

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in *Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms* (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi Site
other names/site number Arizona EE:9:1

2. Location

street & number _____ not for publication
city, town _____ vicinity
state Arizona code AZ county Santa Cruz code 023 zip code _____

3. Classification

Ownership of Property	Category of Property	Number of Resources within Property	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> private	<input type="checkbox"/> building(s)	Contributing	Noncontributing
<input type="checkbox"/> public-local	<input type="checkbox"/> district	_____	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> public-State	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> site	<u>1</u>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> public-Federal	<input type="checkbox"/> structure	_____	_____
	<input type="checkbox"/> object	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
			Total

Name of related multiple property listing: _____
Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 1

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of certifying official _____ Date _____
State or Federal agency and bureau _____

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official _____ Date _____
State or Federal agency and bureau _____

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register.
 See continuation sheet.

determined eligible for the National Register. See continuation sheet.

determined not eligible for the National Register.

removed from the National Register.

other, (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper _____ Date of Action _____

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Religious Structure - Mission

Current Functions (enter categories from instructions)

Landscape - Unoccupied Land - Desert

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(enter categories from instructions)

Spanish colonial - Ruins

Materials (enter categories from instructions)

foundation

walls adobe

roof not extant - ruins

other

Describe present and historic physical appearance.

Site Type: The site of Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi, is associated with the 17th and 18th century Society of Jesus (Jesuit) missionary efforts to Christianize and acculturate the Piman Indian groups on the northwest frontier of New Spain. Located in what was the far northern sector of the Spanish colonial region of Pimeria Alta (present day northern Sonora and southern Arizona), the site of Mission Guevavi represents the first Jesuit cabecera, or head church, in the Southwestern United States. The site presently consists of the ruins of an adobe church and convento

Guevavi was founded by order of the Jesuit Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, as a cabecera, in 1701 (Kessell 1970:29-30). Historical and archeological studies, however, indicate that the extant church and convento ruins of Mission Guevavi was constructed by Father Joseph Garrucho between 1745 and 1751, and was abandoned in 1773. The convento was reused in the early 19th century as the headquarters for a local mining operation.

Environmental Setting: Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi (hereafter referred to as Mission Guevavi)

The most prominent feature of the Santa Cruz Valley is the River, which flows northward out of Mexico up into the United States before sinking out of sight into the desert north of present day Tucson, Arizona (see Figure 1). The Santa Cruz Valley is located within the Sonoran Desert, a dry arid region covering southern Arizona, and the Mexican states of Sonora, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, and Baja California.

The Sonoran Desert environment allows for human habitation only along permanent water courses, such as the Santa Cruz River. The southern Arizona portion of the Sonoran Desert receives most of its moisture during the summer months when severe weather patterns come out of the Gulf of Mexico, and the winter months from thunderstorms originating from the Gulf of California (Dunbier 1968:18).

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally National Historic Landmark
Criteria 1, 2 & 6

Applicable National Register Criteria A B C D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions) A B C D E F G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions)
NHL Theme: European Exploration and
Settlement
Sub Theme: Spanish Colonial Exploration
and Settlement

Period of Significance
AD 1691-1773
Significant Dates
1751

Cultural Affiliation
Historic Piman Indians
Spanish colonial - Jesuit

Significant Person
Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino

Architect/Builder
Joaquin de Casares

State significance of property, and justify criteria, criteria considerations, and areas and periods of significance noted above.

Summary Statement of Significance: The site of Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi was the first cabecera, or head church, to be founded by the Jesuit religious order on the northwest frontier of New Spain in what is now southern Arizona, and represents the northernmost extension of the Jesuit mission chain that in 175 years extended the settled Spanish frontier a thousand miles from southern Sinaloa, in Mexico, to southern Arizona. Mission Guevavi is prominently associated with the pioneering Jesuit Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who, in 1701, directed the establishment of Mission Guevavi as the first Jesuit cabecera in the Southwestern United States. Kino and the Jesuit fathers who established missions among the Piman Indians created the mission base in Pimeria Alta from which the succeeding Franciscans would be able to settle California.

The Guevavi Mission Site is considered nationally significant under National Historic Landmark Criterion 1 for its association with the Jesuit Mission Frontier of northern New Spain, and Criterion 2 for its association with the Jesuit Missionary Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino, who directed the original founding of Mission Guevavi. As the largest and best preserved Jesuit cabecera known in the United States, Mission Guevavi is also considered significant under Criterion 6 for its potential to reveal information concerning the Jesuit mission system and its effect on Native Americans. Mission Guevavi falls under the Theme of Spanish Colonial Exploration and Settlement.

9. Major Bibliographical References

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register (1971)
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # See Figure 6
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

See continuation sheet

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office
- Other State agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Specify repository:

The Archeological Conservancy,
415 Orchard, Santa Fe, NM 87501

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of property _____

UTM References

A _____
Zone Easting Northing

C _____

B _____
Zone Easting Northing

D _____

See continuation sheet

Verbal Boundary Description

See continuation sheet

Boundary Justification

See continuation sheet

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Mark R. Barnes, Ph.d, Senior Archeologist, National Register Programs Division
organization National Park Service, SERO date June 27, 1989
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United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 2

The Santa Cruz River Valley area around the site of Mission Guevavi is dominated by the Precambrian age Tumacacori, Santa Rita, and Patagonia Mountains. The valley is filled with a thick layer of Plio-Pleistocene age conglomerates eroded from these mountain features. The Santa Cruz River has downcut through this conglomerate layer creating river terraces some forty feet above the floodplain. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This geological activity of the river has also created a fertile alluvial floodplain below the river terraces (Robinson 1976:140).

The alluvial floodplain contains dense mesquite thickets, cottonwoods, and hackberry stands. The river terraces of the Santa Cruz contain a variety of grass-wheatfields, intermixed with mesquite, acacia, creosote, ocotillo, palo verde, and sahuaro cactus (Robinson 1976:140; Shelford 1963:377).

Historical Background: Guevavi first appeared in Spanish colonial records in Father Kino's report of a Jesuit expedition to the southern Arizona area in 1691. Kino, who had been a missionary on the northwest frontier of New Spain since 1687, was the Father Rector of Pimeria Alta, overseeing about a dozen Jesuit missionaries throughout the province. As described by the historian John Kessell,

Pimeria Alta was, an area of some 50,000 square miles stretching north from the Altar and Magdalena River Valley (in the Mexican state of Sonora) to the banks of the Gila (in Arizona), and from the San Pedro River west to the Gulf of California (1970:12).

During a visit to Kino's rectorate at Mission Dolores in 1691 by his superior, Father Visitor Juan Salvatierra, who oversaw the administration of Jesuit rectorates, Kino was visited by a delegation of Piman Indians who invited him to come to the area of southern Arizona (Wagoner 1977:81). Kino and Salvatierra accompanied the Pimans, and were received by hundreds of Pimans at the rancherias (semi-permanent Indian villages) of Guevavi and Tumacacori, who presented themselves for baptism. This convinced the Jesuits that the area of southern Arizona should be missionized (Kessell 1970:24).

Kino called the rancheria where he met with the Piman Indians San Gabriel de Guevavi. Kino assigned to several rancherias in southern Arizona the names of saints with the appendage of the Hispanized Indian place name for their rancheria. Succeeding Jesuits and Franciscans would add the saints names of San Rafael and San Miguel to Guevavi, so that in most historical documents it is referred to as Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi to avoid confusion.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 3

The name Guevavi is derived from the Piman word "gi vavhia," meaning Big Well or Big Spring (Kessell 1970:21). Since v's and b's are interchangeable in Spanish, Guevavi sometimes appears in documents or on maps as Guebabi, Guebavi, or Guevabi (Wagoner 1977:81) (see Figure 2). The designation of a native rancheria with a Catholic saints name, whatever the spelling, would be the beginning of the acculturation process for the Indians.

Over the next ten years, Father Kino would continue visiting the Pimans of Guevavi once or twice a year, bringing gifts, introducing European foods, and religion (Robinson 1976:142-143). The Pimans submitted to baptism and at the urging of Kino sometimes travelled to the south to his Mission Dolores, or accompanied Spanish frontier soldiers on expeditions against the Apaches (Kessell 1970:27).

Finally, in July 1701, Kino returned to Guevavi with its first Jesuit resident father, Juan de San Martin. With a missionary in residence, Guevavi was officially designated a cabecera, or head church with three visitas. A visita, had no resident father as did the cabecera. Instead, the father at the head church would visit the visitas on a more or less regular basis (Dobyns 1976:5).

Shortly after his installation, Father Martin could report,

at Guevavi in a few months we finished a small but neat house and church, and we laid the foundations for a large church and house (Kessell 1970:29-30).

However, Father Martin was forced by illness to abandon his mission after only about six months. It would be over thirty years before another Jesuit father would be in permanent residence at Mission Guevavi. In the meantime, Father Kino would continue his yearly visits to Guevavi, distributing gifts and food, and saying mass in the church Father Martin built, until the former's death in 1711. Following Kino, Father Luis Xavier Velarde, the next rector of Mission Dolores, and the resident Father of San Ignacio, Agustin de Campos, made annual visits to Mission Guevavi (Kessell 1970:30; Robinson 1976:143).

During the late 17th century, the Jesuits had been given the responsibility for missionization in Sonora and the peninsula of Baja California by the King of Spain. It was Kino's dream to push the Pimeria Alta mission frontier north and west from Sonora into southern Arizona, in order to link up with the Jesuit missions already established in Baja California, and then push north

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number 7 Page 4

into present day California (Wagoner 1977:84). In 1703, Kino wrote to the Viceroy of New Spain urging the founding of a town of "300 to 400 families... on the banks of the bounteous and fertile Rio Colorado (Colorado River) close to the head of the Sea of California" as the mechanism to achieve this linkage between Sonora and California (Bannon 1974:146).

Unfortunately, support for such a project was redirected to Spain's war efforts in the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) (Wagoner 1977:87). It would not be until the 1720's that support for additional Jesuits would be forthcoming, and the 1760's before Kino's churches in southern Arizona would be used as stepping stones to the founding of missions and pueblos in California (Kessell 1970:38-39). For his pioneering efforts in the exploration and settlement of southern Arizona, Father Kino's statue is enshrined at the National Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol.

In mid-1732, Father Juan Bautista Grazhoffer would be installed as the first resident father at Guevavi since San Martin's 1701 occupancy. Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, Captain of the presidio of Fronteras, built Grazhoffer "a little house" and a ramada church (Kessell 1970:51). There is no mention of San Martin's earlier house and church, so it may be presumed that they had collapsed requiring new construction.

Grazhoffer would be buried at Guevavi by Captain Anza in the spring of 1733 (Kessell 1970:53). The Jesuit, while organizing the religion of the Catholic church among the Pimans on a more regular basis, had run afoul of the local shamans, who years later admitted they had poisoned Grazhoffer. Captain Anza would also die at the hands of Indians, being killed in an Apache ambush in 1740 (Kessell 1970:69-70).

The cabecera of Mission Guevavi and its Pimans would be host to three other resident Jesuit Fathers from 1733 to 1745, none of whom stayed longer than three years. In between resident fathers, Father Keller of Santa Maria Soamca would visit the mission to distribute gifts, inspect the church and father's house, encourage the Pimans to plant European foods and tend the mission stock, as a means of keeping the Catholic religion alive among the Pimans.

From 1732 to 1745 the Jesuits lived a primitive existence on the "Rim of Christendom" in the little adobe house built by Anza. This would change with the six year tenure of Father Joseph Garrucho (1745-1751). Garrucho began to concentrate on increasing the stock herds of mission cattle, goats and pigs, and putting more of the alluvial floodplain under cultivation. By increasing the economic base of Mission Guevavi, Father Garrucho was able in early 1751

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 5

to contract with a master builder from Arispe, Joachin de Casares, to begin the construction of a new and larger church with attached convento, or father's quarters (Robinson 1976:144).

Casares' church was 15 feet wide and 50 feet long with adobe walls three feet thick. The church was plastered with adobe on its exterior, and white washed and painted on the interior. The church faced south, and had one door on its west side that faced the convento courtyard. The convento was a one room deep block of adobe rooms that completed a rough square 90 feet by 105 feet when joined with the church (see Figure 3) (Kessell 1970:100).

Within a few months of its completion, in November 1751, the Piman Indians revolted against the Spanish and caused Father Garrucho, master builder Casares, and the loyal Pimans to pack some of the church santos and flee south to the protection of the presidios. Abandoned, the Pimans attacked Guevavi,

Unhinging the doors of the Fathers house they ransacked it then began in the church, tearing, throwing down, and abusing the few santos that remained (Kessell 1970:108).

The Spanish military quickly mounted an offensive operation and defeated the Pimans, who soon surrendered and returned to their respective missions. As a result of this outbreak the Spanish government established a presidio, or fort, at Tubac, 15 miles north of Mission Guevavi, between mid-1752 and early 1753. Even before the presidio of Tubac was established a new Jesuit Father had arrived at Guevavi and repaired the damage (Kessell 1970:125).

The Pima Revolt of 1751 was caused by the Indians desire to throw off Spanish control of their lives. Previous to the founding of Guevavi they had practiced a nomadic transhumance existence that allowed them to exploit different environmental zones at different seasons of the year. With the construction of the large new church at Mission Guevavi their best alluvial floodplain fields had been expropriated, upsetting their traditional lifestyle in the area of Guevavi. With the creation of Tubac presidio, a permanent guard would be installed at Mission Guevavi to prevent a similar outbreak (Kessell 1970:125).

In 1760, the commander of Tubac presidio, Captain Juan Thomas Belderrain, would be buried in the new church at Mission Guevavi. His replacement, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, was the son of the man that constructed Grazhoffer's house and church at Mission Guevavi in 1732 (Kessell 1970:148, 154-155). During the 1760's the last four Jesuit Fathers of Mission Guevavi

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 6

found themselves tending more to the religious needs of the soldiers and settlers around Tubac presidio. The Indian population in the vicinity of Guevavi began to decline, while its visita of Tumacacori experienced an increase in Indian population.

In 1767, Carlos III, the King of Spain, ordered the removal of all Jesuits from his possessions. The Franciscans who replaced the Jesuits in the Pimeria Alta concentrated their missionary efforts at the visita of Tumacacori and Mission San Xavier del Bac, (Kessell 1970:140). During the late 1760's Apache raiders attacked Mission Guevavi on different occasions, stealing cattle and killing Piman Indians. In 1770 or 1771, the cabecera of the northern Pimeria Alta was transferred from Guevavi to Tumacacori, which could be better protected by the presidio of Tubac that was only about three miles to the north of the latter. By 1773, Mission Guevavi was completely abandoned (Kessell 1970:57).

Thirty-four years later, in 1807, the frontier of Pimeria Alta had managed to control the threat of Apache raids, and the Santa Cruz River Valley experienced an era of economic prosperity that saw the construction of major Franciscan churches at Tumacacori and San Xavier del Bac. The attendant growth in population in the river valley necessitated the creation of legal boundaries to protect Piman Indian mission lands associated with Tumacacori. In 1807, the ruins of Mission Guevavi were visited and used as the southern boundary for the Piman land grant (Kessell 1976:207-209,212).

The Franciscan Father Narciso Gutierrez of Mission Tumacacori appears to have used the 1807 land grant to encourage paying settlement of the Piman lands,

at Guevavi a sizeable mining operation, employing Yaqui (Indian) labor, had commenced in 1814 (Kessell 1976:239).

It is possible that the income from this mining operation at the old Mission of Guevavi helped to finance the construction of the church at Tumacacori National Monument. This mining operation continued through the 1840's, when Lt. Cave J. Coats, in 1848, noted while passing through the Santa Cruz Valley (see Figure 4).

We have been marching down the Santa Cruz, since leaving the town by the same name, over a good route, and fine little valley, passing several deserted as well as inhabited ranches. The gold mines, near or at Goiababa (Guevavi) are worked at present by some twenty men, and said to be immensely wealthy. These Mexican miners work for \$8 per

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 7

month and their rations. The Apaches are so numerous and severe, however, that the work only goes on at intervals, never over two weeks at a time. As we approached the place yesterday they all broke from the mines for the little Rancho like scared wolves, taking us for Apaches; thought their day had come at last. The owner, or man now working it, fearing that we might stop and take a chance was very particular to let us know that the mine was sterile, and hardly worth the workmen: at the same time he had a chunk of pure gold, which came from it, weighing 2 1/2 oz. and wished to get silver for it \$14.00 to the oz. (Kessell 1976:305).

The Mexican miners, who had appropriated the Piman claim to the lands of Mission Guevavi, were themselves driven away in 1849 by the Apaches. This was the same year that the last of the Pimans were forced, by the Apaches to also leave Tumacacori, and move north to San Xavier del Bac (Kessell 1976:305).

The next mention of Guevavi occurs in 1864, when a consortium of southern Arizona businessmen "reopened the old Gold Mines of Huevavi (Guevavi)...lying in the mountains [REDACTED] (Kessell 1976:305). As stated in their application for the mine that had been abandoned since 1849,

the old shaft of the abandoned gold mine formerly worked by the Jesuit and San Franciscan Fathers known as 'Padres Mine'...

[REDACTED]

In 1889, George Roskruge, a Tucson photographer, photographed the mission ruins (see Figure 5). By then the mines had been abandoned as useless, and the area became cattle grazing land.

During the 1930's the National Park Service undertook a Historic American Buildings Survey study of the ruins of Guevavi (see Figure 6). This was the last documentation done at the site until archeological investigations occurred in the 1960s.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 8

Archeological Investigations: Mission Guevavi received no serious archeological investigations until the Arizona Archeological and Historical Society, led by Dr. William J. Robinson, of the University of Arizona, conducted partial excavation of the convento and plaza area, between 1964 and 1966. Indeed, the location of the mission had never been lost, and the property owners, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Wingfield, had discouraged digging because of the presence of historic burials in the area of the mission site.

In conjunction with this work at the mission the archeological work also concentrated on attempting to locate any associated Indian village of the 17th and 18th centuries. A prior survey of this portion of the Santa Cruz River Valley was conducted by Edward B. Danson, who reported in 1946 that he had found numerous small prehistoric camp sites, but few large prehistoric village sites, in the vicinity of Mission Guevavi. Based on ceramic analysis of these sites they dated from the Late Hohokam Period (1200-1400 AD) (Danson 1946:36).

Dr. William J. Robinson's crew began their work with an intensive field survey of the river valley and the upper terraces for a mile both above and below the site of Mission Guevavi. Crews walked closely spaced transects throughout the entire area without finding any Piman Indian village associated with the mission site. The crew did find a light scatter of archeological material indicative of temporary camps in the river valley, but did not uncover any archeological resource that could be interpreted as a permanent settlement (Robinson, personal communication 1989).

Archeologically, this area of the Santa Cruz, both prehistorically and historically, appears to have been rather sparsely occupied by Native Americans. According to Robinson,

Guevavi itself was not the site of a pre-mission village of any kind. An alternative would seem to be that Guevavi was simply centrally located by the padres in an area of occupation (1976:137).

Having confirmed Danson's earlier findings, Robinson then undertook investigations at Mission Guevavi. Excavation strategy consisted of running one meter wide trenches toward the convento to establish the location of the outside walls. Once the outside walls were identified, a similar trench was begun on the inside of the convento to find the inside walls (Robinson 1976:145). With the inside and outside walls defined they "began to remove fill from selected rooms that appeared least disturbed. When the nature of the fill and the lack of floor features became known, we often left a balk in the room..." (Robinson 1976:146). In this manner, Rooms 3, 4, and 5 (see

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 9

Figure 3) were completely excavated, although Room 4 had an excavation balk left in the interior. Rooms 6 through 11 were only tested. Some rooms were trenched to floor around the perimeter of the interior of the room. Others were just tested enough to locate the interior corners for mapping (Robinson 1976:143).

No work was accomplished at the church due to known historic burials in the structure. It was noted that the church facade projected slightly beyond the convento walls. Examination of the 1889 Roskrue photo (see Figure 5) and the existing adobe ruin verified the existence of a door on the west side of the church that opened onto the plaza of the convento (Robinson 1976:146). In regard to the overall architecture, Robinson noted,

The construction within the convento was remarkably uniform. Foundations, where located, were made of large, somewhat tabular, pieces of local conglomerate. This material would have been available within a few meters of the site and was certainly the only substantial rock available. Floors were exclusively formed with packed earth. The material is probably the same as used to form the adobe bricks, since the floors are dark and thicker than the residual soils on the mesa and must have been imported. The walls are constructed of two parallel rows of adobe bricks. The bricks are sun-dried and reinforced with straw. They tend to light reddish or light brown in color. The bricks were set in dark black mud mortar with a thickness that sometimes is nearly as great as the bricks. The phenomenon of rotating the alternate courses of bricks 90 degrees noted in the church walls was not employed in the convento. Possibly the height of the church required construction techniques that could be omitted for the simpler convento structure. The fill uniformly consisted of adobe wall collapse, occasionally intact but usually reworked to a structureless mass. Only two rooms revealed evidence of roofs. Rooms 5 had many fragments of small vigas (roof timbers) lying on the floor. Although rotted, all appeared to be ponderosa pine with a diameter of less than 20 cm. Many fragments of pine planks were found in Room 8. These appeared to be sawn to an average size of 4 cm in thickness and 15 cm wide (Robinson 1976:147-148).

While conducting trenching operations in the mission plaza in front of the church, Robinson's excavations uncovered a structure 3.45 meters wide and 8.40 meters long, whose construction was different from the church and the convento (see Figures 7 and 8). The structure had a foundation of river cobbles, the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 7 Page 10

walls were only one adobe course thick, and the bricks and mortar were lighter in color. At some later date an interior wall was constructed dividing the building in two (Rooms 1 and 2). In his conclusions, Robinson notes,

The construction of both the original room and the dividing wall was quite different from any used in the church and convento, thus providing no clue on time of construction or purpose. Nor were there any distinctive artifacts to help. It is tempting, however, to speculate that these simple buildings were constructed either by Father San Martin in 1701, or by the returning Jesuits in 1732 (1976:153).

In addition, further trenching in the mission plaza uncovered,

a massive L-shaped foundation of cobbles and lime mortar. There is no evidence that wall ever stood on this foundation, unless it was completely robbed. It was 0.50 (meters) wide on the average and the north - south leg was 15.0 m long, whereas the east - west leg was over 20.0 m. Although the foundation generally enclosed an area south of the convento, it was oriented a few degrees west of the convento alignment. The foundation was laid directly on the rocky mesa and was barely covered since the soil mantle on the natural mesa is extremely thin.

It is tempting to view these foundations as part of San Martin's 'large church' (of 1701) but there is no direct evidence one way or the other (1976:154).

Northwest of the 1751 mission area is the remains of a two room adobe ruin, an acequia, or irrigation ditch, and a stone arrastra, ore crushing feature (see Figure 7). These probably relate to the mining operations noted after Mission Guevavi had been abandoned, and probably date to the first half of the 19th century (Robinson 1976:154). In the excavation of the convento Rooms 3 to 5, Robinson found artifacts and burials which appear to date from this 19th century mining operation, indicating these structures reuse after the Franciscans abandoned the mission in 1773 (Robinson 1976:149-150).

Artifacts recovered from the other areas of the convento definitely dated from the 18th century occupation of Mission Guevavi. These included Piman Plainware, Redware, and Decorated jar and bowl ceramics, shell beads and ornaments, Mexican made majolica and lead-glazed earthenware ceramics, Spanish Olive Jar sherds, Chinese porcelain ceramics, glass trade beads, a crucifix, a portion of a brass candlestick, the top of a large bronze mission bell (see

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number 7 Page 11

Figure 9), a 1771 half real silver coin, lead musket balls, wrought iron nails, and a Spanish style horseshoe nail (Robinson 1976:154-170).

Robinson concluded that the site of Mission Guevavi did not reveal any pre-mission occupation by the native Piman groups that occupied this area of the Santa Cruz River Valley. Siting of the mission in this area probably was a means of controlling local small Piman rancherías, rather than congregating the Indians in a pueblo near the mission. Other than the large foundation, and Rooms 1 and 2 located in the church plaza of the 1751 mission, there is no physical evidence for the 1701 San Martin 'large church' foundation, or the 1732 house built for Grazhoffer, respectively. The low adobe ruins of Mission Guevavi most certainly date from 1751 to 1773, when Guevavi reached its peak as the cabecera Jesuit church of the northern section of the province of Pimeria Alta (Robinson 1976:171-172).

Site Integrity: The site of Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi consists of a low adobe ruin (the highest wall of the church are only about six feet high) [REDACTED] (see Figures 10 and 11). Archeological investigations have demonstrated that the adobe ruins have simply fallen in on themselves preserving features and artifacts relating to the Jesuit and Franciscan periods of occupation. Further work on these ruins could identify the location of the earlier Grazhoffer (1732) and San Martin 1701) churches.

The only intrusions noted were the reoccupation of parts of the convento during the early 19th century; some treasure hunting in the main church; and the intrusion of early 20th century graves in and around the ruins. The owners, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Wingfield, have maintained the site as part of their open range cattle ranch, and discouraged treasure hunters for many years. Ownership of the entire ruins has recently passed to the Archeological Conservancy, a private foundation dedicated to the preservation of significant archeological properties.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 2The Jesuit Mission Frontier of New Spain

The Spanish colonial frontier of northwest New Spain was controlled by the Viceroy of New Spain, who coordinated the King of Spain's interest in the development of his possessions with the different church religious missionary orders whose main interest was the proselytizing of the Catholic religion among the Native Americans. This coordinated approach to the settlement of the frontier grew out of historical and practical necessity.

The conquest of the Valley of Mexico, in 1521, afforded the Crown, the Church, and individual conquistadors an invaluable commodity - the skilled labor of the Aztec population, who lived in settled communities and were accustomed to a system of providing their labor to a ruler as a form of tribute. The first conquistadors established the encomienda system whereby individual Spaniards were assigned a certain number of Indians who tended fields and stock ranches, mined precious ores, or worked in small factories. The encomendero was to teach the Native Americans the Spanish language, Catholic religion, and a Hispanic lifestyle; in short, to completely acculturate the native into the Spanish system. Instead, the encomienda system exploited the Indian and reduced him to the status of a slave (Bannon 1964:191).

Both the Church and the Crown viewed the encomienda system as detrimental to the Indian. The New Laws of 1543 limited the power of the encomendero, and recognized the mission as the main acculturation force in pacifying the Native Americans and educating them into a Spanish lifestyle. The missionaries proved particularly effective in the Chichimec War (1545-1595) by stopping the raiding of nomadic tribes on the silver-rich north central plateau of Mexico (Hennessy 1978:54), which greatly assisted the King of Spain who relied on the silver of New Spain to fund his government and armies in Europe.

The experience of the Chichimec War created a system of coordinated Church and Crown settlement of the frontier. So it was that in New Spain the Church served as an agent of the Crown and "served not alone to Christianize the frontier, but also to aid in extending, holding, and civilizing it" (Bannon 1964:194). For this reason, the government of New Spain provided sinodos, or annual stipends, to support the missionaries, military protection for the missions, and grants to pay for bells, vestments, tools, and other expenses necessary for the founding of missions (Bannon 1964:194-195).

Missions according to the New Laws of 1543, were to accomplish the acculturation of the Native Americans at the missions within a specified time, then the mission would be taken over by the civil authority and secular

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 3

clergy. It was hoped that the mission would become self-sufficient by the selling of agricultural surpluses and manufactures produced by the mission Indians; but, until this occurred, "the Real Hacienda, or Royal Fisc, charged the expenses for presidios and missions to the same account, the Ramo de Guerra, or War Fund" (Bannon 1964:198).

In practice, missions rarely were taken over by the civil authorities on the frontier of New Spain during the Spanish colonial period. But they more than proved their worth by congregating semi-nomadic tribes into pueblos where the missionaries and government could use their labor to extend the frontier, and open it up for settlement and development. While initially important in opening up the frontier, the mission institution was often involved in conflicts with the civil authorities or settlers over land ownership or the use of Indian labor (Bannon 1964:193). The Jesuit Order, or Society of Jesus, were the champions of Indian rights and where necessary, used the power of the Church in Rome in disputes with individuals or even the Viceroy of New Spain.

The Society of Jesus, founded in 1531 by Ignatius Loyola, entered New Spain in 1572 originally as a missionary order; it became known for its commitment to teaching/education because this was one of its major missionary functions. In the case of the Jesuit entry into Mexico, it was allowed to enter on the basis it would engage in missionary activity, but local (viceregal) authorities delayed their leaving Mexico to utilize the highly educated clerics in educational activities in Mexico City. By 1591, they finally entered the missionary field in southern Sinaloa. By 1645, the Jesuits in the western Sierra Madre had advanced the frontier by 600 miles through the founding of thirty-five cabeceras, each with one to four visitas, and baptized over 300,000 Native Americans that lived around the missions, and required the assistance of only 35 soldiers at one presidio to maintain peace. The success of the Jesuits was due to their excellent management skills in stock raising, introduction of Spanish foods, and development of mines (Bannon 1964:129).

In general, the Indians were well disposed to the missionaries, whose skills ensured adequate food, clothing, and housing. The Jesuits also protected them from Spaniards who wished to expropriate their lands and labor. Indian revolts in New Spain can be traced back to this Church versus secular use of Indian land and labor (Bannon 1964:128).

This process of expanding the Jesuit mission frontier in northwest New Spain would continue for 175 years.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 4

In two wide-fronted columns the Jesuits marched northward up the mainland, one up the eastern and one up the western slope of the imponderable Sierra Madre, meeting generally west of the Continental Divide. At the end of the 17th century they crossed the Gulf and moved in a third phalanx into the Peninsula of California (Bannon 1964:231).

By the time the Jesuit Father Eusebio Kino was assigned to the Pimeria Alta, in the late 17th century, the Society of Jesus had extended their missionary frontier 1000 miles northward from their beginnings in southern Sinaloa, and covered an area the size of France. In New Spain, Brazil, Ecuador, Patagonia, and New France, the Jesuits were equal to the task of missionizing the Native Americans where the civilian authorities could not cope with these groups (Bannon 1964:230).

Colonial officials depended upon missionaries to concentrate scattered native populations at a relatively few mission sites, and there to foster Indian farming and stock-raising, and teach European crafts while firming neophyte military allegiances to Spain. Ideally, at least, the missionary's goal was legally to prepare Native Americans to become tribute-paying Christian subjects of the crown in one decade (Dobyns 1976:6).

Father Kino would be responsible for the last northward push of the Jesuit mission frontier into present day southern Arizona, as a prelude to linking the missions of Pimeria Alta to those on the Baja California Peninsula, and pushing northward into California. Unfortunately, shortages of money and missionaries would not allow for the Jesuits to advance beyond this "Rim of Christendom", as it was called by the Spanish colonial historian Herbert E. Bolton, who chronicled the life of Father Kino.

The establishment of Mission Guevavi by Father Kino, in 1701, represented the final northern extension of the Jesuit mission chain of cabeceras that stretched 1000 miles southward into Mexico and represented 175 years of transforming the lives of hundreds of thousands of Native Americans. This accomplishment would be a major factor in assisting the Viceroy of New Spain to claim this territory and allow for the peaceful development of the northwest frontier of New Spain.

In 1767, the Jesuit mission frontier in New Spain would end with the following Royal Edict.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number 8 Page 5

Because of weighty considerations which His Majesty keeps hidden in his heart, the entire Society of Jesus and all Jesuits must leave the country and their establishments and properties must be turned over to the Royal Treasurer (Kessell 1976:14).

The main reason for the breaking of the compact between the Jesuits and the Crown lies in the autonomy enjoyed by the missionaries in regard to Spanish Law which they used to protect their Indians from what the Jesuits perceived as government exploitation. The reign of Charles III represented,

an unprecedented climate of reform in which the king and his ministers took the initiative for the good of the Spanish people. Guided by a high sense of duty and convinced that absolute control was a prerequisite of reform, Charles eliminated checks on the royal power. Through a more efficient and centralized professional bureaucracy he drew the Spanish nation closer together politically than it had ever been and at the same time stimulated the economy. A devout and morally unassailable Catholic, he took it as his royal duty to limit clerical immunities and to subordinate and reform the church in his realms. In the missions of Pimeria Alta that meant the end of the Jesuits (Kessell 1976:8).

As an absolute ruler, Charles III required absolute obedience from his subjects. The Society of Jesus, who owed their loyalty to the Pope, had to be replaced by the Franciscans who were ordered by the Viceroy of New Spain to attend only to the spiritual ministry of the Native Americans (Kessell 1976:19).

Mission Guevavi as a Jesuit cabecera

Mission Guevavi was the first cabecera to be founded by the Jesuit religious order on the northwest frontier of New Spain in what would later become southern Arizona. Its fundamental role was to prepare the local Piman Indian groups for assimilation into Spanish colonial society by the training of the Indians in those elements of Spanish culture and the Catholic religion they would need to take their place as citizens of the Spanish empire. As John Bannon notes,

the essence of the mission was discipline, religious, moral, social, and industrial...the Pimas of Arizona, could be instructed in their native towns, but wandering and scattered tribes must be

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 6

assembled and established in pueblos, and kept there, by force if necessary (1964:200).

Jesuit attempts to acculturate the Pimans were by no means as disruptive to the Native society as were the Spanish settlers, who came to the Pimeria Alta and expropriated the best alluvial floodplain land that the Pimans had traditionally used. Jesuits, like Kino, had distributed gifts and food to the Pimans for a full ten years to ease the acculturation process before establishing the cabecera. Once other Jesuits, like Father Garrucho, were installed at Guevavi, they built a mission system that gave the Pimans a better subsistence alternative to their old ways - one that would ensure an adequate amount of food for all throughout the year. What caused the Pima Revolt of 1751 was the same thing that the Jesuit fathers sought to prevent - the loss of the best food producing lands in a arid desert environment (Bannon 1974:151).

The Jesuit frontier system of northwest New Spain that was so successful in the development of western Mexico reached its culmination at the site of Mission Guevavi. Mission Guevavi since its founding as a cabecera in 1701, was the largest Jesuit religious facility on the northern frontier of the Pimeria Alta. The Jesuits created two other cabeceras in southern Arizona, one at San Xavier del Bac, and San Agustin del Tucson. Both of these latter facilities were short-lived, and the Jesuit components have lost their integrity or cannot be accurately located, respectively (Fr. Charles Polzer, Dr. Bernard L. Fontana, and Mr. Jack Williams, personal communication 1989, Barnes 1971:61-62).

In 1710, a year before his death, Father Kino wrote a report on the Jesuit missions of the Pimeria Alta, and described the benefits of acculturation his order had brought to the Pimans in the form of material goods.

There are already thrifty and abundant fields...of wheat, maize, frijoles, chickpeas, beans, lentils, bastard chickpeas (garbanzos), etc. There are orchards, and in them vineyards for wine for the Masses; and fields of sweet cane for syrup and panocha, and with the favor of Heaven, before long, for sugar. There are many Castilian fruit trees, such as figs, quinces, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, pears, apples, mulberries, etc., and all sorts of garden stuff, such as cabbage, lettuce, onions, garlic, anise, pepper, mustard, mint, etc.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 7

Other temporal means are the plentiful ranches, which are already stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats, many droves of mares, horses, and pack animals, mules, as well as horses, for transportation and commerce, and very fat sheep, producing much tallow, suet, and soap, which is already manufactured in abundance (Bannon 1964:207-208).

Father Kino's Jesuit Missions in the Settlement of California

The site of Mission Guevavi, besides being the only intact Jesuit cabecera in the United States, is also prominently associated with the internationally famous Jesuit explorer and missionary, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who first visited the site of Guevavi rancheria in 1691, and dedicated it as the northernmost cabecera on the Northwest frontier of New Spain in 1701. While Mission Guevavi's visitas of San Xavier del Bac and San Jose de Tumacacori, were also established and visited by Kino, they have achieved National Historic Landmark status more on the basis of their Franciscan church structures, rather than their association with Kino and the Jesuit mission period. Only Mission Guevavi represents the Jesuit mission experience.

Established as a missionary order, the Society of Jesus missionaries were among the most highly educated individuals that entered the missionary field in New Spain. Father Kino turned down an appointment to a European university to pursue a missionary career. His training in the fields of science and cartography would serve him well on the frontier as a trained observer.

Kino first was assigned to the Baja California mission field, but in 1687 was promoted to Father Rector of Mission Dolores in Pimeria Alta. From his base at Mission Dolores, in present day Sonora, Kino conducted numerous expeditions into southern Arizona. In the 1690's, he went usually unescorted to visit Indian rancherias along the Gila River (in the vicinity of present day Phoenix, Arizona), and was the first European to describe the ruins of Casa Grande National Monument. He also journeyed to the northwest where he visited the Yuman Indians on the banks of the Colorado River. While there he encountered people who had come up from the Baja California Peninsula to trade blue sea shells for ornaments to the Yumans. From conversations with these groups he was able to discern that Baja California and California were not an island, as many 17th century map makers had supposed, but were actually a part of the continental mainland.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 8

Realizing that only a few hundred miles separated the Baja California Jesuit missions from those in the Pimeria Alta, Kino began a program of mapping in the positions of rivers, Indian rancherías, and mountain ranges, as a means of informing the Spanish colonial authorities about the prospects for creating a new chain of missions that would effectively link the two areas together.

In his report to the King of Spain, in 1710, he outlined how this new Jesuit mission chain could subjugate the Apaches; develop trade between Sonora, Santa Fe, and the Hopi lands; form the foundations for missions in California; and establish a northern coastal base for provisioning the Manila Trade Galleons (Wagoner 1977:89). Fundamental to this program was the extension of the Pimeria Alta mission chain, which led to the founding of the northern most cabecera, Mission Guevavi, by Kino, as what he hoped would be the first stepping stone to link up the Sonoran missions with the Baja California missions and push northward into California.

Unfortunately, events transpired that would delay sending the necessary funds and missionaries to the northwest frontier of New Spain. Kino's vision would not be fulfilled until the 1760's, when the Jesuits "northern missions played an important role on the strategic frontier when the Spanish empire seemed to be threatened by...Russian expansion" (Hennessy 1978:56). But instead of a Jesuit mission chain, Kino's plan would be implemented by the Franciscan Father Junipero Serra (Kessell 1976:18).

Following the removal of the Jesuit fathers by royal decree, in 1767, a contingent of Franciscans were sent to the northwest frontier. Among this first contingent was Father Serra. Like Kino, he would gain first-hand experience with the missions in Baja California and Sonora, and realize the necessity of linking the two areas with missions. The threat of Russian expansion south from Alaska into Spanish claimed California roused the colonial authorities to outfit Father Serra with the necessities to establish the California missions. The old Jesuit missions Kino and his fellow Jesuits had planted in southern Arizona over fifty years before would be central to the success of the California enterprise.

Officials and very particularly Serra, hoped that a land route from "food wealthy" Sonora might be developed to solve provisioning problems until California became economically self-sufficient (Bannon 1974:161).

United States Department of the Interior
National Park ServiceNational Register of Historic Places
Continuation SheetSection number 8 Page 9

In the same year that Mission Guevavi was abandoned (1773) the Tubac presidio commander, Juan Bautista de Anza, whose father reestablished Guevavi in 1732, led a group of Sonoran settlers north up the Santa Cruz Valley to the Gila River, and thence west to the confluence of the Colorado River along a route through the desert marked on maps Father Kino had blazed three-quarters of a century before. From this point, Anza proceeded west through the California desert to the coast where Serra awaited the Sonoran supplies and settlers Anza was bringing to ensure California would be colonized by the Spanish. Kino's plan had finally been achieved, and with the northward movement of the mission frontier, and the change in the make up of the Pimeria Alta, Mission Guevavi would be abandoned having served the purpose of its founder.

In 1966, a team of Mexican and American archeologists and historians located the physical remains of Father Eusebio Kino, in Magdalena, Sonora, where he was buried in 1711 (Fontana 1968:45). Today his final resting place is the site of an annual religious pilgrimage each October for the descendants of Hispanic and Native American peoples from all over Sonora and southern Arizona. In this manner, the accomplishments of Father Kino in the settling of the northwest frontier of New Spain are remembered and annually celebrated by people from both sides of the International border.

Jesuit Missionization Research

Within the present boundaries of the United States, the majority of the physical remains, either structural or archeological, relating to the Spanish colonial missions are those that were developed by the Franciscan order. Yet throughout the world-wide Spanish empire other orders, such as Jesuit and Dominican, also played a major role in the establishment of religious facilities that were important in controlling Native American populations and extending the frontiers of the Spanish empire.

As noted above, Mission Guevavi was part of the northern most Jesuit mission frontier that reached southern Arizona in the late 17th century. The other Jesuit cabeceras and visitas in southern Arizona have yet to be located or have had their integrity compromised. Mission Guevavi, therefore, is the sole remaining Jesuit mission known in the United States, which can be investigated in the future to develop a clearer picture of the Jesuit mission efforts (Father Charles Polzer, Dr. Bernard L. Fontana, and Dr. William Robinson, personal communication 1989, Barnes 1971:61-62).

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service****National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet**Section number 8 Page 10

A continuing research interest among anthropologists and historians concerned with the Spanish colonial period was the effect of mission activities on the Native American peoples and their culture. Work by Dr. James Deetz, at La Purisima Mission, in California suggests Franciscan missionization activities on the Chumash Indians varied according to the sexual differentiation roles of labor assigned to these Native Americans (1978:180).

Mission Guevavi could provide a basis for determining if there were major differences in the manner in which Jesuits and Franciscans attempted to acculturate Native Americans. For example, Franciscan missions invariably contained housing areas for Native American groups. At Guevavi, however, archeological investigations and surveys have yet to identify any associated Native American village. Future archeological and historical investigations at the site could help determine if this is due to a difference in the missionization approaches between the orders, or if the lack of village site is peculiar to Mission Guevavi.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number 9 Page 1

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United States Department of the Interior
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National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Section number 9 Page 2

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section number _____ Page _____



Figure 9. Miscast bell crown with casting sprues attached.
From Robinson and Barnes 1976:167.