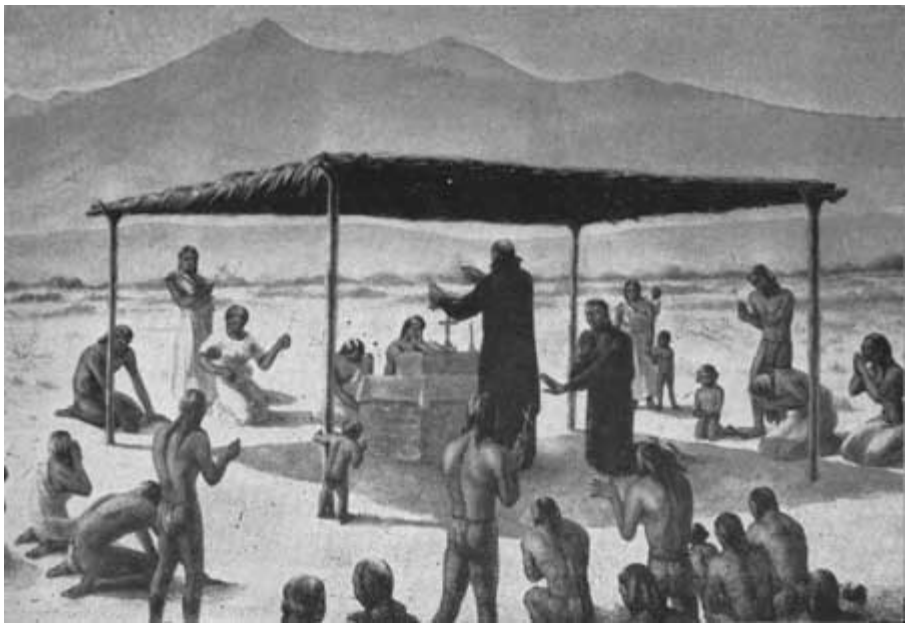

PIMA
PIMERÍA ALTA
APACHERÍA
SOBAIPURI
PAPAGO
MAP OF
PIMERÍA ALTA
This map shows the areas occupied by the various Indian Tribes at the time Father Kino began his work.

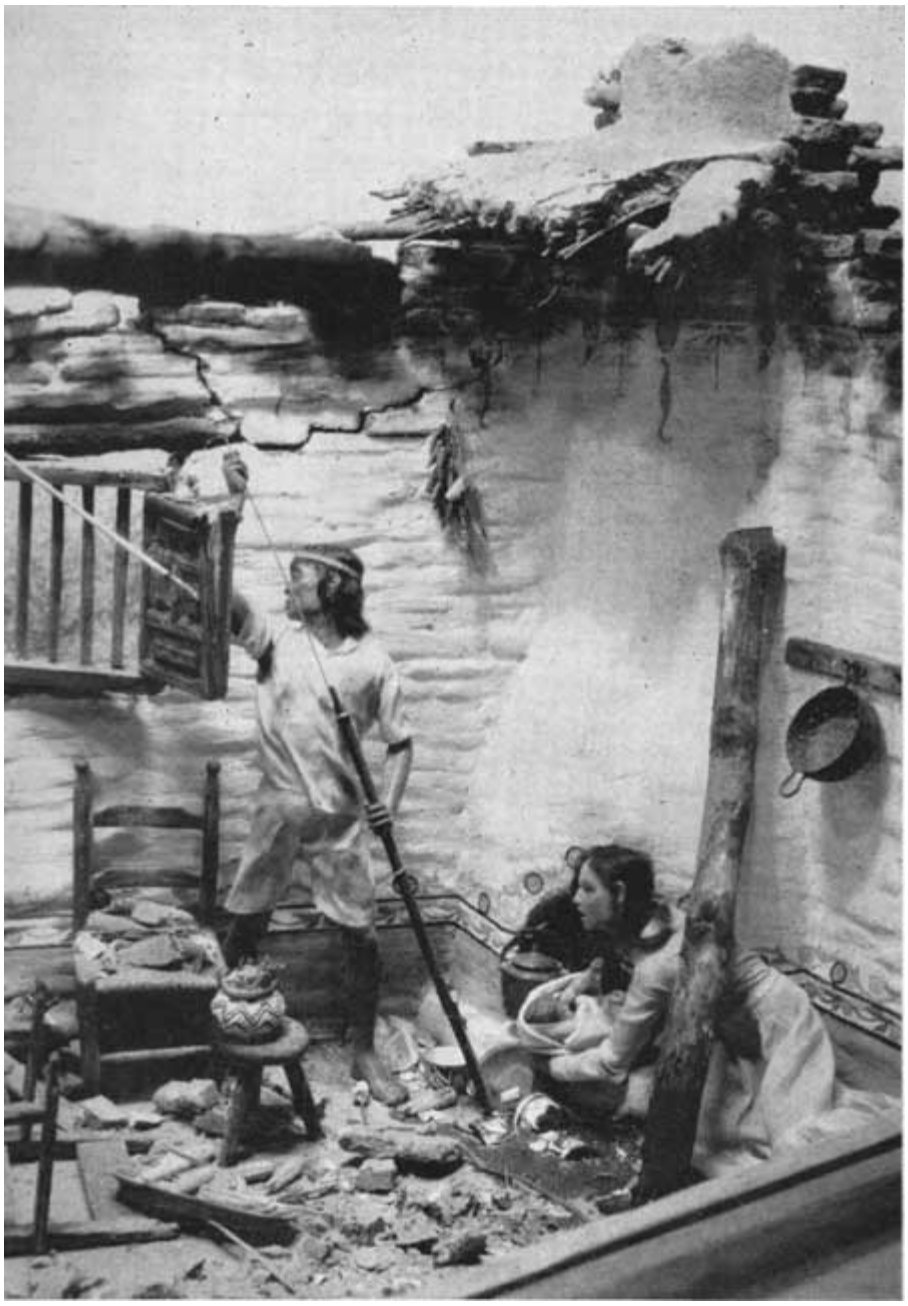


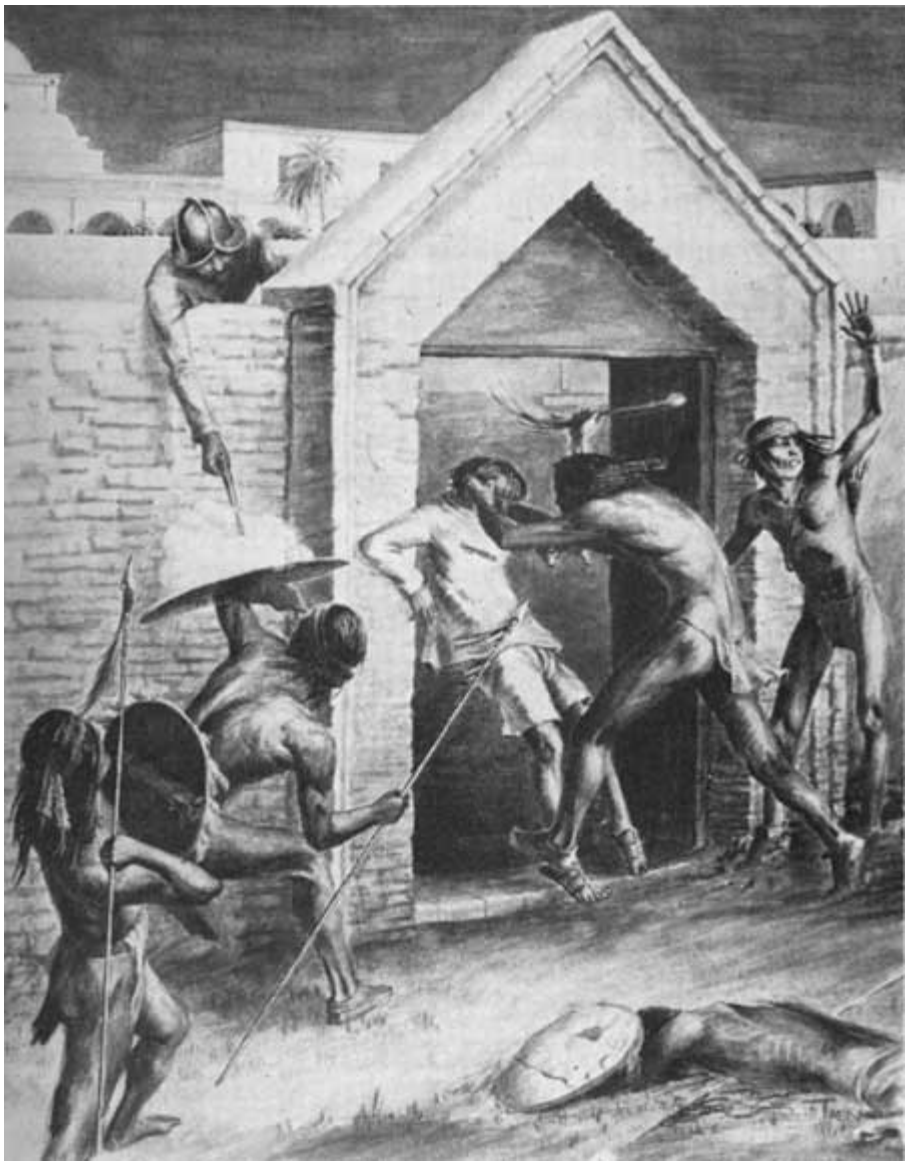


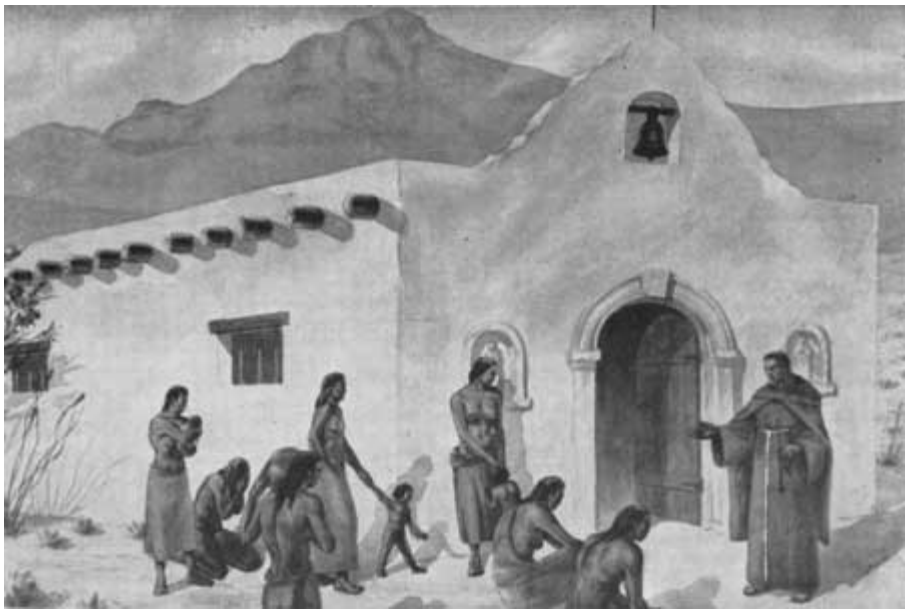


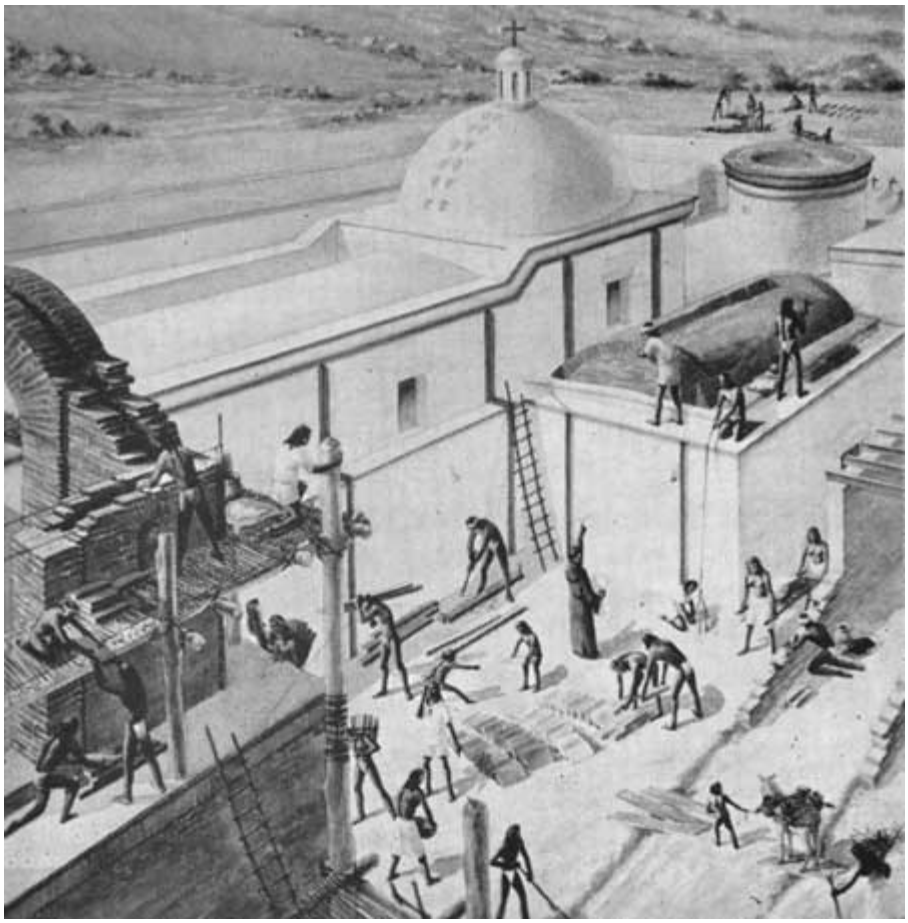


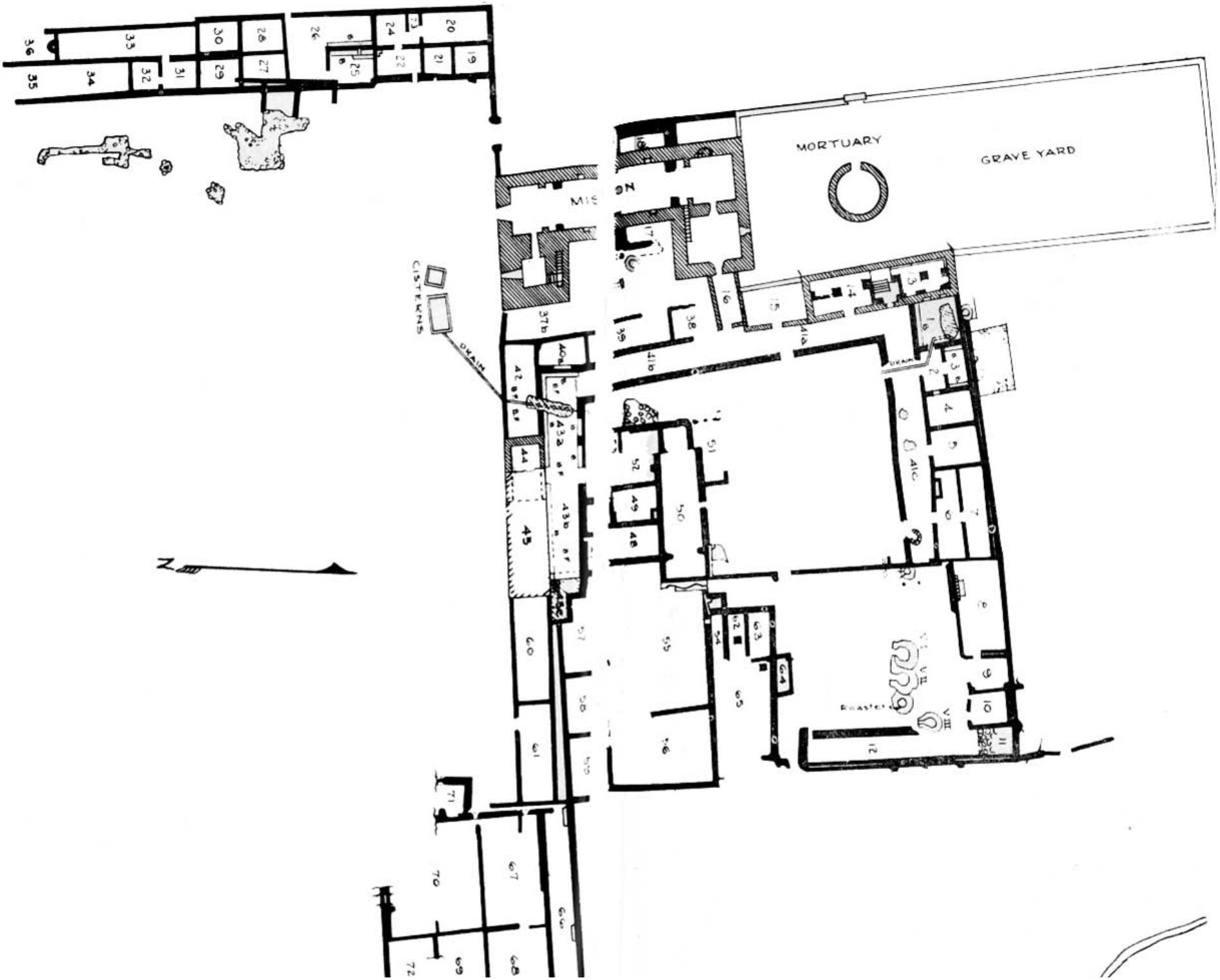
R.P. EUSEBIO KINO S.J.
A.M.D.G.










MORTUARY
GRAVE YARD
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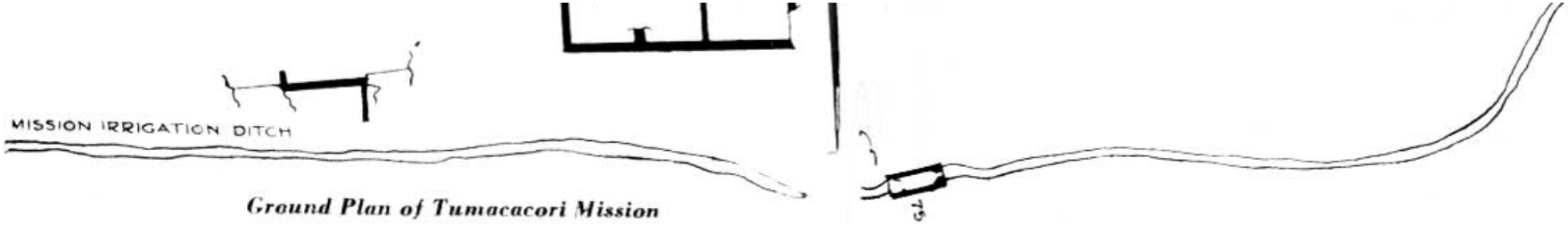
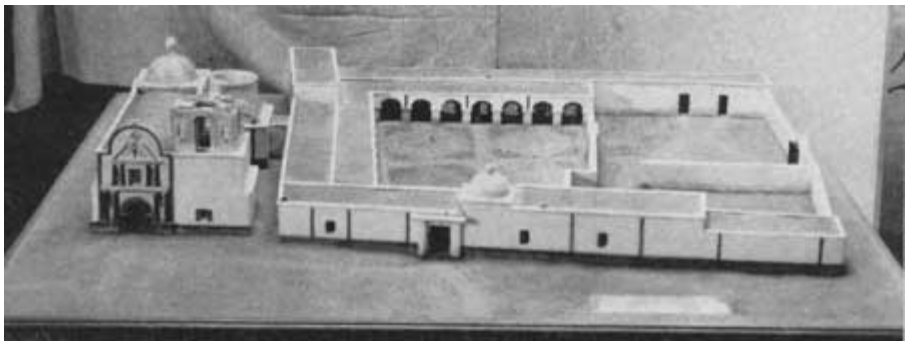
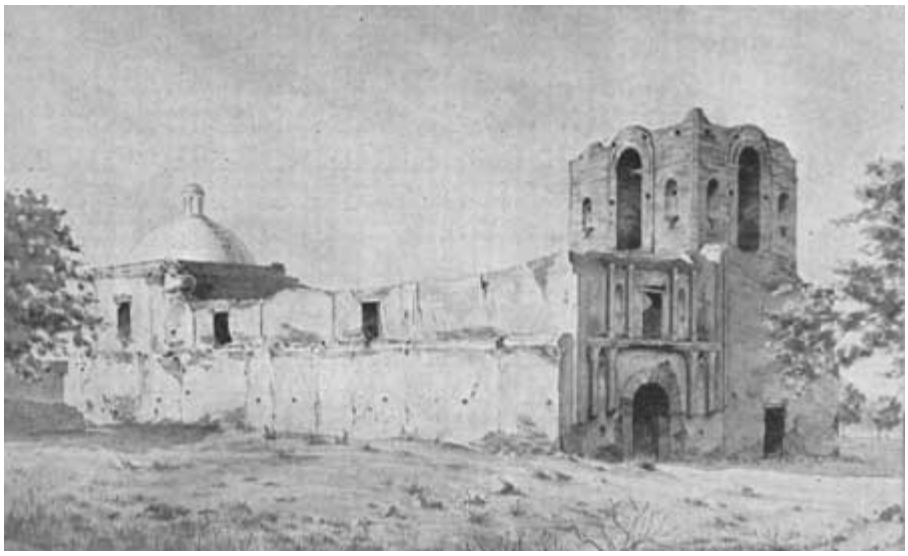
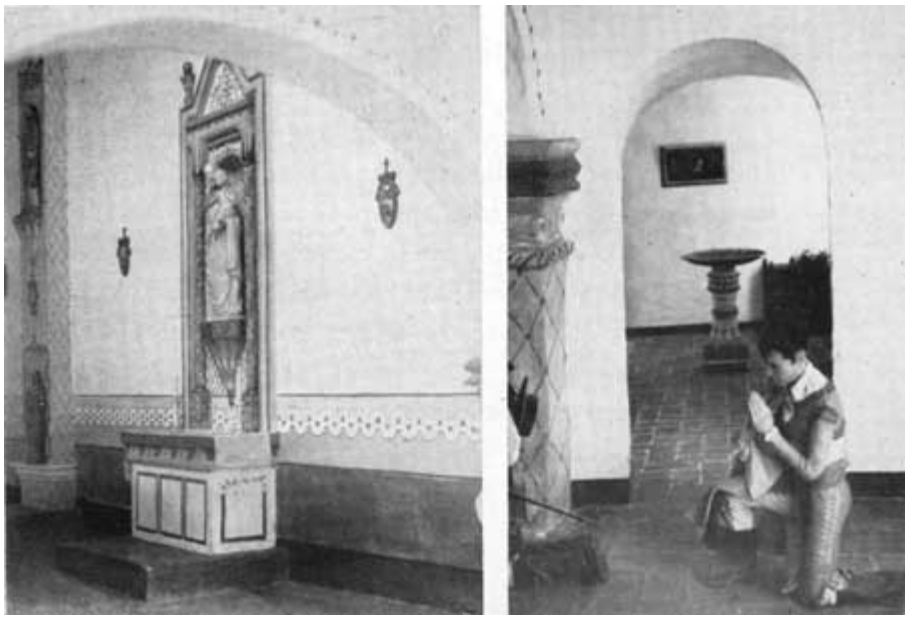
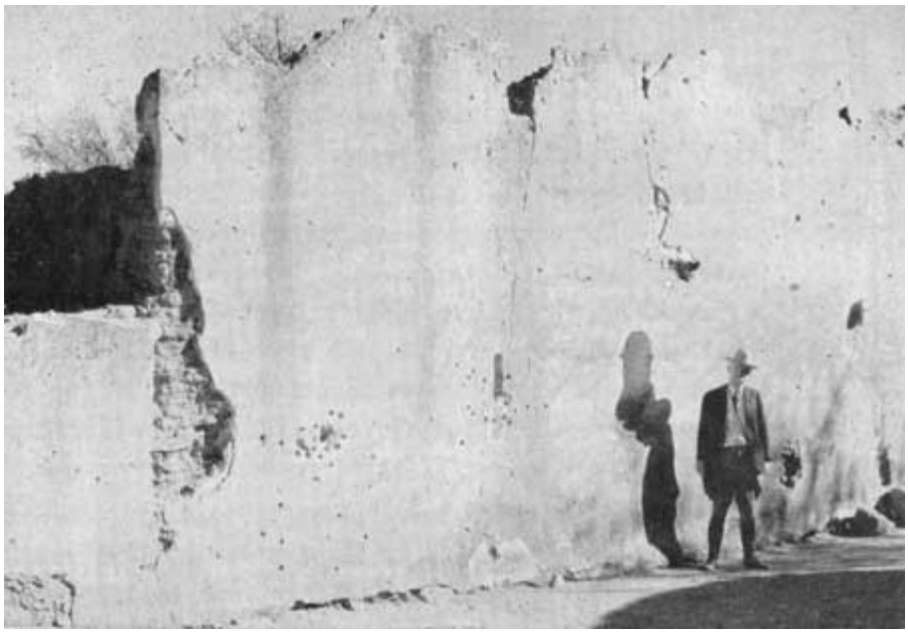


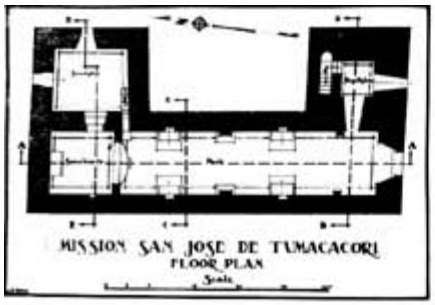
Ground Plan of Tumacacori Mission



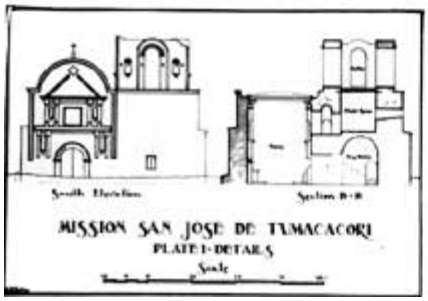







MISSION SAN JOSE DE TUMACACORI
FLOOR PLAN
Scale

MISSION SAN JOSE DE TUMACACORI
PLATE 2-SECTION
Scale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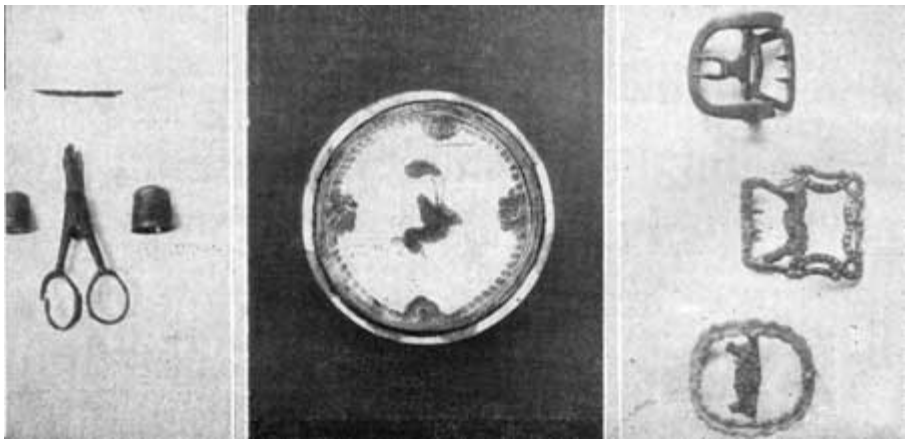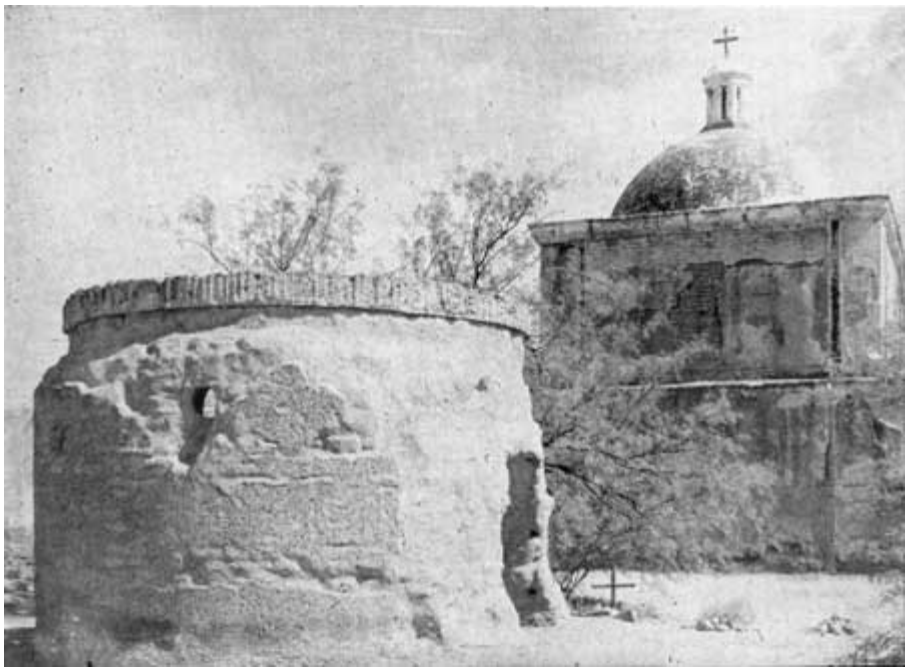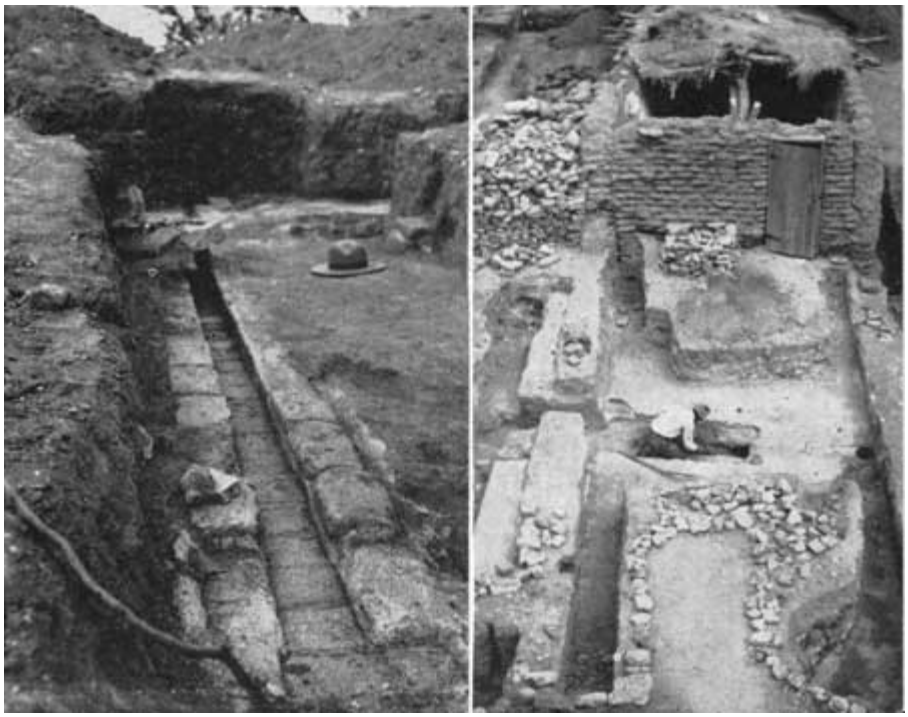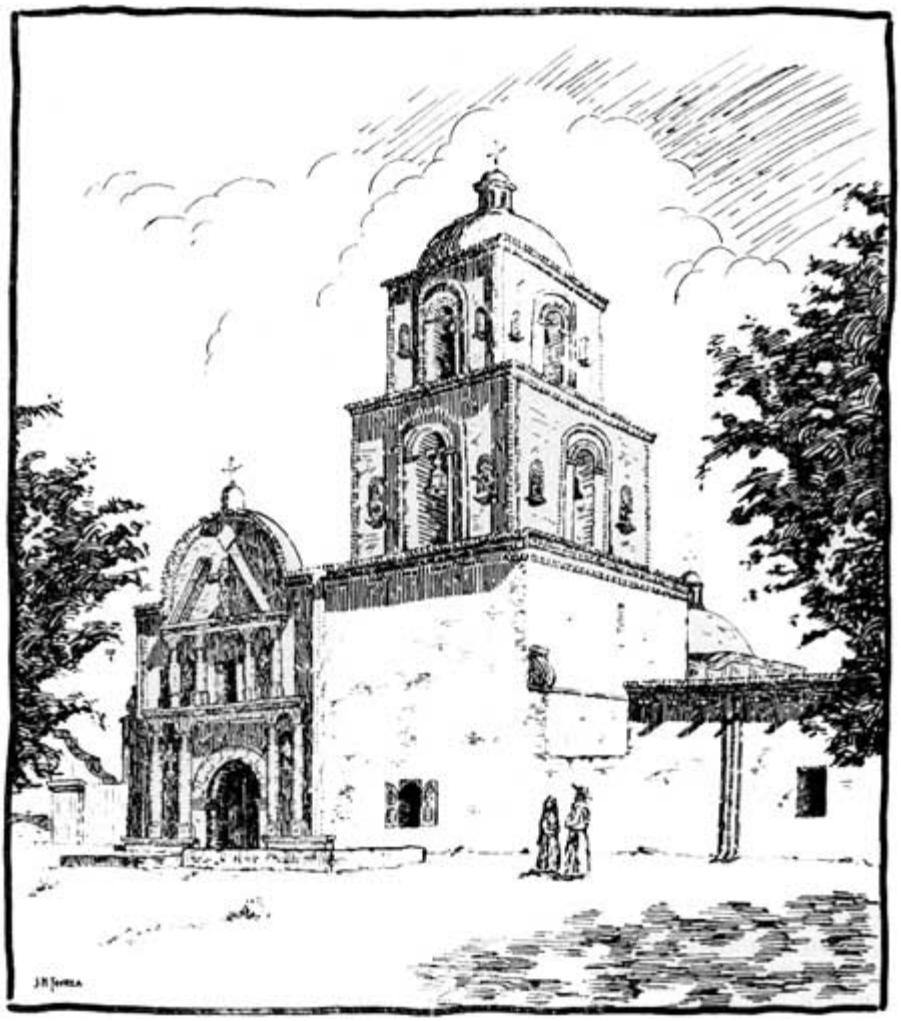
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