
Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac: Pimería Alta's Northernmost Mission

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Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac: Pimería Alta's Northernmost Mission

BERNARD L. FONTANA

with translations from Spanish documents by

DANIEL S. MATSON

INTRODUCTION

In 1687, Spain pushed her frontier in New Spain northward in the province of Nueva Viscaya in the person of a Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Kino. It was in March of that year that Father Kino crossed over the invisible boundary separating the Opata-speaking Indians of Cucurpe on the Río San Miguel from the Piman-speaking Indians farther upstream. The boundary, poetically labeled "The Rim of Christendom" by historian Herbert E. Bolton (1984), had marked Spain's northernmost permanent penetration into this part of the New World in the late 17th century. Decades earlier, Spaniards had implanted themselves much farther north in New Mexico, even building missions in the Pueblo Indian country of what was later to become northern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico (Smith 1970).

It was Father Kino, however, who from 1687 until his death in 1711 established a network of missions among the northern Piman-speaking Indians of the Sonoran Desert (Polzer 1982), thereby introducing to these native peoples domestic livestock, new crops, new forms of architecture and settlement, a new language, new forms of political structure, a new religion, new technologies, and, in short, selected segments of Western civilization. He also introduced a new geographic concept, that of the Pimería Alta, to distinguish the homeland of the Upper (or northern) Pimans from

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that of Piman-speaking Indians much farther to the south, the Pimos Bajos or Lower (southern) Pimans (see Dunnigan 1983 and Fontana 1983 for further elaboration).

The Jesuits were expelled from all of New Spain in 1767, and the following year their vacant mission posts in the Pimería Alta were manned by Franciscan replacements (McCarty 1981). Among the larger and strategically more important of these missions was that of San Xavier del Bac. Taken over by Francisco Garcés in 1768, it witnessed a succession of resident friars until early in the 1790s Father Juan Bautista Llorens came to replace the deceased Father Juan Bautista Velderrain (McCarty 1977: 45). Father Velderrain, who had arrived at San Xavier in 1776, had begun soon after to build a new fired-brick church to replace the deteriorating sun-dried adobe structure erected between 1756 and 1759 by Father Alonso Espinosa, a Jesuit predecessor. Father Llorens completed the work begun by Father Velderrain, and by 1797, the present structure of Mission San Xavier del Bac was serving its Indian parishioners (Fontana 1963: 7, 9).

Although Mission San Xavier del Bac was for much of the colonial period the northernmost mission in the Pimería Alta, the urge of the missionaries, and of New Spain, was to push ever farther northward. As early as 1757 Jesuit Father Bernhard Middendorf became the first priest to live north of Bac in what proved to be an abortive attempt to establish a mission in Tucson (Gardiner 1957). Within five months, Middendorf's Tucson station was attacked by "500 heathen savages." He escaped to San Xavier, and efforts to station a priest in the Indian community in Tucson were abandoned (Dobyns 1976: 18–19).

When Father Garcés took over San Xavier in 1768, he clearly regarded the Piman village (or villages) at Tucson to be a part of his jurisdiction, and Tucson remained a *visita*, or mission visiting station, of Bac, although it initially lacked a church or other facilities for the missionary. In 1770 the Indians in Tucson began to build a defensive wall for protection against possible Apache attacks, and by 1772 a church—the *visita* of San Agustín del Tucson—was under construction (Dobyns 1976: 32–33).

By the end of the 18th century, San Xavier del Bac and Tucson could with some assurance be looked upon as permanent entities in the Spanish empire. To reach beyond them was ever in the minds of religious authorities, so it is not surprising that in 1805 Franciscans proposed a new mission establishment at Cuiquiburitac and that by

1810 Father Llorens had taken steps to construct another church as a *visita* among Piman Indians at this place about midway between Tucson and the villages of Pimas on the Gila River.

Two documents, one written by Father Llorens to Father Francisco Moyano and another by Moyano to intendant governor Don Alexo García Conde forwarding a copy of the Llorens report, shed considerable light on the mission *visita* that became the northernmost church in the Pimería Alta. The originals of these documents are in the Archivo General de Indias, *Audiencia de México* 2737, in Seville, Spain. Daniel Matson, whose translation of them appears below, worked from a microfilm copy.

Father Juan Bautista Llorens' report is based on his earlier experiences among a group of Pimans and Piman villages whose locations were, with one exception (Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac), within what is now the northern sector of the Tohono O'odham (Papago) Indian Reservation. He is concerned in this document with the presence or absence of materials needed for a permanent mission settlement: water, firewood, farm and grazing lands, and such building materials as stone, limestone (for mortar and stucco), and timbers sufficiently large for the roofing of churches and other structures. The settlements he visited appear on modern maps as Kohatk, Akchin, Anegam, and Santa Rosa (or Gu Achi), all of which are still occupied, and the abandoned field villages of Hoi Oidak and Pipyak. Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac appears on no maps and is today nothing more than an archaeological ruin.

Because "Cuiquiburitac" is no longer a Piman place name, one cannot be sure of its translation. One possibility is *kui givuldag*, which literally means "mesquite [that is] constricted" (Mathiot n.d.a: 294; n.d.b 5). Perhaps the site was marked by a mesquite whose trunk had been deformed by some sort of constriction. Or, as Daniel Matson has offered, it may also have been *gigivuldag*, the plural form of "constricted" (Mathiot n.d.a: 294), suggesting two or more nearby constricted landmarks, perhaps mountains, hills, or arroyos.

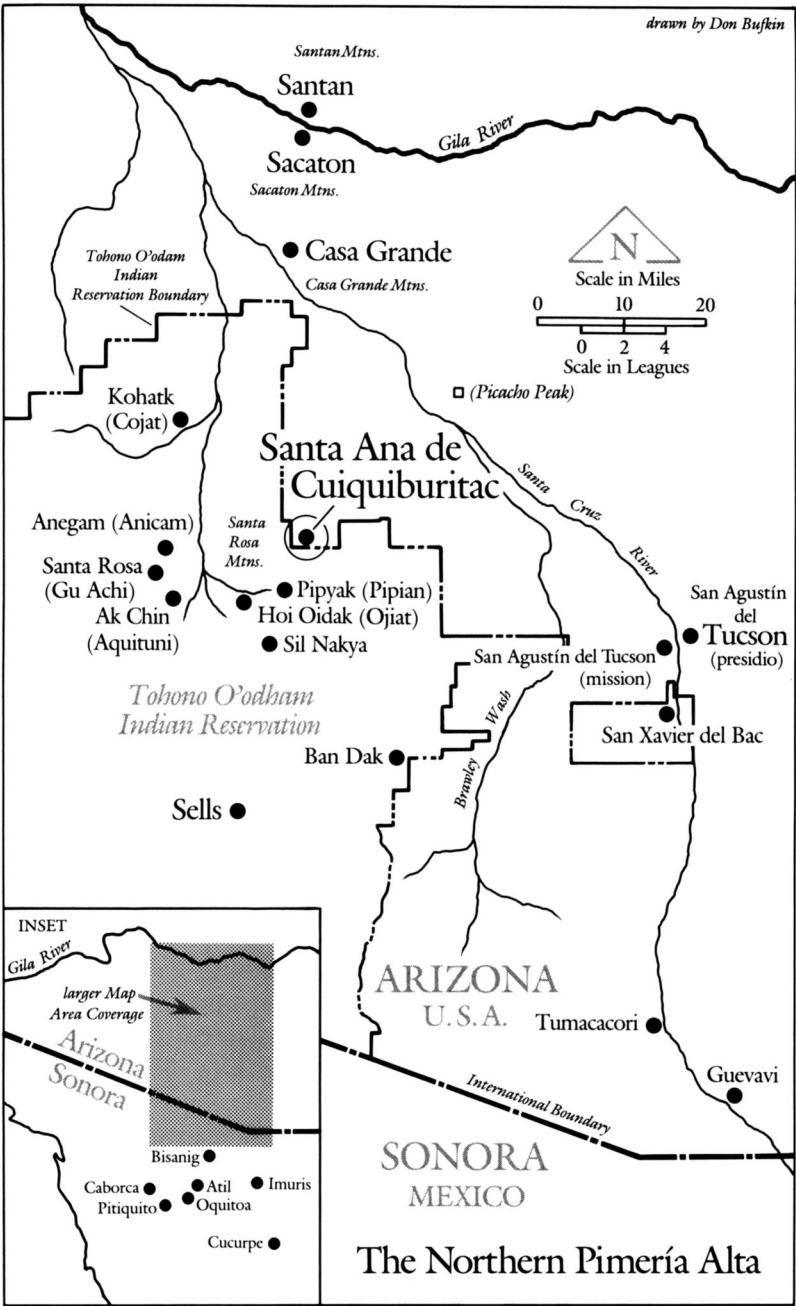
The Indians living in these places were labelled "Papagos" by fathers Llorens and Moyano. It is likely that at least some of them were part of a dialect group known as Kohatk (see below as well as Hackenberg and Fontana 1974: III: 31–38 and Dobyns 1974 for a discussion of the Kohatk). It is also likely that some of the descendants of the people in these villages live today on the Gila River and Salt River Indian reservations, where they are identified as "Pimas."

Other descendants doubtless live on the Tohono O'odham (Papago) Indian Reservation where they are now identified by a native label, that of "Tohono O'odham" ("Desert People").

Father Llorens, who built the church at Cuiquiburitac, was born in the village of Vucia in the province of Valencia in Spain about 1756. The passport official who described him on his departure from Spain in 1782 noted he had become a Franciscan priest in 1775 and that he "is of medium build, has brown or swarthy complexion, black hair, brown eyes and heavy eyebrows" (Navarro 1782). Llorens was one of the nineteen Franciscans brought from Spain to Sonora in 1782 by Antonio Reyes, O.F.M., the newly-appointed first Bishop of Sonora. Most of Llorens' time between 1787 and 1790 was spent at the mission of Ati (or Atil) on the Río Altar in the Pimería Alta. In 1790 or 1791, he replaced the deceased Father Velderrain at San Xavier. His most memorable achievement was his completion of the magnificent church of Mission San Xavier del Bac, a structure which continues to serve the Piman parishioners for whom it was founded and which provides the most outstanding example of Mexican Baroque architecture and art in the United States. Father Llorens' service at Bac lasted until 1815 when he met a violent death at the Presidio of Santa Cruz (Bringas 1976: 66 *n.* 40).

Father Francisco Moyano, to whom Father Llorens' report was submitted and who forwarded the report to the governor, was another of the nineteen friars brought to Sonora by Bishop Reyes in 1782. He came originally from the province of Granada in Spain, and his missionary service in the Pimería Alta included work at the missions and mission *visitas* of Caborca, Pitiquito, Bisanig, Atil, and Oquitoa. He was President of the Missions of Pimería Alta from 1801 until his death—the reason Llorens' report was submitted to him as immediate superior. He died in the "missions of Sonora" late in 1817 or early in 1818 (Bringas 1976: 142 *n.* 115; Kessell 1976: 201).

Father Moyano forwarded a copy of Father Llorens' report to Don Alexo García Conde, who in 1812 was intendant governor of the intendency (a political and geographic unit akin to a state or province) of Sonora-Sinaloa, with the capital in Arizpe (Bringas 1976: 7). For certain purposes, the intendant governor reported to the commandant general of a still larger political and geographic unit, the Interior Provinces (Provincias Internas). The commandant



general, through his treasurer, held the purse strings involving missionaries and mission projects (for a more complete explanation, see Bringas 1976: 6–10). In 1811, the commandant general was Nemesio Salcedo (Barnes and others 1981: 109).

In 1811, Franciscans in the Pimería Alta, in terms of their own religious hierarchy, were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Apostolic College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro located in the city of Querétaro much farther south in Mexico. Rebuffed in earlier attempts to get government sanction for new establishments, including that for Cuiquiburitac, the discretorium, or governing body of the Quereteran college, in 1809 appointed a sixty-year-old former guardian (the rough equivalent of a college president), Fray Juan Bautista de Cevallos, to be *comisario prefecto*. This position gave him supervision over Quereteran missions, and he outranked even such field missionaries as Father President Moyano. He was further charged to manage mission affairs vis-à-vis the Provincias Internas and the intendancy of Sonora-Sinaloa (Kessell 1976: 220–221; also see Bringas 1976: 10–11 for a discussion of the Franciscan hierarchy in New Spain).



THE DOCUMENTS

[*Father Llorens' report of December 27, 1811*]

Very Reverend Father President:

In your letter of 20 December of this year of 1811, you order me to reconnoiter the Papago *rancherías* of Cuiquiburitac, Pipian [Pipyak], Ojiat [Hoi Oidak], Aquituni [Akchin], Santa Rosa del Ati [Santa Rosa, or Achi], Anicam [Anegam], and Cojat [Kohatk] and to relate all the conditions there conducive to the founding of missions so that Your Reverence may present it to the governor of this province.

I must say in reply that an expedition would be useless at present due to the lack of water along the route for the journey as well as in the various *rancherías*. The people who live there are scattered about. Some are in the missions, some on the Gila, and others are at distant springs. This is also true for the people at Cuiquiburitac and Pipian. Some of them are presently in this mission with the Chris-

tians and others are in [Mission] Tumacácori. However, I think I can satisfy the wishes of Your Reverence with what I have seen and learned during former years among the *rancherías* I have just mentioned.

Starting with Cuiquiburitac, I estimate it to be about 18 to 20 leagues from the Mission of [San Xavier del] Bac by a good road. There is permanent water in some of the wells. The pueblo is in a broad plain with abundant fields. When it rains, these are watered by three water courses from the west, south, and east. Depending on the season, they are able to harvest all sorts of seed and grain and even some wheat at times. There are good pastures and plenty of firewood from small mesquites, ironwood, palo verde, and the many other plants that cover the hills and vales. There is an abundance of stone a quarter of a league away and there is plenty of limestone about a half a league distant.

Pipian is about one-and-a-half leagues south. The Gila River is about 18 leagues to the north and the land between them is generally level. The pueblo of Cojat is about 8 leagues northwest over a good road.

The climate is good and promotes robust health, as I have experienced in 11 years of visiting here. Lumber for building is lacking as is permanent water for people and animals. Last year and this, lumber was brought [to Cuiquiburitac] by oxen from San Xavier del Bac. It was a 2-day trip. I used the lumber in the construction of a chapel, an adobe house, and another small room that served to shelter the escort and the few laborers with their families whom I had brought here during the past two years. It will be just as easy to transport things to the Gila, which is at the same distance.

Water has been provided from cisterns that I dug in firm soil. There is also a well that is 26 *varas* [ca. 72 feet] deep, and there are indications that it will soon reach water. If it does not, I have in view another location a short distance from this pueblo. The supply of water seems to be unfailing there due to the flow from the ranges to the south and west. However, should this fail, I have planned to dig a large cistern within the pueblo itself. Likewise, I have recognized the feasibility of building banks of earth near the three water courses so as to collect large quantities for the years when water is scarce.

I must also explain that on the 12th of February, 1794, this reduction [i.e., a preliminary step in the missionization process] had

its start when all the people of this pueblo and some of those from Pipian made an agreement with me to recognize San Xavier del Bac as their mission and their pueblo as a *visita*. In virtue of this pact, they would build chapels in their respective pueblos. Also, when they had harvested their crops every year at the end of October, they would come down to Bac and stay until April so as to be instructed in the doctrine and to obey the precepts of the Church and have their children baptized. They would go back to cut their grain, and in the wet season I would go there to teach them and make it possible for them to stay in their pueblo. Up to the present time, they have fulfilled all these agreements.

Two years before my first visit, they had built two small chapels of grass in these two pueblos, with Our Lady Saint Anne [Santa Ana] in one and the Sorrowing Mother [Dolorosa] in the other. When I came, seeing how close the pueblos were to one another, I suppressed that of Pipian and obliged the Christians to go to Santa Ana to mass and to prayers.

Finally, since the year and day given above [i.e., February 12, 1794], 223 children and adults have been baptized from both pueblos and 80 of them, mostly children, have died. Three of them moved to Tumacácori with my permission and twenty-three moved voluntarily to San Xavier del Bac. The rest remain in the two adjoining pueblos of Santa Ana and Pipian except for five from Ojiat and nine from Aquituni whose parents were anxious to have their children baptized and who presented them for baptism before I realized what pueblos they were from. However, they are required to comply with the agreement made by the people of Santa Ana and Pipian.

This pueblo [Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac] borders on the Pinal Apaches or Tontos who, since I was last there, have not trod on that soil. The Indians tell me, however, that previously they had come on as many as eight occasions.

In Pipian the same conditions exist as in Santa Ana. There is a lack of lumber and water, but at a distance of one-and-a-half leagues to the south and surrounded by small hills there is a permanent well at the bottom of the arroyo that waters their land when it rains [doubtless the well at the modern Sil Nakya]. In the time of drought it supplies Santa Ana, Ojiat, Aquituni, and part of Achi.

On 26 September, 1812 [*sic!* Probably should be 1802], I went to explore the terrain and advantages of the *ranchería* of Cojat and

of the other *rancherías* of Anciam, Athi, Aquituni, and Ojiat. Cojat is on a spacious plain with mountains at some distance west, north, and east. I went past its fields which cover more than a league. They are watered by a large water course from the west which divides into three arms, spreading out over more than a quarter of a league. It has good pastures, enough firewood, and stone at about a half league. But it lacks permanent water and lumber. When the natural charcos dry up, it is furnished with water by a good well which is between mountains to the northwest at a distance of one-and-a-half leagues. It can be supplied with lumber from the Gila which is about 10 leagues distant over a level road. The terrain is so fertile that when they have water they harvest all sorts of crops sufficient for a three-year supply. The good health of the inhabitants shows that the climate is very healthful. There are 86 married couples and many unmarried men and women. I saw many children in this pueblo. There may possibly be 100 married couples by now.

On the 29th of the same year and month I went to the pueblo of Anicam. It is about 5 leagues to the south on a plain. The pueblo is composed of 50 married couples, many children, and some unmarried people. It has fertile fields watered by the runoff from the east and west. There are good pastures and enough firewood. The climate is healthful, but permanent water and lumber are lacking. When there is no water in the charcos, they supply themselves from a permanent well among the hills to the west at a distance of about a league-and-a-half. There is stone more than a half league away.

On the 30th I continued about a quarter of a league to Santa Rosa del Achi on the same plain. Its population is divided into five groups less than a gunshot in distance from each other. There were 126 married couples and 134 single people, including widowers. It was not possible to count the children. It has the same good climate and other qualities as Anicam as well as the same lack of water and lumber.

From here I went on to the pueblo of Aquituni, about a league-and-a-half south, where there are 14 married couples, seven widowers and unmarried people, and plenty of children. There is a large arroyo running from the mountain southward and it waters two level areas. They raise sufficient food and have the same good qualities as the other pueblos and the same scarcity of water and lumber. They are supplied from the well of Pipian.

On October 1st I went on to Ojiat which is about 3 leagues east

on a level place. I counted 15 married people, three unmarried men, two unmarried women, and plenty of children. The climate is good and there are good water courses from the north. It has the same characteristics as the other pueblos and the same scarcity of water and lumber. This pueblo is about one-and-a-half leagues from Pipian and 3 leagues from Santa Ana.

In all these pueblos some asked me to baptize their children. I did not do this, but satisfied them by telling them that God would provide them with comfort when the right time should come. This would be both for the good of those who were not yet baptized as well as for that of those who had been baptized in the times of the departed Jesuit padres or even in the time of Fray Francisco Garcés. I have seen the entries (although they are blurred) of these baptisms that were performed in the *rancherías*.

This is as much as I can say in the report which Your Reverence requests of me.

San Agustín de Tucson

December 27, 1811.

May God preserve Your Reverence for many years.

Your most obedient subject who kisses your hands,

Fray Juan Bautista Llorens

This is a copy.

Oquitoa, 4 September, 1812. Moyano.

*[Letter transmitting report of Father Llorens
to Governor Intendant García Conde]*

Señor Governor Intendant: It seems to me that the report given by the Rev. Friar Juan Bautista Llorens on the *rancherías* of the Papagos of Santa Ana, Pipian, Cojat, and others in the vicinity is quite exact and sufficient to form a judgement as to their suitability for the establishment of a new reduction. The venerable discretorium of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro decided on the 5th of April, 1805, to propose to the commandant general that the locale called Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac was the most suitable for a new foundation. Now, in reply to Your Excellency's letter of the 12th of last month, January, I say that if this has approval of the commandant general, the new mission can be established in the aforementioned site of Santa Ana. This place has greater advantages

than any other in that area and for that reason we can hope for its stability and endurance.

It is the nearest to our villages and is in a direct line with the older missions of the Pimería Alta. There is no hostile *ranchería* or pueblo in between which could make travel difficult. Its natives are docile Indians who for a long time have been requesting and desiring that a mission be placed there for them. It is a location which can be called a pueblo *de visita* of San Xavier del Bac, as it has many baptized Christians. Many have been married according to the rite of Our Holy Mother Church and they come to San Xavier for long periods during the year. There, like the other Christians, they hear mass, attend prayers, satisfy their annual obligation [to go to confession and receive communion at least once a year at Easter], and assist in the work of the mission.

For this very reason, the minister at San Xavier recognizes them as lambs of his flock and visits them in their own country. He stays with them as long as the water permits and has built there a chapel, hall, and other smaller rooms for lodging his escort. He brought the timbers and other construction materials from San Xavier and more than 500 pesos have already been spent on this.

All these circumstances of the site strengthen its claims and give it a right of preference over any other for settling there. The natives are hoping for this and, it seems that like the patriarchs of old, they have been crying to heaven for a long time that God would send them the Savior of the World. By implication, they are crying to Our Catholic Monarch and actually to their vice-patron, the commandant general [Nemesio Salcido], to send them ministers who will bring them the happy news of the Gospel, found a pueblo for them, and bring them to a life of reason and Christian institutions. They have willingly submitted their neck to the sweet yoke of Jesus Christ in subjection to His Catholic Majesty and in loyal obedience to Your Lordship.

It is true that the designated locale of Santa Ana, like the rest of the area, suffers from scarcity of water. But it is also true that human industry can well supply what is lacking in nature, incurring some expense and labor in forming banks to collect an amount of water sufficient for our needs and also for irrigating as is done in other areas. Building these will make good crops possible. This is my opinion, and I offer my judgement with the proper dependence

and subordination to my Prelate, the Reverend Father Prefect of Missions, Friar Juan Bautista Cevallos.

May God preserve the important life of Your Lordship for many years.

Oquitoa, 4 February, 1812.

Fr. Francisco Moyano

To the Brigadier Governor, Don Alexo García Conde.



THE "LOST" MISSION OF SANTA ANA DE CUIQUIBURITAC

When the above documents were first translated by Daniel Matson in 1969, and after they came to my attention, it seemed we had a "lost" mission on our hands. Virtually nothing concerning the *visita* of Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac had appeared in print; the mission was not one listed in discussions of missions of Sonora, Arizona, or the Southwest.

Clearly, what was called for was an "expedition" to locate the site of this northernmost mission in the Pimería Alta chain. So it was that on November 4, 1969, historian Charles W. Polzer, the late archaeologist J. Cameron Greenleaf, and I set out from Tucson in Polzer's four-wheel drive sedan to see if we could locate the place. By converting Father Llorens' leagues to miles and by doing a little triangulating from known sites, we were able to draw a large circle on a topographic map indicating an area within which the mission should have been located. Our circle encompassed an easterly segment of the northern boundary of what was then still called the Papago Indian Reservation [now the Tohono O'odham Reservation], and it appeared our best route might be over unpaved reservation roads. With that in mind, I thought it best to go first to the Tohono O'odham village of Sil Nakya ("Saddle Hanging") to see if my friend Lorentine Nocco might be willing to guide us over these back roads.

When we arrived at Lorentine's house in Sil Nakya, he was not at home. But his son, Edmond Nocco, was. Edmond, 21 years old, listened as I explained in some detail the purpose of our trip. We spread the topographic map on the hood of our sedan and I pointed to places and roads as I talked about Father Llorens' report and the settlements mentioned in it. "Would you go with us as a guide,

Edmond?" I wanted to know. "We'll be glad to bring you back home in time for supper."

"What did you say the name of that place was?" asked Edmond.

"Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac. Or Saint Anne. Or Santa Ana in Spanish."

"Oh," he said. "You mean Santan. That's right here!" And he pointed to a spot on our map. "Everyone knows where that is."

Everyone, that is, except red-faced academicians.

"I'm not going to go with you," he told us. "It's too far this way. You can drive there from here, but you should go back to Tucson through Eloy or Red Rock. There's no need to come back to Sil Nakya."

Edmond pointed out the route. The unpaved and ungraded roads were clearly marked on the topographic sheet. So we three set out alone, stopping first at the now-abandoned settlement labelled "Hoi Oidak" on the map and called "Ojiat" by Father Llorens. It is actually *o'ohiag* in the O'odham language, a word meaning literally "to be full of sand in one place," and which translates best simply as "Sandy Place" (Mathiot n.d.b: 474). Until a few years before our arrival here it had served as the summer or "field" village of O'odham from Sil Nakya, the winter or "well" village. People from Sil Nakya came to Sandy Place to plant their crops, watering them with summer rainwater pouring down adjacent arroyos. Other than two or three collapsing shelters fashioned from mesquite frames roofed and walled with ribs from saguaro cactus, nothing remained of this former seasonal settlement.

En route to the spot indicated by Edmond as being that of Santa Ana, we skirted to the north of Father Llorens' "Pipian," now marked "Pipyak" on maps, without paying it a visit. At last, just a few yards north of a gate through the reservation fence, we came to the site of Santa Ana precisely where Edmond told us it would be. Nothing remained standing. It was only an archaeological site. There was a blurred rectangular outline of scattered rocks suggesting they may once have been the foundations for the chapel. Nearby was a depression suggesting a possible spot where the hole for the well may have been dug. And there was a thin scattering of sherds of Papago pottery as well as at least one sherd of Mexican majolica pottery, the hallmark of Spanish colonial sites in the Southwest. We satisfied ourselves that we had indeed found the "lost" mission. So we continued on unpaved roads leading north

and east which took us to the main highway and south to Tucson—just as Edmond had suggested.

THE WELL

In the spring of 1970 I found myself talking with a longtime O'odham friend, Joe Pablo. Joe's birth in 1900 was recorded on the San Xavier calendar stick (Underhill 1938: 58), and all his life he had alternated his residence and work between San Xavier, where he farmed and helped with cattle roundups, and Ban Dak ("Coyote Sits") on the eastern part of the main reservation where he labored principally as a cowboy. I told Joe about our adventure in finding the "lost" mission of Santan.

"I know that place," he said. "I've been there before. Some of the boys used to go there and dig."

"Why did they dig?" I asked.

"It seems like they were digging a well there in the old days. While they were digging the well, the wind came out of the ground, and to stop it, they threw the church bell into the hole and covered it up. Once in awhile someone digs there to try to find the bell."

I was flabbergasted. Father Llorens had written in 1811 about his effort to relieve the water shortage at Santa Ana "with a well which I left at a depth of 26 *varas* [ca. 72 feet]." And "It showed signs of reaching water shortly." If O'odham tradition concerning this well is correct, it never reached water. Wind emerged from the hole and the frightened natives filled it in.

There is a lengthy record of the concern Pimans have had about wind emerging from the earth. In October of 1699, Captain Juan Mateo Manje described a tremendous wind storm at San Xavier del Bac. He tells the story:

... Since it was early and a quiet and pleasant evening, the soldiers [Antonio Ortiz and Diego Rodríguez] and I, accompanied by the Reverend Father Visitor [Antonio Leal], started afoot to a nearby hill where we could see in all directions a good portion of the extensive plains. There was no other hill besides this one. We went to the top and found all around a wall of stone with a plaque in the middle. In the center of this was a white stone, like a sugar loaf of half a *vara* in height,

imbedded in the ground. We guessed it might be some idol that the heathen Indians worshipped, so with great effort we pulled out the stone which was stuck in about one-third of the way, thereby exposing a large hole. At the time, we did not know what it could be. While we were coming down the hill, and before we arrived at the settlement, a great and furious hurricane developed. We could scarcely walk because of the terrific windstorm. None of the Indians had gone with us to the top of the hill; but when the furious wind arose they started to yell, saying in sort of rebellion, "*Vbiriqui cupioca*" [*hevel ki kuhpi'ok*], which meant that the House of the Wind (god) had been opened. All evening and night the wind blew so severely that we could not sleep. It seemed the house and trees were going to fall down. In the morning we were told that the Indians went up to cover the hole. The hurricane ceased completely, and the day remained calm and serene (Manje 1954: 137-38).

Sometime before 1716, Father Luis Velarde, a Jesuit missionary who worked among Pimans, took note of the San Xavier wind hole and of another by the Piman village of Ymuris ("Imuris" on modern maps). "There on the top of a small hill near it [San Xavier]," he wrote, "is a hole to which no bottom has been found. The Indians have the hole covered because they say if they open it up the wind would destroy their fields.... Another hole similar to this is on a hill near the *pueblo* of Ymuris, called Uburiqui [*hevel ki*], 'house of the Wind God,' another secret of nature. But the Pimas may have some superstitious ideas in regard to its effect" (Manje 1954: 224-25).

In February of 1774, Spanish soldier and explorer Juan Bautista de Anza encountered the Piman belief concerning wind emerging from the ground. He noted that western Papagos were careful not to waste the horns of mountain sheep. "Indeed, whenever they kill the sheep, they carry the horns to the neighborhood of the water holes, where they go piling them up to prevent the Air from leaving the place. Those who, like ourselves, do not practice or do not know of this superstition, they warn not to take one from its place, because that element would come out to molest everybody and cause them to experience greater trouble" (Bolton 1930: II: 30).

The notion among Pimans that certain winds, especially a whirlwind [*simulogi*], are potentially malevolent is evidenced by the fact

that in the 1930s anthropologist Ruth Underhill (1946: 297) listed whirlwind sickness among the list of Tohono O'odham afflictions, an illness symptomized by dizziness. And in the 1960s, Tohono O'odham shaman Juan Gregorio explained to ethnologist Donald Bahr: "And sometimes, furthermore, it happens that children, who never take things seriously, they think it will be fun [to run into the whirlwind]. A whirlwind will come along and they will get into it, yet it is dangerous. Then later on, well, it will reach them, and it [wind strength] will sicken them" (Bahr and others 1974: 74-75).

Llorens' report failed to mention either wind or church bell, but the coincidence of the O'odham tradition concerning the well itself and Llorens' documented reference to it lent even further credibility to O'odham oral history concerning Santa Ana.

In July 1972, I had occasion to visit the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C. While being shown stored collections of Southwestern Indian artifacts by William C. Sturtevant, who was then Curator of the Anthropology Department, a large copper font caught my eye. I recognized it at once as a Spanish-period baptismal font, one not unlike those I had seen in Spanish-period missions in northern Sonora and which was similar to that in use at Mission San Xavier del Bac.

I inquired of Sturtevant concerning its history, and he said he would check and let me know by mail. I received the following information from him in a letter dated August 2, 1972:

That artifact you saw in our storerooms is rather poorly documented. It was received as part of a very large lot from the BAE [Bureau of American Ethnology]. In the accession papers for acc. 24102 is a typed "Catalogue of Specimens Collected during 1890 Turned over to the National Museum by the Bureau of Ethnology," which includes the entry "135348 Copper font Mariespa R.R.St. Ariz. Collector I.F. Whitmore." There is nothing else on the list from this locale or collector, nor is there anything else in these papers that is relevant to the identification or history of this object. The entry in our original catalog book reads: "Copper Baptismal Font. Near Mariespa R.R. Station, Arizona. [When collected:] 1861. 2 feet diameter, 11 inch deep [small sketch here]. [Received from/collected by:] Rev. Isaac T. Whitmore [When entered:] March 1 [1890] [Remarks:] dug up from a well."

The Reverend Isaac Thomson Whittemore, a Presbyterian minister, arrived in Florence, Arizona, in 1888 to found that town's Presbyterian church. Serving both Florence and the community of Casa Grande, he was one of the organizers of the Presbytery of Arizona, the first meeting of which was held at Sacaton on the Gila River Indian Reservation in 1889 and at which the first Pima Indian Presbyterian Church came into existence. The Reverend Whittemore evinced considerable interest in Arizona antiquities, being among the early citizens of the territory forcefully to bring to the attention of the Department of the Interior the rapidly deteriorating state of the site and prehistoric ruins of Casa Grande (Gamble 1942). Before leaving for California in 1899, he and the Reverend Charles H. Cook, who had arrived in Arizona in 1870 to work among the Gila River Pimas and Maricopas as a Presbyterian missionary, co-authored a book, *Among the Pimas; or the Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians* (Whittemore and Cook 1893).

These facts suggest that the Reverend Whittemore had close ties with Pimas living north of the site of Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac, some of whom, the residents of Santan village, were very probably descendants of the former inhabitants of Cuiquiburitac. Indeed, some may even have been former residents, recalling that it remains unknown when Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac was abandoned. It seems clear that the "Mariespa" railroad station was the Maricopa railroad station, the "c" and "o" having at some point been misread as "e" and "s" in someone's handwriting. The Maricopa station came into being on the Southern Pacific's transcontinental line in 1879 (Myrick 1975: 40), and it was the station most convenient to much of the Gila River Indian Reservation.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that sometime before 1890, perhaps in 1861 as the Smithsonian data suggest, a group of Piman Indians went to the site of Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac, and without letting the fact become too widely known, excavated the well discussed by Father Llorens and mentioned in modern O'odham oral tradition. What they found, instead of a bell, was this copper baptismal font. It apparently remained among Pimans, or at least on the Gila River Reservation, until the Reverend Whittemore acquired it after his 1888 arrival in Arizona. He seems to have deemed the font a sufficient curiosity to make its shipment by rail to Washington, D.C., worthwhile. It has remained there to the present, although it is now in the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History rather than in its National Museum of Natural

History/National Museum of Man (see the following article by Richard Ahlborn, which describes the artifact in detail). Almost certainly the well mentioned by Father Llorens in 1811, the well referred to in O'odham traditions concerning Santa Ana, and the well cited in the Smithsonian records are one and the same. It appears the bell of oral tradition was the baptismal font of fact.

Was there a wind which incited O'odham to throw the copper font into the hole? The reader will have to decide.

FATHER BONAVENTURE, SANTAN, AND THE KOHATK

The late Father Bonaventure Oblasser, O.F.M., who began missionary work among Pimas and Papagos in 1910 and who served among them for most of his priestly life until his death in 1967 (Rohder 1982: 7, 13), was aware of the existence of Santa Ana. That some of his contemporary Franciscan missionaries, himself probably included, had visited the site is evidenced in three black-and-white photos of the place which are in an album of photos taken in the 1910s and '20s, an album which once belonged to the late Tiburtius Wand, O.F.M., and is now in the Oblasser Library at Mission San Xavier del Bac. Two of these pictures are labeled "S. Anna Mission," and one has penned beneath it, "Supposed site of S. Anna Old Mission, 1919." Moreover, Father Nicholas Perschl, O.F.M., who also enjoyed a long missionary career among Papagos (see Perschl 1959), reported to Father Kieran McCarty in a personal conversation in the late 1960s that he had retrieved an old beam from the site of Santa Ana and had brought it to Mission San Xavier. By the time of this conversation, the beam had disappeared.

Father Bonaventure was fluent in the Piman language just as he was in Spanish. His inquisitive mind resulted in a great many sessions with both Pimas and Papagos concerning their recent past; it also resulted in his reading extensively in both published and documentary sources concerning the history of the Pimería Alta. In an undated and unpublished manuscript by Father Bonaventure, "The Papagos," which is in the Oblasser Library at San Xavier, the Franciscan historian wrote about "The Kwahatk [Kohatk, Kwahatika, Cojat, Qahatika, etc.] People":

The Kwahatk people form the Papago Band, which is part "Dohono Ootam" [Tohono O'odham] (Desert People), and part "akimal Ootam" [Akimel O'odham] (River People).

Their village of origin, the Pueblo of Quajote [Kohatk], is located in the desert region, but a greater part of the people resided along the Santa Cruz River, from Akchin, southwest of Picacho Peak, and upstream as far as the Tucson Mountains.

Some writers and travelers, who have come into contact with these Indians, have stated that the Kwahatk were "Pima" and not Papago [e.g. Lumholtz 1971: 111-12 and Swanton 1952: 363]. Not familiar with the native idiom, they have construed the terms "Dohono Ootam" (Desert People) and "Akimal Ootam" (River People) as indicating tribal affiliation, whereas they refer to the location of their places of residence either on the desert, or along the river.

The great number of Kwahatk Indians now living among the Pimas has given rise to the idea that the Kwahatk were more closely related to the Pima than to the Papago.

These Kwahatk, however, are descendants of those who lost their holdings near the Picacho Mountains through Apache raids and were forced to take refuge among the neighboring Pimas.

The Eastern Kwahatk, living along the Santa Cruz River, had been "reduced," that is, reorganized according to Christian standards, towards the close of the 18th century.

The mission among these people, dedicated to Santa Catarina, stood near their field village of Akchin (Aquituni) and not too far from their wells at Cuitoa (Cuitoabagum) in the mountains southeast.

Towards the close of the 18th century, the Spanish Government adopted a policy of rationing the Apaches living close to the frontier. As a result, raiding practically ceased. The Padres were able to develop their projects. Mission San Xavier and its visitas (stations), San Cosme de Tucson and Santa Catarina, with their well developed fields of wheat, barley, corn &c.—, their herds of cattle, droves of horses, &c., became centers of Christian progress and Indian contentment.

After decades of happiness and quiet there came the change of governments. The new regime of Mexico was not able to continue the policy of rationing. So the Apaches resumed their raids and robberies. Death and destruction were again the order of the day. The Kwahatk were forced to desert their homes and fields along the Santa Cruz.

An attempt by the missionaries to rebuild the visita of Santa Catalina on a new site which they named Santa Ana, located east of the Santa Rosa Mountain, proved unsuccessful. The Kwahate then drove the remnants of their herds to the Pima country along the Gila, and became the guests of their kinsfolk [information supplied in 1911 by Chief Pedro Garcia of Santan village].

The Pimas, too, had suffered from Apache raids, and had been driven from their territory north of the Gila. After the surrender of the marauders, the Federal Government restored the stolen terrain to the Pimas. These in turn allowed their Kwahatk guests to settle on the repossessed lands. The exiles gladly accepted the offer. Most of them chose the district across the river from Sacaton. Others took up land on the Salt River Reservation.

Those across the river from Sacaton named their settlement and the church they built, "Santa Ana," the name that had been chosen for the abortive village near the Santa Rosa Mountain [information from Chief Pedro Garcia of Santan in 1911]. The historic nomenclature, "Santa Ana," has now become "Santan."

The Maricopa informants told Leslie Spier [1933: 7] that the Papagos now living among the Pimas were driven by the Apaches from their original homes on the Santa Cruz River near Tucson and Red Rock. They have adopted the Pima dialect and are called Pimas (Toxpa).

Others of this group, who settled south of San Xavier Mission, for awhile retained their own dialect. They were called (by the Maricopas) "Toxpa Axat" (Dog Pimas). The "ahat" of the word "Kwahate" is pronounced "axat," the Maricopa word for "dog." This similarity may have given rise to the legend that the first ancestors of this group were two big brothers who had children from a woman who was a metamorphized dog (Oblasser n.d.).

In this text, Father Bonaventure has telescoped Jesuit-period (ca. 1697–1767) and Franciscan-period (1768–ca. 1830) history into something close to a single image. It is his thesis, however, that the Piman Indians who lived in settlements along the Santa Cruz River north of Tucson in the 18th century were driven from these places

as a result of Apaches attacking from the northeast and east. The principal farming or “field” village of this group seems to have been that of Akchin (often rendered “Aquituni”; O’odham for “Arroyo Mouth”), whose population of 134 men and women were assembled in Tucson in 1796 and for whom it was recommended by a Franciscan visitor that they “be given oxen and tools for sowing crops” (Bringas 1976: 72). This Akchin should not be confused with the Akchin village much farther to the west in Papago country and which remains extant as a settlement on the Tohono O’odham Reservation, although the latter is clearly the place visited by Father Llorens before the end of 1811.

Father Bonaventure’s text suggests that the Kohatk people living on the river were forced slightly farther west or, at least, had to retreat to more westerly settlements after abandoning their positions along the river’s course. Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac was one of these newer settlements, but it, too, had to be abandoned, the refugees taking their livestock to the Gila River and founding the village there known as Santan.

Although it is not clear when the Santa Ana effort proved to be “unsuccessful,” to quote Father Bonaventure, a report written May 25, 1830, from Cucurpe, Sonora, by Fernando Grande suggests Santa Ana remained extant as a village at least until then. “If we could spare a friar of great virtue to reside [at Mission San Xavier del Bac] full time,” he wrote, “many unfortunate Indians of great potential could be lured from their backwardness and led along the path of civil and moral progress. Within the San Xavier mission district, whole villages of such Indians reside at Santa Ana and Santa Rosa. Their people flock to San Xavier to help with the harvest and other work that would be most productive if properly administered. Indian tribes of the Gila River also arrive here in great numbers to pass the frugal winter season, but they return home in the springtime” (Grande 1830 [translation here by Kieran R. McCarty]).

It is, however, impossible to know how reliable and up-to-date Grande’s information was. There are later data from Gila River Pimas which suggest the abandonment date may have been about 1820. In 1901–02, a woman named Sala Hina told ethnographer Frank Russell “that her father and his brother, two Kwahadk’s, brought the first cattle to the Pimas about 1820” (Russell 1975: 85), a statement more-or-less corroborated by Whittemore (Whit-

temore and Cook 1893: 79). Were Sala Hina's father and uncle from Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac? One cannot say with certainty, but the possibility certainly exists.

CONCLUSIONS

There remain many unknowns concerning the mission *visita* of Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac. Who were the Indians who lived there in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and how, precisely, were they related to other O'odham? Were they "eastern" Kohatk, as Father Bonaventure believed? How long had they lived there? What was the relationship between these people and this place and the people and settlements recorded as having been farther east on the Santa Cruz River drainage in the 18th century? When was the site abandoned? Where did the people go, and who are their modern descendants? Was the site abandoned because of Apache attacks from the east and northeast? Lack of water? Disease? Or for other reasons?

And beyond the details in Father Llorens' report, we have no clear idea of the layout of the village or the description of the chapel and other buildings he erected here. Archaeology, of course, could shed some light on these matters. The site is designated as Ariz. AA:9:2 in the Arizona State Museum archaeological site survey files at the University of Arizona.

Unknowns aside, the United States government has accorded formal recognition of Santa Ana de Cuiquiburitac as the northernmost Spanish mission in the Pimería Alta. On August 7, 1973, it was nominated to be placed on the National Register of Historic Places, and soon after, the nomination was accepted. However, on the Register the O'odham place name is spelled Quiquiburitac rather than Cuiquiburitac, perhaps a minor discrepancy concerning an O'odham term whose meaning is still in doubt.

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