1960

The Dominican Mission Foundations in Baja, California, 1769-1822

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THE DOMINICAN MISSION FOUNDATIONS

IN BAJA CALIFORNIA

1769-1822

by

Reverend Albert Bertrand Nieser, O. P.

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June
1960
LIFE

Reverend Albert Bertrand Nieser, O. P., was born in Barberton, Ohio, April 1, 1906.

He was graduated from Sacred Heart Academy, Akron, Ohio, June 15, 1924, and from the Catholic University of America, May 29, 1942, with the degree of Master of Arts.

From 1939 to 1949 the author taught Medieval and Church History at Fenwick High School, Oak Park, Illinois. From 1943 to 1949 he followed a program of graduate study at Loyola University. During 1949 - 1950 he collected documents in Texas, California, Lower California, Mexico, Spain, and Rome. From 1952 to 1957 the author was chaplain at the Convent of Saint Catherine, Racine, Wisconsin, and taught Religious Life, Church History, and Sacred Scripture to the Dominican Novices.

The author has written an unpublished Master of Arts thesis entitled The Status of Research on the Rule of Saint Augustine, for the Catholic University of America, 1942.
The purpose of this dissertation is to trace the origins and progress of the nine missions founded by the friars of the Order of Preachers in La Frontera, the northern section of the Peninsula of Lower California. When the Jesuits were exiled from their missions on both sides of the Gulf of California in 1767, the Franciscans attempted to man the establishments in Lower California, but in 1769 they had begun their move to Upper California. The Lower California field was transferred to the care of the Dominicans, who soon began to extend their missions to the wild frontier in the north and ultimately erected nine. The life span of each of the new foundations was different, consequently the period chosen for detailed coverage in this study is from 1769, when the Dominicans made their initial moves to evangelize the Indians of Lower California, to Mexican independence in 1822, when the whole nature of the missions had changed. It is not within the scope of this study to narrate the history of the already established missions as administered by the sons of St. Dominic.

The published accounts of the nine missions and missionaries in the Frontier are few and sketchy. Father Sales, one of the founders, published his Noticia in 1794, but was off the mission scene before the foundations were completed. Hubert Howe Bancroft's few pages are incidental to his general histories and are not always accurate. Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, concerned with the Franciscan missions, adds little to the Dominican picture. In 1935,
Peveril Weigs, 3rd., published his excellent study: The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California. This is a model of research in geography describing in great detail the physical features of each mission, the terrain, the climate, crops, animals, communications, and buildings, with fine field sketches and pictures. The missionaries and their labors, however, are missing. To supply these elements the writer has discovered many documents not known to preceding writers.

All of the translations of the original documents are his own. The English translation of Sales' Noticia is usually that of Charles N. Rudkin, Observations on California 1772-1790, published by Glen Dawson, Los Angeles, in 1956. Occasionally, a slight variant translation of Sales is given, when clarity is necessary.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION OF THE DOMINICAN PRIARS TO THE NEW WORLD

Sixteen years after Columbus opened the New World of the West and a hundred years before the arrival of the first English settlers at Jamestown, the fathers of the Order of Saint Dominic were instructed to embark on a missionary enterprise in the West Indies. During the following three centuries a long succession of Dominicans arrived in the Americas and spread their labors over the vast colonial empire of Spain. Some became chaplains of the conquerors, some built mission systems and cared for the Indians throughout the centuries, some undertook parochial cares, some were professors in colleges. In the long list of European missionaries who came to make the Western Hemisphere the scene of their unselfish activities there can be found historians, theologians, anthropologists, sociologists, explorers, architects, artists, musicians, and not a few who forfeited their lives in spreading the Faith.

The long story of all the efforts of the Dominican friars is still to be told. Chapters of the history have been written, prominently those pertaining to the famous Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, and those on the Dominican missions of Florida and Texas. A few biographies of notable men of the Order have appeared in Spanish. Much remains to be done and many documents pertaining to the work of the Dominicans have been left untouched in archives over the Americas, in Spain and in Rome. It will be the purpose of this

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2
Domíni can Mission Scenes in the New World

Provincias Internas

Gulf of Mexico

Texas

Florida

Amartyrs

New World

Mexico City

Florida

Caribbean Sea

South America

Gulf of Mexico

Mexico

Guatemala

Spain

Lower California

Dominican Mission Scenes in the New World

500 miles
dissertation to indicate some documentation and to exploit some materials pertaining to one small section of a vast field. The pages to be written concern missions in the upper part of the Peninsula of Lower California. The period to be stressed is the thirty years from 1770 to 1800, when the Dominican chain was constructed, prior to the period of decline, from 1800 to 1855, when the last Dominicans left Lower California.

The Island of Hispaniola was scarcely conquered and settled before the need of missionaries became acute. If the native populations were to be Christianized, it was most urgent to have missionaries. It was very clear that the encomenderos and settlers from Spain could or would not do anything about the matter, in the frontier conditions that existed. The Spanish Crown was obliged by the terms of the Patronato Real to see to the Christianization and civilization of the natives. For such purposes the Portuguese kings through the fifteenth century had been calling upon the Franciscans and Dominicans for the evangelization of their African and Indian colonies. Spain in the absence of available diocesan clergy followed the same procedure in America. Ferdinand II of Spain sent his request for Dominicans to the headquarters of the Order in Rome, and the response to the request is the first known document respecting the coming of the Friars Preachers to the New World. In this letter, dated at Rome, October 3, 1508, the Most Reverend Master General of Preachers, Tommaso de Vio Gaetani, later to become the renowned Cardinal Cajetan, formally ordered Father Tomas de Matienzo, the Vicar of the Province of Spain, to send, with the permission of the Spanish king fifteen friars "to the Island of Hispaniola, situated in the Indian waters, for the purpose of obtaining places and convents there, and of preaching the Word of God."
There is some confusion about the date of departure, the time of arrival of the first group of Dominicans, as well as about the names and number in the group. According to a royal cédula, dated February 4, 1509, to the officials of the Casa de Contratación, forty Dominicans were supposed to be sent ultimately to the New World. Father Benno Biermann, a Dominican, speaks of the fifteen Dominican friars, mentioned above, as the "first group" which, with five subsequent groups, may have constituted the designated number of forty.¹

Without entering into the question whether the pioneer group consisted of fifteen Dominicans or four, we must accept the fact that a group of four left Spain on November 4, 1509, and arrived at an unknown date in Hispaniola, at least before April 10, 1510.⁵ These four Dominicans, for whose transportation to the New World the Master of the ship Espíndola received twelve ducats in gold, where Father Pedro de Córdoba, Father Antonio de Montesinos, Father Bernardo de Santo Domingo, and an unnamed laybrother.⁶ This band of four usually is referred to as the first group of Dominicans to come to the New World. According to Biermann, the group of fifteen, mentioned above, arrived in 1509, and the group of four came later. Biermann writes that a third group of five set out after January 1, 1510, and three groups of seven, five, and four Dominicans came to the New World in 1511.⁷

The chief promoter of the American mission from the beginning was Fray Domingo de Mendoza, the older brother of Fray García de Loaysa, who became the Master General of the Order from 1518 to 1524. In the Register of Cajetan, it is stated, under the date of October 19, 1508, that Fray Domingo de Mendoza, is permitted to go to the Indies, as the Vicar of Spain.⁸ Also the Master General on April 10, 1510, ordered those brethren, who had been bound by obligation to
go to the Indies, to put themselves under Mendoza.\(^9\)

When the first Dominicans arrived at Santo Domingo on the Island of Hisp aniola,\(^{10}\) they were given shelter in a house belonging to Pedro de Lumb reras, to whom they had been recommended.\(^{11}\) The Friars Preachers built their first American convent in Santo Domingo in 1512.\(^{12}\) How was the convent and church of the Dominicans financed? On November 20, 1510, the King of Spain had sent a letter to Admiral Don Diego Columbus, directing him to assign to the Dominicans a suitable site for their convent.\(^{13}\) On December 8, the King guaranteed to them for ten years the annual amount of 10,000 maravedís for the construction of the convent,\(^{14}\) and on December 27, 1510, the King ordered 300 gold pieces to be paid to them annually by the Treasurer and the Receiver of the Fines.\(^{15}\) But, as the latter official explained that his treasury did not have enough money, on March 22, 1511, the General Treasurer of the Indies was instructed to make the payments.\(^{16}\)

Immediately the fathers spoke out against the cruelty of the encomenderos and the repartimiento system. Father Montesinos is credited with being the first missionary to denounce publicly the oppression of the Indians as disgraceful to the Spanish kingdom and sinful in the eyes of God. This was in 1511. In the following year he found himself and his Superior, Father Pedro de Córdoba, on shipboard for Spain cited as disturbers. In Spain they pleaded their cause successfully, and moreover constructively, for Córdoba got approval for the mission system as a substitute for the encomienda system and thereby became known in history as the inventor of the mission system in America.\(^{17}\) This was actually the first test case in the long struggle of the encomenderos to control Indian labor. The result was that
On December 27, 1512, the king issued the first of the royal regulations, the Laws of Burgos, aiming to improve the conditions of the aborigines in his colonies and defining their relations with the whites. But soon it was found necessary to clarify these laws, which was done at Valladolid on July 28, 1513.18

More zealous than ever, the two friars returned to America about 1514, bringing with them, fourteen additional Dominicans from the Convent of Salamanca, among whom was Father Domingo de Betanzos, the future founder of the Province of Santiago in New Spain.19

The Convent of Santa Cruz, Hispaniola, became the springboard and the base from which the Friars Preachers spread rapidly, carrying the holy Faith throughout the Americas. These Dominicans of Hispaniola, not yet an independent Province but a Vicariate, were placed under the authority of the new Province of Baetica or Andalusia, when this Province was created by a pontifical decree of October 10, 1514.20 In 1530 the Vicariate became the Province of Santa Cruz.21

From this base in the city of Santo Domingo the Order began to extend its missionary activities, following the general pattern of the Spanish conquests and settlements. The Dominicans founded houses in Concepcion de la Vega, in Santiago de la Vega, and in Cotuy, all on the Island of Hispaniola.22 It had been supposed that four Dominicans in 1511, went to Cuba with its first Governor, Diego Velasquez, but according to the sources they went in 1514.23 Others went to Jamaica where Governor Juan de Esquivel was establishing the rule of Spain. The date for this foundation cannot be accurately ascertained, but according to the findings of Biermann, it was between 1511 and 1514.24 Nor are the records clear regarding the first entrance of the Dominicans into the Island of Puerto Rico.25 The earliest known fact is that Father
Montesinos set out for the Pearl Coast of Venezuela in the Autumn of 1513, fell sick and was left at Puerto Rico, and on his recovery, returned to Hispaniola. In 1524 his Superiors gave him six friars of the Order to found a convent in the Island of San Juan de Puerto Rico.

Reports of discoveries of tribes on the Pearl Coast proved to be a strong lure for those evangelizing Hispaniola. Three Dominicans, Montesinos and Francisco de Córdoba, with a laybrother, Juan Garces, left Santo Domingo for the Spanish Main in the Autumn of 1513. Montesinos was forced to return, as stated above. Córdoba and Garces reaching Piritu, twenty leagues to the west of Cumaná, in the Province of Maracapana, were well received by the natives, who marvelled at their mild manners, their lack of swords, and their utter disinterestedness in material things, so much in contrast with the ways of the soldiers. Very soon after the opening of these happy relations, the anger of the tribe at all white men was aroused when a number of the natives were carried off into captivity by one of the pearl traders. Córdoba, held in bondage, promised to effect the liberation of the kidnapped Indians within four months, but time ran out before he could get word to the Spanish officials or receive help. The father and the laybrother were slain by the natives in 1514 or 1516.

Other Dominicans promptly volunteered to take the place of their martyred brethren. Pedro de Córdoba, as Vicar of Santo Domingo, whose relationship with Francisco is not known, sent a second group in 1516 or 1517. These Dominicans arrived on the coast of Venezuela, at Chiribichi, five leagues west of Cumaná, half-way between Cumaná, and Guanta, where they built their convent, named Santa Fe, by 1520. On September 3, 1520, the
Indian Chief, Maragallay, led his band into the convent and killed a father, a laybrother, and nine others. Fortunately, two other Dominicans, one of whom was the Father Vicar, Tomás Ortiz, were off on the island of Cubagua, and thus were spared.

About this time, probably in 1519, Father Pedro de Córdoba dispatched a group of Friars Preachers to the Isthmus of Panama under the direction of Father Reginald Pedrazza. When Panama City was founded by Pedrarius Dávila in 1519 it was named the See of the Diocese of Santa María in Darién. Other Dominicans reached the Isthmus and their eyes were soon turned to the western region of Pacific South America. Through the next score of years Dominicans were with the conquerors of the South as chaplains or were occupied with evangelizing the natives after the passage of the soldiers. To describe the origins of the Dominican missions and Provinces in the vast Andean area would require another paper.

While Panama was being founded, in 1519 Hernán Cortés began his frequently described conquest of the Aztecs. By 1521 he had not only captured the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán on the site of Mexico City, but he had written letters and reports of the magnitude, wealth, and dense population of the cities which stirred the minds of Europeans. Five priests with his expedition wrote of the great need of missionaries for the Mexican scene. Pope Leo X issued a papal Bull in April, 1521, which gave two Franciscans authority to enter the new land and to act as bishops, and by August of 1522 the first three of a long line of Franciscans reached Vera Cruz. In 1524 the famous "Twelve Apostles" of the Franciscans reached Mexico City.

The Dominican fathers also heeded the cry for help and arrangements were
made for a band to start missions. Father Tomás Ortiz, after his narrow escape from death at the hands of the natives of Venezuela, had returned to Spain. From 1522 to 1524 he and Montesinos were at the Court of Spain, engaged in important negotiations regarding the Indians. In 1524 it was resolved by the Council of the Indies, whose President was the illustrious Dominican, Garcías de Loaysa (1518-1524), confessor to the Emperor Charles V, that twelve Dominicans, along with the twelve Franciscans should be sent to New Spain. Just as the Dominicans were ready to sail, Ortiz was required to return to the Court. A junta was about to be formed of learned and conscientious persons to discuss the question of Indian slavery, and the advice of Father Ortiz was required. So he delegated his authority of Vicar-General to Montesinos, who was to convey the Dominican friars to the convent of Santo Domingo in Hispaniola, and there await his arrival.

The Franciscans and Dominicans set sail together, the Dominicans under the temporary Vicar-General, Antonio Montesinos, and the Franciscans under their Superior, Martín de Valencia. They left San Lúcar, January 24, 1524, and arrived at Hispaniola, March 13, where the Dominicans were landed, while the Franciscans pursued their journey to New Spain.

Father Ortiz was delayed for two years, and finally he with seven companions, sailed to the New World with Luis Ponce de León, who, as the Royal Investigator, had orders to arrest Cortés of New Spain, to succeed him in command, and to place him on trial. On February 2, 1526, they left San Lúcar, and arriving at Hispaniola, Ortiz found that three of his friars, originally destined for New Spain, had died. However, he was successful in enlisting four more friars, who, joining him and his seven companions, sailed with Luis
Ponce de León for Mexico on the last day of May, 1526, and arrived at Vera Cruz, June 19. They then proceeded to Mexico City and were there early in July.39

The newcomers were welcomed to Mexico by the Franciscans, with whom they were to collaborate in the work of Christianizing the hundreds of thousands of natives around the Lake of Texcoco and beyond the mountains in the populous cities of Tlascala and Puebla de los Angeles. First, the Dominicans had to establish their convents and then their province. The customary procedure was followed for missionary lands, that is, areas not yet formed into parishes and bishoprics.

A brief statement on the organization of the Dominican Order is fitting. According to the latest revised Constitutions of the Dominican Order, a convent or priory "must possess at least eight clerical brethren of whom at least five over and above the prior are vocal['that is, having active voice']; in these convents the brethren enjoy the right of electing their prior and his socius when the prior goes to the Provincial Chapter."40 A convent is called a major convent if at least thirty brethren are maintained in it.41 The foundation and existence of the convent required a prior as governor, and a doctor as teacher to instruct the members of the community and others outside the walls. Until 1475 the convent was not permitted to own lands or receive rentals, but on June 1, 1475, Pope Sixtus IV granted such ownership as residing in the convent, and not in the individual members, and from that time the convents could acquire property and perpetual rentals.42

At first there was no definite term of office for the prior. In 1532 the Master General, Fray Juan Fenario [John Du Feynier] decreed that the office of prior may last for three years, according to the custom in the Province of
Spain. However, Domingo de Betanzos presented reasons to Pope Clement VII regarding the great inconvenience to the new Province of Santiago de Mexico for so long a term of office, and the Holy Father on March 6, 1533, ordered that the prior's term of office, for the new province would be two years. In accordance with an Apostolic decree of July 11, 1862, the General Chapter fixed the prior's term of office at three years throughout the whole Order.

Below the rank of convent is the formed house, in which at least six professed religious live, four of whom are priests. Then there is the lower ranking non-formed house, in which a lesser number of brethren live. The superior in charge of a convent is called a prior; the head of a non-prioral formed house is called the superior of the house; the one who is in charge of a house that is not formed, is called the vicar of the place.

The Dominican friars have no vow of stability, and so they can be changed from one convent or house to another, sent from one locality to another. The manual labor of the convent or house is delegated to laybrothers in order to give the priests full time to preach and to write.

While a group of convents is in the process of formation, a Provincial Vicariate is set up, ruled by a Vicar General, who is appointed for four years by the Master General of the Order. A union of several houses under the same superior, at least three of which houses are convents, is then erected into a Province. Likewise at least thirty brethren with the right to vote are to be assigned in the Province.

Once a group of convents has been officially constituted a Province, then the vocals of each convent elect one socius or delegate to accompany the prior to the Provincial Chapter. The superiors and socii or delegates in turn elect
the Prior Provincial who rules over the whole province, over all the convents and houses.

The Provincial's term of office at first had no fixed number of years. However, Pope Clement VII, at the time when he limited the prior's term to two years for the new Province of Santiago de Mexico, also fixed the Provincial's term for three years for that one province. But "on September 24, 1568, there was elected a Provincial in the Convent of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, Fray Juan de Córdova, and the Provincial's term of four years began, the first of this number." By an Apostolic decree of July 11, 1862, the General Chapter fixed the Provincial's term at four years throughout the whole Order.

The Provincial Chapter is supreme in its area. It elects two delegates, called General Definitor and Socius, who with the Prior Provincial attend the General Chapter of all the provincial delegates and elect the Master General. For a long time the Master General's term was indefinite or for life, but Pope Pius VII in 1804, reduced it to six years, and Pius IX, in 1862, fixed it at twelve years.

During the first year of the Dominicans in Mexico it is not known what plans were made originally for the distribution of the twelve new laborers, but whatever the program it was disastrously upset. They no sooner commenced their task of civilizing the natives by preaching and catechetical instructions than death began to intervene. Five died within a year. While the causes are unknown it may be surmised that the Dominicans were the victims of one of the major epidemics of the century. Cruz y Moya gives the reason for the misfortune as the intemperate climate. Father Ortiz, seeing his little band fast diminishing in number, decided to return to Spain to recruit more friars. Three
sick fathers, Pedro Zambrano, Diego Ramírez, and Alonso de la Virgenes, accompanied the Vicar General back to Spain. 53

This left in Mexico only one Dominican priest, Domingo de Betanzos, to carry on, aided by Gonzalo Lucero, the deacon, and Vicente de las Casas, the novice. Betanzos looms large as the main figure in the organization and the founding of the great centers of activity of the Dominicans in New Spain.

Betanzos was born in León in Spain, about 1486, and not much is known of his early life, except that he studied law at the famed University of Salamanca. He followed the Rule of Saint Benedict while living as a hermit for about five years. After this period on the Island of Ponza, he was received into the Dominican Order in 1510, and about 1514, as stated above, he arrived at Santo Domingo. There, after two years of missionary work, his zeal for the salvation of the bodies as well as the souls of the Island Indians caused him to write a letter to Bartolomé de las Casas, which as a polemic against white atrocities perpetrated upon the natives, became one of the foundation stones of the Leyenda Negra, the Black Legend of Spanish cruelty. 54 Little is known of his life and work on the Island of Santo Domingo until his arrival in Mexico ten years later, in 1526.

Betanzos had built a house in Mexico City and had opened a novitiate. The men were considered as missionaries and were dependent upon the Vicariate of Santo Domingo, which in turn was under the Province of Baetica, Spain, until 1530, when Santo Domingo became the independent Province of the Holy Cross. 55 In New Spain Betanzos had to meet the problem posed by some of his brethren who wished first to establish missions, while he favored founding major convents. 56 He envisioned twelve convents in the large Indian settlements, each with thirty
friars, but with the death of some, the departure of others, and his never ending instructions to the Indians, he had to modify his ideas.\footnote{51}

With the coming of the new Vicar General, Vicente de Santa Maria, and his band of twenty four recruits in 1528,\footnote{52} Betanzos found himself comparatively free to expand the Order. Thus in 1529, he, with his companion, went to Santiago, Guatemala, and built a church and convent which was put in charge of Bartolomé de las Casas and his brethren, Luis Cancer, Pedro de Angulo and Rodrigo de Ladranda in 1536.\footnote{59} Betanzos in 1529 sent Fathers Bernardino de Minaya and Gonzalo Lucero to found the convent and church of Santo Domingo in the city of Oaxaca.\footnote{60} The establishment became a priory in 1547, according to the Dominican chronicler, Fray Juan Bautista Méndez.\footnote{61}

Betanzos was also instrumental in founding a large convent and church in Puebla de los Angeles.\footnote{62} The convents and churches, founded in Mexico City, Oaxaca, and Puebla de los Angeles, were named Santo Domingo. Each Santo Domingo church and convent became part of the long history of the civilization of Mexico. The earliest missions indicate clearly that the first line of march of the friars, under the guidance of Betanzos, was southeast toward Guatemala City and the province of Tuzulutlán, or "Land of War," as it was called because of the strife going on for its control between the "men of Cortés" and the "men of Pedrarius." The Dominicans soon made it a "Land of Peace."

The problems confronting Betanzos were many in 1530. The land called New Spain was still being explored by the conquerors. Where they worked was rugged and mountainous, hot and treacherous. The variety of Indian tongues and customs in the many Indian villages scattered on the mountain sides and valleys indicated long, trying days of preparation in languages. The poverty of the
people was apparent. Tropical diseases, dangerous to the newcomers, and European diseases dangerous to the natives posed a dilemma. The distance and difficulties of communication with his superiors on the Island of Santo Domingo had to be solved. It was clear that full authority to solve problems on the scene must be obtained, as well as authority to obtain lands, building supplies and rentals for the support of the convents and missions.

When all the problems and possibilities had been weighed by Betanzos and his friars, he made the long journey to Rome in 1531. His request for the erection of a separate province met a very favorable hearing. The new Master-General, Very Reverend John Du Feynier (1532-1538), brought his request to the attention of Pope Clement VII. By papal authority on July 11, 1532, the new Province of Santiago de Mexico, embracing all Mexico or New Spain, was created. The mother Province of Santa Cruz was to include the Spanish islands of the West Indies. 63

Betanzos delayed in Europe until all the documents regarding the official creation of the Province of Santiago de Mexico were drawn up and signed. They were received in July, 1534, and in 1535 Betanzos reached Mexico from Spain as the Vicar General. Acting in this capacity he summoned a Provincial Chapter, which met on August 24, 1535, and elected him Provincial for the following three years. When Betanzos completed his term in 1538 the manpower of Dominicans was sixty-two. 64 As Betanzos was preparing for a holy death in Spain in 1549, he could look back to many achievements of his own and of his fellow Dominicans in the New World. At his death there were three major convents in Mexico City, Puebla, and Oaxaca, two smaller convents at Vera Cruz and on the Isle of San Juan de Ulloa, besides those of Chiapas and Guatemala. There was one college,
San Luis, in Los Angeles near Tlascala. There were twenty-two houses among the
Mexicans, seventeen houses among the Mixtecs, and twenty-one houses among the
Zapotees. His Province was well established.

Before turning to the northward movements of the Dominicans it might be
well to indicate briefly the developments that took place in the south on the
foundations laid by Betanzos. There were three divisions of the Province of
Santiago de Mexico. The Province of San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala was
created in 1551, the Province of San Hipólito, Martir, de Oaxaca, was
initiated in 1592, and the division was definitive in 1596. Sixty years
later, in 1656, the Province of Puebla de los Angeles was founded.

Betanzos had witnessed stirring time and famous events. He and his friars
were deeply interested in the lands of the "Northern Mystery." Some dominicans
had been with Ayllon in the disastrous first settlement of 1526 in Virginia.
Others had been with De Soto on the great exploration of the South and the
Mississippi, at the very time when Fray Carbajal was exploring the Amazon. Fray
Luis Cancer de Barbastro was on his way to martyrdom in 1549. In 1553 five
Dominicans were washed up on the shores of Texas and all but one perished by
arrows of the natives. The years 1559-1561 found five Dominican priests and one
laybrother from Mexico with the colonizing expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y
Arellano. In 1561, when Angel de Villafañé replaced de Luna, two more
Dominican priests and one laybrother took the place of three padres who returned
to Mexico.

Such expeditions proved that it was not safe to establish missions and
colonies hundreds of miles from the settled areas in savage lands, where no
supplies nor military protection could be expected. Moreover, stability was
growing in New Spain, more whites were coming, mines were productive, agriculture and grazing were well founded. There were throngs of Indians in the Mexican highlands as compared to the scattered tribes in the north. Among these there was plenty of work to be done. Consequently, it was not until after the turn of the century that the Dominicans turned their eyes seriously toward the mission fields west and north up the Pacific slope. Likewise, the Dominicans were free to expand north and west of Mexico City, since there had been some partitions of the Province of Santiago de Mexico in its southern area.

The northwest advance of the Dominicans, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was just a part of the over-all pattern of Spain's system of "conquer and hold" in New Spain. Charles Edward Chapman, in his books, has stated briefly Spain's policy. In the beginning, from 1521 to 1579, her policy was that of "aggressive aggressive," that is, the Era of Conquest, marked by seizing, grabbing landed properties, wealth, and services of the natives. Spain's new policy, one of holding and protecting the areas already possessed, was initiated with the coming of Drake to California in 1579 and continued on down to 1790. Chapman calls it the "aggressive defensive." Then when the price of conquering and protecting was becoming too costly for Spain, her policy became one of the "defensive defensive," that is, await until attacked before taking steps to avert the danger.

Spain, in her system of conquest and protection of holdings, made use of Franciscan, Jesuit, and Dominican missionaries. The Franciscans, practically from the very beginning of the era of conquest, during the "aggressive aggressive" period, accompanied the conquerors in all their movements. They not only accompanied the soldiers in the northwest advance, but founded many
convents as well. By 1590 they had established east of the main sierra ten of their convents, all dependent on the central establishment or custodia of Zacatecas. By 1590 the Jesuits may be said to have started their northwest advance, going into Sinaloa, Sonora, Topia, Nayarit, and Nueva Vizcaya, composed of the modern states of Durango and Chihuahua. And ultimately they entered into Pimería Alta, the southern part of Arizona, in 1687, and into Baja California in 1697.

The Dominicans of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, having shortened considerably their field of missionary operations in the south by the second partition of 1596, were now bent on extending their influence in a northerly direction from the Capital. With such a view in mind they established as early as 1603 a convent at Guadalajara, named Nuestra Señora del Rosario. The Dominicans were asked by the authorities of Zacatecas to establish a convent there. The Most Reverend D. Alonso de la Mota, Bishop of Guadalajara, under whose jurisdiction Zacatecas was, willingly gave his consent to the founding. So Fray Pedro de Galarca, Vicar-Provincial, sent word to Father Nicolás Ortuno, son of the Convent of Mexico City, distinguished for learning, preaching, and good example, that he might make the foundation of the Convent of Santa Cruz. Ortuno and the friars came to live in the convent on October 3, 1604.

This Convent of Santa Cruz de Zacatecas became distinguished for its many activities, among which must be mentioned its gift of a martyr, Fray Sebastián Montano. Born in Madrid in 1591, Montano emigrated to Mexico in 1603, received the Dominican habit in 1607, was professed a year later, and was ordained a priest in 1615. He was assigned to the Convent in Zacatecas in 1616. After a few months he asked permission to go to the mines of Nueva Vizcaya to preach and
to gather alms. He left and predicted his coming death. Arriving at the Jesuit mission at Zape he preached a sermon at Guanacevi, in which he prophesied the insurrection of the Tepehuanes and the destruction of the missions and missionaries. Eight days later, on November 16, 1616, the revolt began with the slaying of the Jesuit, Father Hernando de Tovar. In the course of the next two days seven other Jesuits, one Franciscan, and Father Montano were murdered, as were a number of soldiers and Christian Indians. The Dominican friar and a layman, Pedro Rendon, a Regidor of Durango, were slain on the slope of Zape, in a sierra called Del Gato, on November 18, 1616. The remains of Montano were laid to rest at Guanacevi.

After the fateful massacre the missionary activities of the Dominicans in the Northwest were in abeyance until 1686. Then Fray Felipe Galindo went forth from the great Convent of Santo Domingo de Mexico to found missions in the Sierra Gorda Mountains southeast of Zacatecas. Within fifteen years six missions were established among the Chichimecas. Shortly after 1700, a violent uprising fomented as usual by the medicine men left these missions burned and abandoned. Not until 1715 was a temporary peace restored in the mountains of the Chichimecas. Again in 1734, a punitive expedition punished the ringleaders of a revolt. Finally in 1740 the Dominicans returned to their six missions and soon founded another, the Mission of San Miguel de las Palmas. These continued to thrive until all but Mission San Miguel de las Palmas were secularized and the mission churches became parishes of a diocese by 1787.
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5. Ibid., p. 61.


9. Ibid., no. 87.


11. Ibid.


14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 110.
22. Cruz y Moya, I, 32.
23. Remesal, I, 104.
28. Gerónimo de Mendieta, O. F.M., Historia Eclesiastica Indiana (Mexico, 1945), I, 44.
31. Roze, p. 27; Helps, II, 118.
32. Biermann, "Die ersten Dominikaner," p. 62, for 1514 date. Also for the same date, see Roze, p. 29, and Walz, pp. 424, 438. For the 1516 date, see Andrés Mesanza, O. P., and Cajetan de Carrocera, O. M. C., Principios de la Orden Dominicana — Primicios Religiosos de Venezuela (Caracas, 1925), pp. 20-21.
33. For the 1516 date, see Biermann, "Die erste Dominikanermision," p. 409, and Walz, p. 488. For the 1517 date, see Mesanza and Carrocera, p. 21.
34. Ibid., p. 21, n. 11.
36. Roze, p. 77; Wals, p. 488.
38. In this and the two following paragraphs, see Remesal, I, 27-30; Cruz y Moya, I, 36-47; Helpe, III, 189-192.
39. Padilla, pp. 3, 31, gives the date of arrival in Mexico City as June 23, 1526. The same date is also given by Alonso Franco, O. P., Segunda Parte de la Historia de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico (Mexico, 1900), p. 520. Remesal, I, 31, and Cruz y Moya, I, 47-49, give the arrival as July 2, 1526.
41. Ibid., no. 259, I.
43. Remesal, I, 91.
44. Ibid.
46. Constitutiones, no. 258, I.
47. Ibid., no. 259, II.
48. Ibid., no. 288. For the next two paragraphs, see no. 280, II, no. 260.
49. Franco, p. 518.
51. They were Fathers Vicente de Santa Ana, Diego de Sotomayor, Pedro de Santa Maria, Justo de Santo Domingo, and the laybrother, Bartolomé de Calzadilla. See Padilla, pp. 4, 32; Remesal, I, 35; Cruz y Moya, I, 105.
52. Cruz y Moya, I, 105.
53. Padilla, pp. 4, 32; Remesal, I, 35; Cruz y Moya, I, 111.

55. Walz, p. 367.

56. Ibid., p. 491; Francisco de los Ríos Arce, O. P., Puebla de los Angeles y la Orden Dominicana (Puebla, 1910), I, 161-162.

57. Padilla, p. 64.

58. Remesal, I, 67; Cruz y Moya, I, 130-131.


60. Francisco de Burgos, O. P. Geográfica Descripción, (Mexico, 1934), I, 42; Cruz y Moya, I, 155-159.

61. Juan Bautista Méndez, O. P., Cronica de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico del Orden de Predicadores, manuscript, (Mexico, 1685), III, fol. 50v.


63. Walz, p. 367.


65. Rose, pp. 55-56; Walz, p. 367.

66. Padilla, pp. 110-111; Remesal, II, 282. See Walz, p. 368, no. 7, for further bibliography.

67. Franco, pp. 122-124, 127; Hernando Ojeda, O. P., Libro Tercero de la Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de Mexico de la Orden de Santo Domingo (Mexico, 1897), pp. 35-36; Remesal, II, 558-559.

68. The exact date of division was September 29, 1656. See Walz, pp. 368-369.

69. Sketches of the exploring Dominicans mentioned in this paragraph may be found in O'Daniel's Dominicans in Early Florida.


71. Ibid., p. 345.

72. Hubert Howe Bancroft, The North Mexican States, (San Francisco, 1884), I, 97, 116, 311. Future references to Bancroft will always be to the North Mexican States, unless expressly stated otherwise.
73. Bancroft, History of Mexico (San Francisco, 1887), III, 720.

74. Franco, p. 171.

75. Ibid., p. 198.

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CHAPTER II

THE DOMINICANS PREPARE FOR BAJA CALIFORNIA

While the Dominican Sierra Gorda missions gradually were placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop, a sudden event directed the eyes of the Dominicans to other mission fields. The Jesuits were expelled from their mission chain in the Northwest in the year 1767. The Jesuits, having come to Mexico in 1572, began missionary work in Nueva Viscaya, modern-day states of Durango and Chihuahua, in 1590, and extended a chain of missions up the Pacific Slope from Sinaloa to Tubac, Arizona, in 1700. They had missions in Pimería Alta, our modern-day states of northern Sonora and southern Arizona, and another chain of missions on the California Peninsula.

Before their expulsion the Jesuits had seen some of their missions secularized, others turned over to the administration of the Franciscans, and a little later, some assigned to the Dominicans. By 1753 all the Jesuit missions in Durango, including the Topia district, and five missions in Chihuahua had been secularized. The Sinaloa missions had been put in charge of the secular clergy. Bancroft says that "the few curates in the country (Sonora and Sinaloa areas) were instructed to take charge of the spiritual interests of the natives until further provision should be made, but it is to be feared that the duty was not very thoroughly, however faithfully, attended to." The missions of the Rivers Sinaloa, Fuerte, Mayo, and Yaqui, were abandoned and fell into ruins. Upon the expulsion of the Black Robes there were proposals to give these
missions to the Dominicans, as shall be soon indicated. "To Pimería Alta were
sent Franciscans from the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro. To Lower
California went members of the College of San Fernando of Mexico, the president
being Junípero Serra, already distinguished for work in Sierra Gorda."1 In
Nayarit the missions were administered by the Franciscans from Nueva Galicia.5

The Dominicans of the Province of Santiago de Mexico promptly asked for
the administration of some of the former Jesuit missions, first requesting the
missions of Nayarit and Topia, and a little later, for some of the missions of
Baja California. To explain briefly the Dominican request for missions in
Nayarit, it is necessary to begin the narrative with the year 1760. Fray Juan
Pedro Iriarte, the Procurator-General of the Province of Santiago de Mexico,6
requested that twenty-five Dominicans be sent from Spain to Mexico, at the
government's expense, in order to fulfill the Law of Alternation, and on April
17, 1760, a royal decree granted this petition.7

On January 28, 1768, Fray Antonio Fernández, O. P., then the Procurator-
General of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, stated in a petition to the King
of Spain that only fifteen of the twenty-five Dominicans had been brought to
New Spain, and he requested that the remaining ten be permitted to go, and that
an additional ten be sent at royal expense, since there had been no vestitions
of the habit in the preceding years, and the number of European-born Dominicans
in New Spain was becoming less and less, making it difficult to fulfill the lex
alternativa, the Law of Alternation.8

The Royal Fiscal, on February 8, 1768, gave his opinion that the ten
Dominicans still to go should be granted one hundred and twenty-five pesos for
travelling expenses, and he recommended that the additional ten Dominicans should
be sent to the former Jesuit missions which were the nearest to the Dominican Province of Santiago de Mexico. The Council of the Indies, on February 18, 1768, having agreed with the fiscal's opinion of February 8, presented the recommendations to the King, who on the same day granted the permissions.

Two Dominican laybrothers also were added to the additional ten friars, and Fray Juan Antonio Fernández, before August 18, 1768, asked permission to lead the group of twenty-two to Mexico, which was granted, on August 26. Throughout the rest of 1768 and early part of 1769 there was much meticulous correspondence between the Dominicans and the Royal Court at Madrid, regarding the expenses of the twenty-two, and especially of the additional ten priests and two laybrothers, over articles which were to be customs-free, and over temporary delays in the sailing for Mexico.

Fray Juan Dios de Córdoba, the new Procurator-General of the province at the royal court, writing to the King on November 16, 1769, reported the arrival in Mexico of the additional twelve Dominicans the preceding April 12. In the same document he brought up a new problem, namely, that the Viceroy, Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, had received no orders to give the Dominicans the former Jesuit missions nearest to the Province of Santiago de Mexico, which were the missions of Nayarit and Topia. A glance at a map of Mexico will show that geographically speaking, the Nayarit and Topia areas were the nearest to the Dominican Convents of the Province of Santiago de Mexico. The Convent of Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the city of Guadalajara, was in the extreme northern part of Jalisco, and very close to the southern part of the state of Nayarit. Likewise the Dominican Convent of Santa Cruz at Zacatecas was to the southwest of the Topia area.
On December 17, 1769, the King decided that the ten Dominican fathers, destined for the nearest former Jesuit missions, should go there, but left the exact post unspecified. The Archbishop of Mexico suggested, in a document dated February 28, 1771, that the ten missionaries should be employed in other missions, since they were then in the City of Mexico with nothing to do. They could have been sent to the abandoned Jesuit missions of the Rivers Sinaloa, Fuerte, Mayo and Yaqui. In fact this was proposed by José de Gálvez in his Informe of 1771, and by the Bishop of Sonora, Fray Antonio de los Reyes, in 1781 to 1784. There are also documents expressing the same idea as late as the year 1792. The Dominican Provincial, Fray Pedro Garrido, on February 27, 1771, stated to the King that the ten missionaries were still without work in Mexico, and he asked financial help for their support. The Royal Fiscal, on June 20, 1771, proposed sending the ten idle Dominican missionaries to Nayarit and Topia, which had been proposed a year and a half earlier, November 16, 1769, by the Dominican Procurator-General.

The whole problem was settled ultimately by time and events, because in the meantime the Dominicans made a second or new request, this time specifically for some of the former Jesuit missions of Baja California. As will appear later, another special group of Dominicans was brought from Spain to go to Baja California, and when some of them died a natural death or drowned, the first seven of these "idle" ten Dominicans went to Baja California in 1773, and the eighth one, Fray José Naranjo, in 1780.

The ten Dominican fathers, who had been originally destined for Nayarit and Topia but ultimately went to Lower California, were: Gerónimo Soldevilla, Juan Crisóstomo Gómez, Cristóval de Vera, José Fernández Salcedo, José García
NEW SPAIN 1778

Political and Religious Jurisdictions
This second or new request by the Dominicans for the administration of some of the earlier Jesuit missions of Baja California was made on July 24, 1766, by Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte y Laurnaga, Procurator-General for the Province of Santiago de Mexico, residing at the Royal Court of Madrid. He asked especially for those missions between the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude. Five days later, July 29, Julián de Arriaga, the Ministro General in Spain, sent Iriarte's request to the Marqués de San Juan de Piedras Albas, a member of the Council of the Indies. On August 13 the Fiscal Real recommended granting the petition, which the Council of the Indies considered on September 2.

The Dominican, Fray Luis Sales, wrote that "His Majesty sent a cedula of November 4, 1768, directed to the Viceroy, ordering him to report to him on the matter." In turn, the Viceroy, Carlos Francisco de Croix, on April 8, 1769, wrote to José de Gálvez, the Visitator-General who recently had been in Baja California, for the latest information. The Viceroy, not waiting for the reply of Gálvez, wrote to Tomás de Mello, a royal official in Madrid, that for the present, it would be impossible to assign a field in Baja California to the Dominicans because it might cause trouble with the Franciscans of San Fernando, to whom that field had already been assigned.

The Archbishop of Mexico, who was the second person consulted by the Council of the Indies, gave a reply favorable to the Dominicans. He urged the division of Baja California because of the vastness of the territory, too vast to be cared for by one Order alone. He said, in keeping with the purpose of the
mission idea, that the secular clergy should be placed in the towns of more settled type of life.  

On June 10, 1769, Gálvez answered Croix's letter of April 8. He, like the Viceroy, disapproved of the Dominican project, "declaring that it rested on an erroneous belief in the existence of fertile lands, good ports, and a large population in the northwestern peninsula." Gálvez wrote, in part:

I must observe in the beginning that the zeal of the friar named, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, is as laudable as the errors upon which he founded his request must be unintentional. He states that on the coast of the South Sea, which is the west coast of California, there are, between twenty-five degrees and forty-two degrees, places inhabited by multitudes of heathen, although in fact there is not even one such place descending from latitude thirty-one as far as Cape San Lucas, either on the mainland of the Peninsula or on the many islands adjacent to its two coasts.

The above report of Gálvez was forwarded by Croix to Arriaga, along with another letter of July 29, 1769. This latter document is especially of vital importance in determining the royal wish to divide the Californias, in spite of the original adverse reports of both the Viceroy and the Visitor-General. The report of July 29, 1769, is from Croix to Arriaga, stating that, as a result of his expedition to Monterey, Gálvez would now be able to fulfill the desire of Iriarte for a mission field in the Californias. On January 17, 1770, the Procurator-General, Fray Juan de Dios de Córdoba, recommended that Iriarte's petition be granted, that the requested territory of Baja California be allocated, since there was urgent need for the conquest of Californias as a check against foreign encroachments. He pointed out that to prevent this very threat decrees had been passed in 1744, 1747, and 1752.

The Council of the Indies considered all the above documents, and ultimately the King issued his Royal cedula of April 8, 1770, in which he granted permission to Fray Pedro de Iriarte and the Province of Santiago de Mexico to
enter into the Peninsula of California. The Dominicans were to begin their task at Mission San Ignacio, situated at the 28th degree, north latitude, and from there continue northward through the other missions, including Santa Rosalía and Our Lady of Guadalupe. Likewise, in order that the Dominicans might have a mainland port on the Gulf of California and other necessities for their holy labors he granted to them Belem, which lay at the mouth of the Yaqui River, in the province of Ostimuri, between the Yaqui and Mayo Rivers. Bancroft says that "the Dominicans desired the northern districts, including San Ignacio, Guadalupe, and Mulegé; and also that of Belem in Sonora. Their purpose was clearly to obtain an opening way to the North." The King concluded the cedula, by saying that all things were to be done in accord with the Bishop of Guadalajara, that the Dominicans and the Franciscans were to have mission areas in the Peninsula totally separate and independent of each other, that the Orders of St. Augustine and the Discalced Carmelites should dedicate themselves to the ministry of converting the heathens in Sonora and Sinaloa. The Bishop of Guadalajara was informed of the contents of the cedula, and the Provincial of the Discalced Carmelites was notified of the royal wishes.

Fray Pedro de Iriarte, without loss of time, on April 23, 1770, wrote to the Master General of the Dominican Order, Fray Juan Tomás de Boxadors, informing him of the King's resolution. On June 13, 1770, the Master General, in a letter to Iriarte authorized him or the Procurator-General, Juan de Dios de Córdova, to call for volunteers, selecting them from the three Provinces of Spain, Aragon and Andalucia. Secondly, he commanded by the virtue of the Holy Spirit and Holy Obedience that the provincials of the provinces, the priors of convents, and all the religious were not to oppose, directly or indirectly, the two said Fathers
in the choice and conveyance of the volunteers. On the contrary they were to
aid and assist in every possible way.43

On June 15, 1770, Pedro de Iriarte and Juan de Dios de Córdova asked the
King for a grant of twenty-four missionaries, at royal expense, for the missions
of Baja California.44 Iriarte, on July 10, 1770, issued a circular to the
convents of the three Spanish Provinces of the Dominican Order, announcing that
the King had granted them a mission field in Baja California, and calling for
volunteers.45

On July 12, the Council of the Indies in advice to the King, agreed with
the opinion of the Royal Fiscal and advised that each of the Dominican mission-
aries to Baja California be given fifty pesos more than the amount required by
law, which was one hundred and twenty-five pesos.46 Tomás Ortiz de Landasuri,
on October 17, 1770, reported on the probable expenses of sending twenty-eight
Dominicans to Baja California.47 And on October 27, 1770, the King commanded
the proper officials to pay the indicated expenses for the twenty-eight who were
to go to Baja California.48 On November 16, 1770, the King notified the Viceroy
about the Dominican missionaries and stated his royal wish that they were to be
used in Baja California, or in some other mission field.49 In substantially the
same words, the King also notified the Bishop of Guadalajara and the Archbishop
of Mexico.50

Iriarte, about October of 1770, drew up a list of the twenty-eight,
composed of 24 priests, one deacon, and three laybrothers.51 The name of the
third laybrother was not indicated. However, this list was altered considerably
before the group sailed the following June of 1771. The actual number to sail
from Cádiz was twenty-six in all, twenty-four priests and two laybrothers, as we
learn from a reseña, dated at Cádiz, June 15, 1771, a few days before sailing. The sketch gives the biographical data and a personal description of each of the Dominicans, and ends with orders to Don Luis Francisco Navarro, Master of the ship, Nuestra Señora de Bécona, to take to Vera Cruz the twenty-four priests and two laybrothers in fitting cleanliness and comfort. The document is signed by the Marqués del Real Tesoro, Don Juan de Mérida.52

Luis Sales writes that as a result of the circular of July 10, 1770, there were two hundred volunteers, but only twenty-six were selected since that was the number granted by the King.53 Sales does not give the names, but only lists the number contributed by each province, and mentioned the specific convents, from which they came.54

Here is the list of the twenty-six who sailed from Cádiz, with the Province and Convent from which each came, as taken from the Acta Capituli Provincialis, May 15-24, 1773, for the Dominican Province of Santiago de Mexico:55

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMES OF THE FRIARS</th>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>CONVENT OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juan Pedro de Iriarte</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Garcia</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Valladolid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juan Antonio Formoso</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Coruña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Ayvar</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Atocha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pedro Gandiaga</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Pamplona</td>
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<tr>
<td>Martín Zavala</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Pamplona</td>
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<tr>
<td>José Estévez</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Trianos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Díez Bustamente</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Salamanca</td>
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<tr>
<td>Juan Ventín</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Salamanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Rodríguez</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Salamanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrés Souto</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Salamanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estevan López</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Burgos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Sales</td>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>Valencia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José de Lafuente</td>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>Calatayud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Santolaria</td>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>Linares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomas Barberán</td>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>Preachers of Zaragoza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Luesma</td>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>San Ildefonso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joaquín Valero</td>
<td>Aragon</td>
<td>San Ildefonso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sales, speaking of this group's sea journey wrote: "When they had arrived at Cádiz a large ship was made ready, called Nuestra Señora de la Baja, in which a fortunate passage was accomplished to the Port of Vera Cruz in America, where all the missionaries arrived on August 19, 1771, having spent sixty-one days in making the voyage. Then they proceeded to the great City of Mexico." Thus the date of sailing from Cádiz was about June 19, 1771.

Sales says that the Dominicans upon arrival in Mexico, presented themselves and the royal cédula to the Viceroy, Don Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, who suspended the order, in view of the Franciscans' petition to hinder the Dominicans entering into Baja California, and proposed that the Dominicans take over other missions. The Viceroy was certainly within his rights in so acting, according to the later instructions of the King, dated November 16, 1770. It is certain that both the Viceroy and the Visitator-General, José de Gálvez, were opposed to dividing the Baja California mission field, and there was much delay and discussion about the matter. As early as February 28, 1771, the Archbishop of Mexico wrote to the King, expressing serious doubts that the Viceroy, due to the opposition of Gálvez, would employ the Dominicans in Baja California. He urged that the royal decree regarding the Dominicans going to California, be carried out, and also the one of December 17, 1769, designating Nayarit and Topía as the mission field for the group of ten "idle" Dominicans, whom Fray
Juan Antonio Fernández had brought to New Spain.

The Provincial of the Province of Santo Domingo de Mexico, wrote to the King on February 27, 1771, with respect to the group of ten Dominicans, who were not sent to Nayarit and Topia, as designated by a cedula of December 17, 1769. It seems that another cedula had been sent to the Provincial, which said that they could be used in Baja California. The opening words of his letter to the King read:

As soon as I received the royal cedula of Your Majesty, in which your royal clemency orders that there may be used in the missions of the Californias the ten Dominican religious, who came with Father Master Fray Juan Fernández, I presented it to the Most Excellent Marqués de Croix, your Viceroy and Captain General, who said that the said missions were occupied by the Fernandine religious....

And ultimately this happened, as I shall soon indicate that the group of ten, formerly designated to go to Nayarit and Topia, were joined to Father Iriarte's larger group of missionaries who were expressly brought to New Spain with the designation of Baja California.

So as a result, the Fiscal, on June 20, 1771, proposed the obvious course, namely, that the two groups of Dominicans be sent to the mission fields as indicated in the cedulas. The Council of the Indies on September 6, 1771, recommended putting into effect the opinion of the Fiscal, and another cedula dated September 21, 1771, expressly ordered that the Dominicans, brought to New Spain by Father Iriarte, were to be sent to Baja California. The closing words of the above cedula clearly indicate that a separate cedula was sent on the same date, with respect to the disposition of the ten brought to New Spain by Fernández. Viceroy Bucareli, in a letter, dated December 27, 1771, to Señor Don Pedro García, acknowledged receipt of the two despatches of September 21, about the employment of the two groups in the missions of the Californias.
The Dominican Procurator-General in a letter of November 6, 1772, to the King stated that on June 1, 1772, twenty-seven Dominicans left Mexico City for Baja California, and the number of missionaries was made up from both groups. And the Acta of 1773 for the Province of Santiago de Mexico sets forth the same record.

In view of these cedulas of September 21, 1771, the Junta which had been called by Bucareli to consider the division of the Californias, decided on March 21, 1772, that the Guardian of the Franciscan College of San Fernando and the Vicar-General of the Dominicans, should come to an agreement and arrange between themselves the division of the missions, according to the decrees of his Majesty. The cedula of April 8, 1770, stated that the Dominicans were to have missions "with total separation from and independent of those which the Franciscan religious occupy, arranging that each of these religious orders may continue the conversion of the infidels on a separate frontier, without either one being hindered, until the peninsula has been effectively reduced."

Likewise the Junta, on March 21, 1772, had clearly directed regarding the division of the California missions, that the Franciscans and Dominicans were each to have a base of operations in northern Baja California, and from there to work north. The Junta named the two starting points for the northern expansion, namely, the mission of San Fernando de Velicatá for the Franciscans, and a little farther to the east, a site called San Juan de Dios, for the Dominicans.

Now Fray Rafael Verger, the Franciscan Guardian, and Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, the Dominican Vicar-General, were well aware of the wording of the cedula and the directives of the Junta, yet due to very definite, geographical
circumstances they made a different division. In their Concordat, signed April 7, 1772, they set forth these very cogent reasons for their action in the following words:

And it is also borne in mind that this division ought to be, according to the royal decree, with distinct frontiers for each Order, and with such separateness and difference of field that they avoid in this way dissensions that might arise from the opposite arrangement. It is likewise considered that the main body of the Peninsula on account of the nature of its territory, does not permit a variety of fields, for, indeed, it has only one frontier, that of San Fernando Vellicitá, since the place called San Juan de Dios, which was thought to be suitable for another frontier, is not (according to Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, who has examined it all repeatedly) sufficient for even a ranch; in this several fathers of this College agree. We explain this to your Excellency with all humility, so that you may not uselessly spend time and funds of the pious donations. 12

Fathers Verger and Iriarte, after setting forth the reasons for the new division of the mission fields, immediately stated the actual division in these words:

In view of all the aforesaid, and desiring to carry out faithfully the sovereign will of our Catholic monarch, we have agreed upon the following division: The Dominican fathers shall take in their charge the old missions which this College has in California and the above-mentioned frontier of San Fernando Vellicitá, extending their new conversions in this direction until they reach the confines of the mission of San Diego on the harbor of that name; and, placing their last mission on the arroyo of San Juan Bautista, this mission shall terminate five leagues farther on, at a point which projects from the Sierra Madre and ends before reaching the beach. Once arrived there, they can turn to the east, slightly to the northeast, and in this way they ought to come out at the head of the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, following afterwards the direction pointed out to them by your Excellency in the royal council. And if in the country between the Colorado and San Diego a suitable road to the north or northeast should appear, they can also take it without prejudice to the other Order. It is agreed that the fathers of the College of San Fernando shall retain the missions that they now have, from the port of San Diego, following the road which they have opened to Monterey, the port of San Francisco, and farther on....13

This Concordat was approved in the Junta, on April 30, 1772. Thus the Dominicans accepted all of Baja California, and the Franciscans received New or
Upper California, with the northern boundary "as far as they can extend their spiritual conquest." This Concordat and all the proceedings of the Junta were sent to Spain by Viceroy Bucareli, on May 25, 1772. The division and the boundaries were accepted by the Council of the Indies in a consulta of May 11, 1775. As Chapman remarks, with this final approval, the first definite boundary between Alta and Baja California was established.

The twenty-six Dominicans, whom Iriarte brought from Spain for missionary work in California, did not all arrive there. One of that number, namely, a laybrother, Fray Emmanuel Zanui, did not start, since he was assigned to the Imperial Convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City. The Acta Capituli Provincialis for 1773 accounts for the other twenty-five friars. It lists the names of five who died on the way from Mexico City to the mission fields of Baja California, namely, the Vicar-General, Fray Pedro de Iriarte, Fray José Díaz, Fray Tomás Barberán, Fray Estevan López, and Fray Juan Ventiño, all priests. And the same Acta also shows the assignments of the remaining twenty friars of Iriarte's group, as well as for seven of Father Juan Antonio Fernández's group, and for two others of neither group, namely, Fathers Vicente Mora and Miguel Isturis. However, it is highly doubtful if Father Miguel Isturis actually went to Baja California. Though his name is listed in the Acta as assigned to Mission Santiago, there is no other confirming evidence, to my knowledge, that he actually arrived or worked there. The following chapter shall list the names of the known twenty-seven priests and one laybrother who worked in Baja California, with the missions of their assignments.

At the conclusion of the negotiations with the King, the Council of the Indies, the Viceroy, the Archdiocesan authorities, and the Franciscans, it
seems fitting and necessary to sketch the guiding principles and policy of the Dominicans themselves. They were the men who would administer the old missions of the Jesuits and establish new ones.

In the Convent of Santo Domingo de Mexico, the Dominican Provincial, Fray Pedro Garrido, May 15, 1772, issued twelve ordinances and instructions to govern the missionaries of Baja California. Briefly stated these were:

1) Father Juan Pedro de Iriarte was appointed Vicar-Provincial of Baja California.

2) Father Francisco Estavillo was appointed Procurator of the Missions and was to reside permanently in Santo Domingo de Mexico.

3) The rules in force in the Province of the Philippines were to be followed in Baja California.

4) The Fathers upon arrival at their respective missions were to make a complete inventory of all possessions and a census of the population, indicating age, sex, and marital status of each.

5) Each mission was to have five registers: baptisms, marriages, deaths, instructions, and accounts.

6) The Fathers were to secure all necessary church articles and were to keep the church clean.

7) Solemn Masses were to be celebrated, that of St. Dominic on Tuesdays, of the Blessed Sacrament on Thursdays, of the Blessed Virgin on Saturdays.

8) The Fathers were to avoid all things unbecoming, and were to practice charity, patience, kindness, prudence, treating all with gentleness and not with rigor.

9) They were to teach the Christian doctrine to the Indians, then try to train
them in various occupations and crafts of human society and pertaining to the common good, without burdening or fatiguing them, and should protect them from disturbances that might cause injury.

10) They were to instill in the natives a love of and loyalty to the Spanish monarch.

11) The Fathers were to respect the officials who govern the land and maintain with them harmony and good relations.

12) They were to show the clearest signs of respect to the Bishop, the Vicar-General, the Governor, the Visitor-General, the Viceroy, should any such official enter the missions, and diligently observe their orders. Finally, the Fathers should recall that they have left fatherland and all things for the sole purpose of attracting souls to Jesus Christ.

Shortly after these directives were given Father Iriarte called a conference of his mission band and discussed points of the program. In a truly democratic way he asked for expressions of opinion on his suggestions and on the implementation of the ordinances. Since opinions varied the Vicar-Provincial took eight points to the Provincial for decision by the Provincial Council. The first point of uncertainty was: Who was to appoint the lesser superiors? The Council held that this was the prerogative of the Provincial, who might, however, delegate the power of appointment to the Vicar-Provincial, but not to the missionaries. The second point was: Should the Procurator of the missions be a religious or a lay person? The answer seems obvious: he should be a religious of the Order. The third point was the duties of the Procurator of the missions. These then were clearly specified. All monies were to be in the safekeeping of the Procurator of the missions in Mexico City, who was to keep
account of all income and expenses and was to have with him two trustees.

So interested and zealous were fourteen of the missionaries about the good of the missions and so strongly convinced were they that there should be some power of appointment delegated to the missionaries actually on the scene far away from Mexico City, that they rather imprudently drafted a letter to the Viceroy requesting his opinion. They humbly assured His Excellency that their petition was not a public or a judicial appeal from the Council's decision, but wanted his opinion as a private instruction. On the appointment of a Procurator of the missions, they were convinced that a lay person should take care of business and material things rather than a religious who might make mistakes in management of worldly goods. The lay person would have to shoulder the blame for any mismanagement of funds.

It may be that they had in mind the recent suppression of the Jesuits and the manner in which France confiscated all their properties because one missionary had mismanaged mission funds just ten years before. Two other missionaries who were to become renowned in California, Fathers Francisco Galisteo and Miguel Hidalgo, made a second appeal to the Viceroy.

The Viceroy had the proceedings of the Council sent to him and gave the most logical opinion, that the norm for making a correct judgment should be the particular laws and the Constitution of the Dominican Order, and on the advice of the Fiscal, the Viceroy's opinion was that the decisions arrived at by the Council were in conformity with the Rules and Constitutions of the Order and the other ecclesiastical disciplines. The Provincial at first removed the names of Hidalgo and Galisteo from the list of California missionaries as disturbers of the tranquility of the group, but later relented, fortunately for
the missions.

Complete harmony existed regarding the five other points brought up by Iriarte, consequently the Provincial had only to authorize the procedures officially. The items reveal the spirit of generosity of the "men of California." First, the fruits and crops of the missions were to be apportioned so that the richer missions should help the poorer, and the immediate prelate or superior was to make the distribution. Secondly, there was to be a common fund for expenses, necessary furnishings, sickness, clothing for the laybrothers, charities and emergencies. Into this fund went three hundred pesos of the annual three hundred and fifty pesos salary of the fathers coming from the government. Third, the laybrothers, who were not paid a salary, were to be supported from the common fund, and absolutely no requests for their support were to be made to the Viceroy. Fourth, the Procurator of the missions was not to pay bills of the fathers in reales, but each missionary was to make out a list of his needs, and give the memoria to the Procurator, who was to obtain the articles and pay the bills. Last, the Provincial was to make the assignments to specific missions, enclose them in a sealed envelope, and give the envelope to the Vicar-Provincial, who was not to open the envelope until the arrival in Baja California.

In the last two weeks of May, 1772, the Vicar-Provincial and his band were busy with the final preparations for departure. The dream of Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte y Laurnaga was at last to be realised.
REFERENCES


6. The term Procurator-General of the Province of Santiago de Mexico must not be confused with the title of Procurator-General of the entire Dominican Order. The former resided at the Royal Court of Spain, the latter, in Rome.

7. C-470. With respect to this Law of Alternation, within the various Religious Orders in the New World dissension had arisen between the religious who were Spanish born and the Creoles, over alternation of offices. Except among the Jesuits, the dissension was pronounced, especially during the election of superiors, priors, provincials. As a result, Pope Innocent XI decreed that in areas of the New World, having both Europeans and Creoles in the community, the offices should be conferred alternately. When the Spanish king heard that the papal order was not enforced in New Spain, by official decree of November 28, 1667, he ordered the Viceroy to investigate the matter, and to have the papal order carried out.

8. C-944.


10. C-952.

11. C-1053.


22. Californias Collection, Vol. 46, fols. 401-409, in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. This collection will be referred to with the abbreviation of "Calif."

23. C-1035.

24. C-1036.

25. Acta of 1773, no. 17, which states that the Dominicans going to Baja California were made up partly from the group which came to Mexico on April 12, 1769. The same Acta, pp. 38-39, lists by name the first seven of the list mentioned in the text. The Acta of 1782, p. 417, lists Fray José Naranjo, the eighth in the group, as assigned to Mission Santiago.

26. C-1039. The Acta of 1784, p. 32, shows the assignment of the last two, Juan Estévez and José Ausina, to Baja California, but there is no confirming evidence that either actually worked in Baja California.
30. Luis Sales, O. P., Noticias de la Provincia de Californias (Valencia, 1794), III, 9. Sales was a member of the first group to go to Baja California. There is an English translation of these three letters of Sales by Charles N. Rudkin, under the title Observations on California 1772-1790 (Los Angeles, 1956). Cf. the biographical sketch of Sales at the end of Chapter VI.

31. C-1237.

32. C-1253.

33. Bancroft, I, 704.


35. C-1284, 1348.

36. C-1348.

37. C-1441; Sales, III, 13; Rudkin, p. 135; Chapman, The Founding of Spanish California, p. 117.

38. C-1460. The document is also in the Provincias Internas Collection, Vol. 169, no. 3, fols. 62-66. This Collection, which is in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, will be referred to with the abbreviation of "Prov. Int." The complete decree is in Sales, III, 10-19; Rudkin, 133-138.


40. C-1461.

41. C-1462.

42. Sales, III, 19, 23; Rudkin, p. 138, 141.

43. Sales, III, 23-28; Rudkin, p. 140-143. It is also included in the Circular Letter, in C-1506.

44. C-1494.

45. C-1506; Sales, III, 20-45; Rudkin, pp. 139-153.

46. C-1514.

47. C-1563.

48. C-1568.
C-1579.

C-1580 and 1581, respectively.

C-1551.

Prov. Int., Vol. 169, no. 3, fols. 69-72; Acta of 1773, pp. 4-6; Historia Collection, Vol. 41, no. 3, fols. 20-22. The Historia Collection, in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, will be referred to with the abbreviation "Hist."

Sales, III, 45; Rudkin, pp. 153-154.

Sales, III, 46; Rudkin, pp. 154-155.

Acta of 1773, pp. 4-6. The resenas or biographical data are in Hist., Vol. 41, no. 13, which contains the original documents, and in the Prov. Int., Vol. 169, no. 3, fol. 69, which are copies.

José Ayvar's name admits of many variant spellings in the documents, e.g. Aíbar, Aívar, Tíbar.

The spelling of Ventín is found in the government resena, in Prov. Int., Vol. 169, no. 3, fol. 70. The Acta of 1773, pp. 41-42, regarding the ship wreck and deaths, spells his name Ventín, but on p. 5, giving his biographical data, spells it Bentín. The Libro de Difuntos, 1770-1830, p. 3, at the Domus of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, has the spelling Bentín.

His name is spelled Zanui in the Acta of 1773, p. 6, recording his biographical data. In some other references his name is spelled Zuani.

Sales, III, 47; Rudkin, p. 155. The Acta of 1773, p. 4, gives August 20 as the date of arrival. Bancroft, Pájol's California, Engelhardt gives the date of arrival as August 19.

Sales, II, 48; Rudkin, pp. 155-156.

C-1579.

C-1712.

C-1711.

C-1748.

C-1775.

C-1782.
67. This document is not listed in Chapman's Catalogue, but on page 52, in his description of Legajo 103-7-1 [Guadalajara 338], he refers to an expidiente of three pages i.e., this document.

68. C-2056.
70. Sales, III, 17; Rudkin, p. 137. Cf. C-1460 for the text of the entire cedula.
72. Ibid., I, 237-238.
73. Ibid., I, 238-239.
74. Ibid., I, 241.
75. C-1959.
76. C-2906.
79. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
81. Ibid., p. 39.
82. Misiones Collection, Vol. 12, fols. 1-15: "An expediente formed on the representation of the Dominican missionaries concerning various points with regard to the better government and administration of the missions." This Misiones Collection of original documents in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, will be referred to by the abbreviation "Mis." Cf. C-1867 for a certified copy.
83. Mis., Vol. 12, fols. 6-8.
84. Ibid., Vol. 12, fols. 9-12.
85. Ibid., Vol. 12, fol. 3.
86. Ibid., Vol. 12, fols. 2-2v.


89. Mis., Vol. 12, fols. 14-14v.
CHAPTER III

THE DOMINICANS TAKE OVER THE BAJA CALIFORNIA MISSIONS

Fray Juan de Dios Córdova, the Procurator-General, writing to the King, said that twenty-seven missionaries left Mexico City, June 1, 1772, to occupy the Baja California missions. The group travelled nearly four hundred miles northwest to the Dominican convent at Guadalajara, where one of the number, Fray José Díaz, died on June 27, 1772. Francisco Ruiz de Culemga, a secretary of the King, said that a letter received from Mexico announced the death of Fray José Díaz at Guadalajara, and that Father Iriarte with the remainder of the group left on July 8 to continue their journey to San Blas. This was an arduous winding journey through the mountains from a seven thousand foot altitude nearly two hundred miles to the hot coastal town.

The trying, terrifying sea voyage of the Dominicans from the Port of San Blas to Loreto, Baja California, is told briefly by the Acta Capituli Provincialis of 1773, and by a member of the Dominican band, Fray Luis Sales, in his Noticias de la Provincia de California. Sales says that Viceroy Bucareli commanded the Dominicans to embark immediately, that the available boats were unfit for service, that the food supplies were spoiled, that the crews were incompetent, and that September was the wrong season for embarking, due to the many storms in the Gulf of California. The Dominicans set sail in two boats which were soon separated by the furious storms.

The Acta of 1773 records the disastrous sea voyage:
One of these two boats, after a calm sea, fortunately turned towards the coasts of the Californias, but not in due time, losing Fray Juan Venitián, when it almost had touched land. And the other boat, partly on account of its poor quality, and partly because of the seams opened by force of the storms, was lashed by destructive waves and was falling apart. Wherefore the boat was forced to go to the shore, commonly called Mazatlán de los Mulatos. There nearly all who were in that boat, were suffering various sicknesses, most certainly contracted afterwards from the food and drink, infected with poison, which were provided in the Port of San Blas at the time of embarkation. Among them the above mentioned Father Master [Juan Pedro de Iriarte] was put to bed, very sick, and his sickness increased more and more every day. He was taken from Mazatlán to the village of San Sebastián in order to regain his health. But it was to no avail for in a very short time he died in that same place.

Sales described the voyage with additional harrowing details. His account is given here in full:

As soon as we left the harbor we ran into contrary winds, with the result that a hole opened in the ship that was like an open conduit. The missionaries worked to plug it but they could not. Then an epidemic began on the ship. With the sailors all out of action the missionaries steered the ship and carried out their heavy tasks of labor. At last the pestilence, an epidemic of putrescent boils, which appeared chiefly on the head, attacked the missionaries. Being in this bad situation there came a most furious storm of thunder and lightning, the sea rose up, and among the missionaries there were scarcely any who could get about. Twice the ship put us under water. The poor missionaries cried to heaven in screaming voices. The poor sick men below were all drenched by the great quantity of water that came in. Already we thought that we had come to our last day, but in the end we reached a little port called Mazatan [Mazatlan] and resolved to land and care for the sick. We prepared a small boat and set out toward an unknown greater uncertainty, but we saw a distant light, steered toward it and soon entered a lagoon. Thinking that it would have shallow water we went overboard, dressed and shod, and after walking for an hour in water up to our breasts we got out at nine o'clock at night and met some poor mulatesses who had a little house there but no supply of food. The night having been passed in sighing and lamenting, they led us to a town and there we laid out some mantles on the ground for the sick. Two of these died, and the Father Master Vicar General died in the greatest pain, more at the sorrow he felt at seeing us in such misery than of his illness, for he saw us begging alms from door to door, without clothing or utensils. You may be able to guess what were the feelings of all, and much more when we learned that the other missionaries who had gone in the other boat had disappeared in the sea because of the fury of the wind. Our boxes and bundles still lay on the beach and we all expected death at any moment
because of the severity of the sickness and the lack of supplies. But the Viceroy and the Province of Santiago, notified of all that had happened gave the necessary orders to enable us to continue our voyage. In fact they sent some new missionaries, naming a Vicar General, and sent a vessel with a good crew to cross over to California. On the second voyage our fears were augmented, but with difficulty the boat arrived at the Mission at the Port of Loreto, and in a few days the other ship which had been lost also arrived. The missionaries could hardly stand on their feet. They made their entry, some in chairs, some on the backs of Indians, and still others supported by the Franciscan Fathers who were expecting us. Two days later one of us died.

The Franciscan, Fray Francisco Palou, gives a brief account of the coming of the Dominicans. His account differs considerably in details, but is substantially the same. Palou states that on October 14, 1772, nine Dominican priests and one laybrother arrived on the Laurentana at Loreto, and that ten days later one of the priests died. On April 8, 1773, news reached Loreto that the other Dominicans had suffered a shipwreck, that the President and Vicar-General, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, and two other friars had died, and that the Dominicans at present were at Tamazula. Palou remarked that these three deaths, with the one who died at Loreto and another at Guadalajara, brought the total number of deaths to five. The shipwrecked Dominicans arrived at Loreto, May 12, 1773, in two ships, the Concepcion and the Laurentana.

If we had to rely solely upon Sales for the history of what happened, there would be much to be desired. But by using the Acta of 1773, as well as two documents from the Archive of the Indies, Seville, the story can be put together, as I have indicated very briefly above.

The place of the shipwreck, or rather the places to which the Dominicans came after the shipwreck, were Mazatlan, as well as the village of San Sebastian, just to the north, and Rosario to the south of Mazatlan. The Acta of 1773 definitely says Mazatlan, and speaks of San Sebastian as the village,
where two of the friars died. Sales likewise names Mazatlán, and says that the next morning the friars were taken to a nearby town. The Temporalidades Collection, in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, states that twenty Dominicans were shipwrecked and came to Mazatlán, Rosario, and other places. We know from the account, given by Sales and the Acta of 1773, that two fathers, including Father Iriarte, died at San Sebastián. This would leave eighteen, and eighteen is the number that Palou mentions as arriving at Loreto, May 12, 1773. Three thousand, three hundred and ninety-eight pesos, four reales, and four granos, were given to the Reverend Father Procurator of the Dominicans by the government to subsidize the expenses which were incurred inculpably through the delay of their voyage.

With regard to the number that died on the way to Baja California, Palou is very correct in stating five. The Dominican story is not completely told by Sales. From the two documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, we find that the father who died at Guadalajara was José Díaz, and the date, June 27, 1772. The Acta of 1773 says that Father Ventín was lost at sea. Sales tells us that two, including Iriarte, died at a village, which we know is San Sebastián from the Acta of 1773. Sales, like Palou, says that one Dominican died at Loreto, but he differs as to the time. Palou says he died October 24, 1772, and Sales places the death two days after all the Dominicans in both boats arrived.

Very shortly after the fathers arrived they were assigned to their missions. The assignments that actually were made on May 15, 1773, are contained in the Californias Collection. An appended list shows the actual assignments of the missionaries. The list definitely shows the twenty-six names of the padres
with their respective missions. The *sinodos* that were paid by the government as the fathers' salary were for twenty-six, for the year May 16, 1773, to May 15, 1774. The total *sinodos* paid was 9,100 pesos, at the rate of 350 pesos for each father, plus 250 pesos for the lamps of Loreto Mission church. 20 There was a twenty-seventh in the group, Brother Manuel Camazon, according to the Acta of 1773 and Palou, also mentions the coming of one laybrother, but does not give his name. 21 As we saw in the last chapter, the laybrother drew no salary, but was supported from the common mission fund.

The new President and Vicar-Provincial was Father Vicente Mora, who at the time was thirty-five years of age and was for sixteen years a professed religious. He was a professor of philosophy and theology in the Imperial Convent of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, when he volunteered to work in the Dominican missions of Baja California. 22 He was one of the group of nine fathers and one laybrother who arrived at Loreto on October 14, 1772. Viceroy Bucareli on December 30, 1772, approved the appointment of Father Mora as the President and Vicar-Provincial of the Baja California missions. 23 Palou tells us that on April 8, 1773, Mora received the sad news of Iriarte's death and an unofficial letter of his appointment as the President of the missions. 24 Mora most likely received the official notification on May 12, 1773, when the remaining eighteen Dominicans arrived.

In a letter to the Viceroy, dated at Loreto, October 8, 1773, Mora speaks of the arrival at Loreto, on September 21, 1773, of Father Luis Sales, who owing to prolonged illness after the shipwreck was detained on the coast of Mexico. 25 So the ultimate number of Dominican priests was twenty-seven, and the one laybrother. Since Sales was not in Baja California at the time when the *sinodos*
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<th>ACTUAL ASSIGNMENTS</th>
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<td>Vicente Mora</td>
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<td>Martín Zavaleta</td>
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JESUIT MISSIONS
OF
BAJA CALIFORNIA 1767

200 miles
were figured, May 16, 1773, he drew no salary that year, but received two salaries in the next simodos, May 16, 1774 to May 15, 1775, when the total simodos paid were 9,300 pesos for twenty-eight salaries, plus 250 pesos for the lamps of Loreto mission. Then, the simodos for the years 1775 to 1779 were paid on the basis of twenty-seven salaries.

Palou has a chapter on the arrival of the eighteen Dominicans on May 12, 1773, their assignments and the transfer of the missions. Thus he wrote:

It was a day of great joy for everybody, for those who arrived after so many alarms and troubles in reaching their destination, and for us because the hour drew near for us to leave that exile. They gave thanks to God with three chanted Masses, and immediately after the distribution of the cargoes and provisions was concluded, eight of them left by land for the nearest missions, for the purpose of taking charge of them. Six were destined to go by land to the three pueblos of the South, Todos Santos, Santiago de las Cortes, and San José del Cabo; and the others to those of the North, where they were to go in a sloop and two launches, the reverend Father President remaining at Loreto with another priest and the laybrother.

As soon as the reverend Father President finished the distribution of the friars, we passed on to the formal delivery of the mission of Loreto, which was done with all formality and brevity, as the register and inventories of church and house had been made beforehand. All the Indians of the mission assembled at the sound of the bell, and after the list of them had been read a speech was made to them so that they might recognize the Reverend Father President, Fray Vicente Mora, and his companion, as their fathers and missionaries, sent to them for this purpose by the king, our master, because we were going to the new missions of Monterey. The Reverend Father President made a speech of his own, telling them that they would endeavor to look upon them and care for them as sons, and that he hoped they would conduct themselves as dutiful children, being punctual at catechism, prayer, and the other functions pertaining to the mission.

The Franciscan, Fray Miguel de la Campa, stayed on at Loreto, to supervise the transfer of the missions to the south of Loreto, while the Franciscan President, Fray Francisco Palou, accompanied the ten Dominicans to the north of Loreto, personally to supervise the transfer of the missions, and to sign the inventories. The actual transfer of Mission Nuestra Señora de Loreto was made on May 14, 1773.
The chronicle of events for the next few months is brief. On May 17, Palou and Mora made an agreement relative to the exchange of suffrages, specifying that "in case any of the missionaries of our Father St. Dominic dies, each one of the missionaries of our Father St. Francis in Upper California shall offer up for his soul three low masses; and in case any of the sons of our Seraphic Patriarch dies, the sons of our Cherubic Patriarch shall do likewise." Father Mora, on May 21, informed the Viceroy that the Indians of Mission Santa Maria had been transferred to Mission San Fernando, forming one group. However, Fathers Miguel Hidalgo and Pedro Gandiaga drew up a separate annual padrón for Mission Santa Maria de los Angeles, on June 20, 1774, and another for Mission San Fernando Velicaté, on June 25, 1774.

On May 24, 1774, Palou with the ten Dominicans set sail for the northern missions. As Palou made the transfer of the northern missions to the Dominicans assigned there, he experienced some unforeseen difficulties. At the Missions Santa Gertrudis and San Francisco de Borja, the Dominicans told Palou that they had been instructed by their President, Father Mora, not to allow Palou to select some Indians to take with him into Upper California. This was at first very strange since Palou tells us that he had come to an agreement with the Dominican President that in passing through the northern missions he might take from them twenty-five families, who were willing to go and seemed most suitable for the purpose. The Dominican Fathers then accepted Palou's word of the agreement and he selected three families of married people and two single men from Mission Santa Gertrudis, and seven families and five unmarried young men, from Mission San Francisco de Borja.

Likewise Viceroy Bucareli had ordered the taking of some livestock by
Palou from the old to the new missions. But Father Mora delayed in one way or another, according to Engelhardt, holding up the transfer of the livestock, insisting on the searching of the boxes of provisions going to the new missions in Upper California. So long was the wait that Fray Pedro Cambon with the livestock and baggage did not reach Monterey until June 13, 1775, after a two year delay. 38

How can the strange actions of Mora, as stated by Engelhardt, be explained?

Governor Felipe Barri of Lower California and the Franciscans had a great deal of disagreement. Slowly but surely Governor Barri must have raised doubts in Mora's mind about the integrity of the Franciscans, and Mora seems to have feared Barri. On this question Engelhardt wrote:

While Fr. Mora was only acting superior of the Dominicans, he appeared to be in perfect accord with the Franciscans, and unwilling to aid the governor in vexing Fr. Palou; but no sooner had he received the document appointing him President of the Dominican missions, as we have already indicated, than he seemed to be under the influence of Barri to such a degree that only abject fear can account for his acts. 39

There could have been many other reasons for the delay. The Dominicans had to be placed in the old Jesuit missions, they had to take new inventories, gather up the strayed cattle and Indians. The Franciscans had made a faithful inventory of the possessions and Indian population of the missions. However, Mora perhaps had in mind the immediate fulfillment of the fourth ordinance of the twelve laid down by the Dominican Provincial, Fray Pedro Garrido, on May 15, 1772, mentioned in Chapter II. Ordinance four required the fathers upon arrival at their respective missions to make a complete inventory of all the possessions and a census of the population, indicating the age, sex, and marital status. It must have required time to find out which of the missions could surrender provisions and how much each could afford. Moreover, Mora, rather
than being under the influence of Barri, was accountable to him as the civil power, and was cautious about releasing any produce of animals which Barri might hold to be property of a mission. Besides, as will appear later, Barri was anxious to introduce white settlers into Lower California and wished to hoard all supplies.

The Dominican Procurator of Missions, Fray Francisco Estavillo, in August of 1773, made a request for one or two missions in Sonora, which are nearest to those of Baja California. He asked specifically for a mission or two along the coast of the Province of Ostimuri, which is between the Yaqui and the Mayo Rivers. His reason for requesting the Sonora missions was that the Dominicans might be able more easily to obtain cattle and grain for the Baja California missions. He cited the practice of the Jesuits, who from time to time received help from the Sonora and Sinaloa missions for those of Baja California. 40

On November 4, 1773, Father Mora and the lieutenant, José Velásquez, started out from Loreto on a long tour of inspection of the missions towards the north. 41 Mora's Diary sets forth the following account. His party went to the northwest and came to San Juan, a ranch of Mission Loreto. On the following day they passed by Monvedor, a stream of very low water; and a little farther on they came to Canipole, belonging to the ranch of San Juan. Here also was a stream of water, flowing until April or May. They spent the night at Cadege C [Cadexa, Cadeje], adjacent to the Bay of Mulegé. November 6, continuing on through Mangle, which had no water, but a little nitrous, dry grass, they came to Meganos where they spent the night.

Next day, going to the northwest for three leagues they arrived at Mission Mulegé, situated on a hill. On the west slope of this hill was a little
cultivated land. Due to a violent storm three years before, the good land was washed away, and sand washed in. November 8, the party left for Santa Maria Magdalena, a distance of ten leagues, whose site Mora explored on the Ninth of November. Here he noted an abundance of water about one-eighth of a league from a little house made by the fathers for storing the provisions for the natives. November 11 found them at Mission San Ignacio, inspecting the dam, the seeding plains, and the workshops of the mission situated on a beautiful plain. The one threat to this mission was the floods. Mora says that the cultivated lands were very poor, and in spite of the abundance of water this land remained so desolate that the Indians had no ranch in which to live. Mora gave orders to build a ranch. This the fathers built in the shape of a quadrangle, having it finished on his return. On November 13 they left for Mission Santa Gertrudis, arriving there the next day. This mission is situated on the bank of a stream between hills. The mission had so little water that the fathers had to make a chain-pump or draw-well (noria) in order to irrigate the cotton, all important for providing the clothing for the few families of the mission. On November 18, they left for Mission San Borja and reached it on the twenty-first. This mission was located in a small valley providing hardly enough cultivated lands, amounting at that time to four fanegas de sembradura, that is, land sufficient for planting about 10.4 bushels of seed. The water supply came from the four or five small springs, and the fathers had built two basins of stone masonry to hold the water.

Mora and his party began the march to the Frontier, on November 28, and arrived at El Principio, a sandy stream which had no more fodder for the animals than some palms called apa by the natives. On November 29 the group
went to Yubai, a rancheria of Mission San Borja. About two leagues beyond Yubai, Mora noted the style of small huts (casitas) in which the poor natives lived. The huts were circular in shape, and the ground was hollowed out, forming a *pozo* or hole. Mora noted two or three fires inside the circular hut, and that the natives placed palm branches outside the hut, on the side from where the wind came. He says that this style of hut is used by all as far north as Vinadaco, the site for Rosario Mission, and that he believed that this style of hut was used even farther north.

On this same day, November 29, the group by nightfall reached Calamajue, which had been the site where the Jesuits had founded a mission and afterwards transferred it to the site of Santa Maria de los Angeles. The night of November 30 was spent at San Francisco, a sandy arroyo, and on the first of December the group came to the Mission of Santa Maria de los Angeles. From here they moved on through San Nicolás and Buenos Ayres, arriving at Mission San Fernando in the afternoon of December 4. Here Mora inspected the lands and the waters which were not very scarce. Mora writes that although the foundation was five years old, it was still undeveloped, not having a workshop, nor a fitting dwelling for the fathers. He inspected the Baptismal Register and found that since the Dominicans had taken over the mission there had been ninety-six baptisms, including one by himself.

Father Mora and his companions now stood on the borders of the northern Frontera. Their eyes peered northward into the area where the Dominicans were to establish five linking missions, in fulfillment of the Royal wishes. Great must have been their anticipation as they stood poised ready to go forward into new territories to explore the land for their first mission and to
win souls for Christ.
1. C-2056.

2. Libro de Difuntos, 1770-1830, p. 2. This manuscript is at the Domus of Santo Domingo, Mexico City.

3. C-2055.


5. Sales, III, 49-54; Rudkin, pp. 157-159.


7. Sales, III, 53; Rudkin, p. 159; *Acta* of 1773, p. 41.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42. The Dominican who wrote the account in the *Acta* borrowed some of his mode of expression from Vergil's *Aeneid*.

9. Sales, III, 50-54; Rudkin, pp. 157-159.


11. *Ibid*.

12. C-2055, 2056.

13. Temporalidades, Vol. 49, folios entitled "Entrega de expedientes pertenecientes al Fondo Piodosa de la Misiones de Californias." Cf. Bancroft, I, 555, for the map showing Mazatlán, San Sebastián and Rosario. In the future the Temporalidades Collection will be referred to by the abbreviation "Temp."


15. Temp., Vol. 11.


17. Sales, III, 52; Rudkin, p. 158; *Acta* of 1773, p. 42.

18. *Palou's California*, I, 264; Sales, III, 54; Rudkin, p. 159.

19. Calif., Vol. 66, fol. 54. It was included in a letter of Father Vicente Mora to the Viceroy, which letter was dated October 10, 1773, and contained in fol. 52.


27. Palou's California, I, 278-279.

28. Ibid., I, 281, 283.


32. Prov., Int., Vol. 166, fols. 82-85.

33. Ibid., fols. 106-108.

34. Palou's California, I, 291.

35. Ibid., I, 293-295.

36. Ibid., I, 282-283.

37. Ibid., I, 294-295.

38. Engelhardt, I, 551.

39. Ibid., I, 540.

41. C-2424. The document is entitled: "Diary, which Fray Vicente de Mora of the Order of Preachers, ex-lector of Sacred Theology, President, Vicar-Provincial and Forane of this Peninsula, wrote on the visitation, which he made of the missions of the North, from November 4, 1773."

42. Meigs, p. 165, and the footnote. In Mexico a fanega was equivalent to 2.6 bushels.

43. Meigs, p. 50, fig. 6, and p. 51. Also cf. Meigs, The Kiliwa Indians of Lower California (Berkeley, 1939), p. 33, where he gives a drawing of the style of hut and explains it in pp. 31-33.
CHAPTER IV

ROSARIO MISSION: FOUNDATION AND PROGRESS

On December 19, 1773, Mora and his party left Mission San Fernando and started toward Viñadaco, which was to be the site of Rosario Mission, the first mission established by the Dominicans. Mora was accompanied by Father Miguel Hidalgo, who with Father Pedro Gandiaga was stationed at San Fernando, and by Father Francisco Galisteo, who had been transferred from Mission Purisima Concepción Cadegomó to Mission San Fernando. There was need for a third missionary at the Frontera, especially since the Dominicans were planning to found a new mission.

The exploring party moved westward and spent the night at a place called Aguas Amargas, five leagues from San Fernando. On December 20 they came to an arroyo which Mora named San Vicente. At this point a pagan chief with five other Indians met them. All continued on together, and arrived at Viñadaco not far from the Pacific Ocean, at about three or four o'clock in the afternoon, where some ten or twelve Indians had gathered. The following day, December 21, three more chiefs and other Indians to the number of twenty-six presented themselves. They expressed the desire to become Christians, but said that the old men and women were reluctant because there would be no one to gather food for them. Many feared they would have to leave their lands and live at the mission, and some did not want to work in the mission.

Mora, both in his Diary and in his Report to the Viceroy, states that he
assured the Indians they would not have to leave their lands, that he would collect food supplies for all of them, that he would give them Dominican missionaries to live with them, who would protect them and free them from the exploitations which they suffered, both from pagans and soldiers. Mora in his Report says that he was able to accumulate for the Indians more than sixty fanegas of wheat and corn, that the missions as yet did not have enough to supply the Indians, and the government storehouse custodian refused to give it. He reported that the Indians indicated to him that the area was surrounded completely by pagans, and they pointed out the trails by which the Indians travelled toward the sea to do their fishing.

That same day, December 21, Mora and his party made an exploration of Vinadaco. The details of this exploration are found both in Mora's Diary and his Report to the Viceroy, and also in José Velásquez's Report to Governor Barri, written from Mission San Fernando, December 24, 1773, immediately upon returning from the exploration. José Velásquez, at the beginning of his Report indicates the size of the Vinadaco site: "This is an extended arroyo, like a valley, which runs from east-northeast to west-southwest, seems to be three leagues in length, and its width at best is very narrow, six hundred and forty varas, which I and a soldier, named Morillo measured." Mora, in the beginning of his Report to the Viceroy described the Vinadaco site thus: "It is pleasant and extensive, full of willows with many marshes or lagoons of water, running from east-northeast to west-southwest. The length of the valley is from six to eight leagues and the width about one league." Velásquez already had done considerable exploration and was a better judge of size, length, width of the valley, than Mora.
Mora, in his Diary, speaks of four plains which they saw and examined: the first was given the name of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, where the first Rosario mission was founded, about three and a half miles from the Pacific Ocean. In this was a large lake with much water, and full of rushes, willows and reeds. The second plain, a little nearer to the ocean, was given the name of Santo Tomas, which also had dense willow thickets. At two places he was able to get to the bottom of the arroyo, where he found running water. Coming a little closer to the ocean a third plain was observed, which was named San José, and here too there was a very large pool of water and dense willow-thickets. The fourth and last plain was given the name of Santa Rosa.

Finally, Mora and his party rounded a point of land, which he named Santa Catarina. They walked beyond the point to an extensive estuary, with the inevitable rushes and reeds. Mora wrote that this estuary was connected with the Pacific Ocean, but that at low tide, one could walk across it on foot dryshod. After this the party returned to the first plain, and discussed whether the abundance of water encountered everywhere came directly from the arroyo or from springs along the outer borders.

Either late this day, December 21, or the next, he had the Indians dig wells throughout the arroyo, and at the fourth well, the water gushed forth with much force. Then Mora went away from the arroyo about two hundred varas and again found abundant water. Finally, with four Indians, he climbed a little hill that was level with the top of the trees, and here they dug a ditch, one and a half varas wide and three long, and two and a half varas deep. The water came out with such force that the Indians had difficulty in stopping it.

Velásquez’s Report to Governor Barri gives a very brief description of the
area, in respect to the first plain, namely, that of Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

In the said place one can plant seed (and raise produce) with only the humidity, without the need of drawing water for years. Water is here in such abundance that the site has a lagoon to the south, whose bottom cannot be seen, and its length is more than one thousand varas. At the end of the lagoon there is a flow of water which is a buex and a half wide. At the foot of an elevated hillock there is a marsh, and near its place of origin, between the craggy brambled ground of the mount, one can see an abundance of water, which probably is about two buyes wide. At the head of the said marsh, on the highest place at the foot of the hill-ock, the Reverend Father President, Vicente de Mora, in company with the Reverend Fathers Hidalgo and Galisteo, gave orders to make a hole two and a half varas deep. In a very beautiful, tiny spot of the good earth, there was found a powerful water spring, without any bad taste. This water spring is away from the arroyo, which in the foresaid vicinity has several holes of water. I say this, not because it is exceptional, but because it is distinguished by innumerable water plants and most abundant bull rushes, Vatamotalez, and reeds.

In the W. B. Stephens Collection, at the University of Texas, there is a one page document entitled: "Plan de la nueva misión de Nuestra Señora del Rosario." It is a pencil drawing of the Vinadaco site, and in particular, of the plain of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, mentioned by Mora in his Diary. The drawing shows the cienaga, the pozo grande, and the saucedas, which fit perfectly the Report of Velázquez to the Governor. (See the accompanying diminished photograph of the sketch).

On December 23, at latest, the party returned from Vinadaco to San Fernando, a distance of fourteen leagues, at least a long day's travel. On December 24, at San Fernando, Velázquez wrote his Report to Governor Barri.

The following January 1, 1774, Father Mora, at Mission San Fernando wrote his Six Ordinances regarding the Dominican missionaries' duties and spiritual and temporal guidance of the Baja California missions. The first Ordinance prescribed the perfect observance of charity, silence, fasting, punctuality,
Plan of the Mission of our Lady of the Rosary

(Photostat from William B. Stephens Collection
Univ. of Texas, Document Number 186)
and diligence in wearing woolen clothing. Next the missionaries were commanded to supply everything conducive to the subsistence of the Indians of the Frontera. Third, the fathers were to carry out strictly the orders of the Sovereign, and to impress upon the Indians the King's wish for their spiritual and temporal routine of mission life for the Indians. Upon rising the Indians were to be given catechetical instructions, one day in Spanish, the next in the native language, followed by Mass, prayers, and a light breakfast. The men and women were to be assigned work apart, under supervisors, and the work was to be accompanied by the singing of hymns and litanies. Dinner was to be served at eleven-thirty and followed by an hour's siesta. The afternoon work was to stop at sunset for prayers and supper. Sundays were to be no-work days. Unless the natives were married they were to sleep separately in houses or dormitories, under the watchful eye of a trusted elder. There were to be separate infirmaries for the sick men and sick women. There were to be times set aside for recreation and games, but the barbarous Indian games and dances were prohibited.

On March 1, 1774, Governor Barri forwarded to Viceroy Bucareli the Report which he received from José Velásques on the exploration of the Vinañado site. And in the accompanying letter Governor Barri spoke of one hundred and fifteen Indians who had come along the camino from the north to receive baptism, since the transfer of the Frontier to the Dominicans. On March 11, 1774, Father Mora sent his Report of the exploration of the Vinañado site. On June 15, 1774, the Viceroy gave the Reports by Velásques and Mora to his Royal Fiscal, who replied the same day that the two Reports were not explicit enough for forming a true judgment, and he wanted the earlier documents, namely, Serra's
Relación of the Missions in New California, and the documents about the division of the California missions.

After receiving the earlier documents, the fiscal, Achea, on October 4, 1774, asked Mora to present a list of expenses, following which the Director of the Pious Fund was to consider the Reports. On October 22, Fernando José Mangino gave his reply that one thousand pesos was to be paid to the Dominicans for the erection of the new mission at Viñadelco, in keeping with the resolution of the Council of the Public Treasury and War, on April 30, 1772. The Mission of San Fernando was to supply some implements for the establishment of the new mission. After founding it the Dominicans could make the usual survey of lands and sites for the remaining four missions, sending reports of the same to the Viceroy.

Mora did not wait until all the legal formalities were completed. There was pressing need to establish soon the new mission of Rosario at the Viñadelco site. The constant arrival of the Indians seeking baptism, food, clothing, shelter and material things at the Frontera, like the one hundred and fifteen Indians mentioned above, required quick action. So he officially established or founded the new mission of Rosario on July 24, 1774.

Meigs has minutely described Rosario Valley and the entire area surrounding the first and second sites of Rosario Mission. From the ruins of the two missions Professor G. W. Hendry has reconstructed the plans. The terrace on which the first church was built was about three and a half miles from the ocean and about 42 miles from San Fernando. Mora placed it well back on the upper terrace in the shelter of the hills facing south. The crumpled ruins of the first church revealed that the earthen walls were about 132 feet long and
27 feet wide. Near the steep edge of the terrace ran a wall with five towers placed strategically. On the east above the arroyo was a very long building divided into smaller and large rooms, probably used as quarters for the Indians. Running west from the church to the edge of the terrace then north and south along the edge were other large rooms, probably for the shops, storage and soldiers.

The second site of the mission was down the Rosario Valley two miles closer to the ocean on a similar terrace but on the south side of the valley. The church was much smaller. Engelhardt says that in 1799 an oratory, 6 by 16 varas or 16 by 4.44 feet, was built at San José, a ranch in the district where grain was raised. Meigs seems to identify San José and the second site of Rosario Mission. The room adjoining the church was 21 by 33 feet and probably was the sacristy. The foundation of the second Rosario church was of stone and topped by adobe and the floor was of red unglazed tiles. The walls were plastered white. "A dazzling white mission, in its position overlooking the broad expanse of the valley, must indeed have been a beautiful and venerated sight, visible for miles around."16 Another building was at the very edge of the terrace but its purpose is unknown. There was a corral, a main court, and a separate military enclosure, each far smaller than those at the first site. Thus, without other buildings the second mission was far less pretentious than the first. The Indians apparently lived in huts at the rear of the terrace near the hills.

Once the site of the first Rosario mission had been selected Father Francisco Galisteo aided by other missionaries set himself to the task of building the church and habitations. The missionaries were in an exhilarating
new frontier with all its challenges. They would have the responsibility for the bodies and souls of the ignorant and forlorn natives. They must labor at building, planting, reaping, to care for the bodies, and they must with almost inhuman patience train savages in the ways of Christian civilization. Their hardships are untold in the cold, statistical records which the missionaries left of the spiritual progress at Rosario.

The Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers of Mission Rosario are the most reliable, important, and valuable sources of information for the religious progress. Likewise the annual Informes or reports, signed by the resident missionary, reveal the data on baptisms, marriages, and burials for a given year, with the total numbers from the foundation of the mission. In addition the Informes give numbers of the existing populations, horses, mules, cattle, the buildings, and the crops. Amplifying these records are the annual or bi-annual Noticias, signed by the President of the Missions or the Governor. These statistical tables indicate the number of padres at a mission, the salary paid, the population figure for the native men and women, as well as for the few Spanish men and women. At the end of the Noticias a few explanatory notes are usually added. Then there are also occasional Estados. These are usually statistical tables, and frequently are summaries of larger expedientes of padrones and inventories.¹⁷ These Estados also give the population figures for the men and women, animals, and the crops. From the above sources the ministries and population of Mission Rosario de Vinadaco may be indicated.

The first ten entries of the Rosario Baptismal Register are missing. The eleventh entry is dated October 16, 1774. Fortunately, it can be determined with certainty that those first ten entries contained 64 baptisms, 57 of them
by Father Galisteo, and the other 7 by Father Pedro Gandiaga, from the neighboring Mission San Fernando. Entry number 26, dated March 25, 1775, shows one baptism by Father Manuel Garcia, a visitor from Mission San Borja. On that date Garcia counted all the baptisms in the Register and along side of entry number 26 he placed the baptismal number 181. From then on the numbers refer to baptisms, not to entries. Counting back from entry 26 or baptism number 181 to entry 11, we find that entry 11 is equivalent to baptism 65. This means that the missing first ten entries contained 64 baptisms.

In the Stephens Collection there is a complete copy of the list of the first 181 baptisms, which states the first name of the persons baptized, the missionary who baptized them, and the number of persons whom each padre baptized. These baptisms were from the beginning of the mission, July 24, 1774, to March 25, 1775, inclusive. According to this document Miguel Hidalgo baptized 27, Manuel Garcia baptized one, Galisteo baptized 146, and Gandiaga baptized 7.

The Baptismal Register shows that there were 146 baptisms of the natives between July 24, 1774, and the end of the same year. There were no deaths of the baptized Christian natives during the year 1774. By June 30, 1775, there were 193 baptized natives, and 6 deaths had occurred, making a total of 187 baptized native Christians, living at that date. Viceroy Bucareli sent to the king an estado, dated June 30, 1775, which showed the total population of Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Vinadaco to be 207 persons, of which 115 were men and 92 were women. This figure included the 187 baptized natives, the two resident missionaries, the known six soldiers stationed at the mission, and possibly a few baptized Indians from other missions.
By the end of 1775 there had been 565 baptisms and 40 deaths, making a total of 525 living baptized natives. By the end of 1776 there had been baptized 663 natives, and subtracting the total number of deaths among the baptized natives, namely, 107, we have 556 living baptized natives. And when we add the two padres and the six soldiers, we have 564, which agrees perfectly with the population figure in the estado, dated December 31, 1776, and sent by the Viceroy Bucareli to the King. 21

The most active period of conversions was the first twenty years from 1774 to the end of 1794. 22 During this period the converts are both adults and their children. In the margin of the Baptismal Register there is written the first name of the baptized person, the age, and the word adulta, adulto, parvula, or parvulo, as the case might be. During this twenty year period of spiritual growth there were 1269 baptisms.

Beginning with the year 1795, which witnessed 34 baptisms, more than half of the baptized persons were parvulos or children. This indicates that fewer adult converts were made and that the children were mostly those of old converts. Only occasionally is the term "child of a pagan" indicated. During the following years to 1812 inclusive the baptisms were nearly all among the children of old converts. For this 18 year period, from 1795 to 1812, inclusive, there were 151 baptisms or an average between 8 and 9 a year. At the end of the year 1812 the total number of baptisms was 1420. During the final 32 years of the mission's baptisms, from 1813 to 1844, there were 32 baptisms, or an average of one a year.

The following chart shows the exact number of baptisms, burials, and marriages for the various years, as indicated in the mission's Registers. The
chart is divided into three sections, according to the three stages of the mission's life, namely, the active period of conversions (1774-1794), the initial decline (1795-1812), and the final decline (1813-1844).

It is interesting to note that most of the conversions were made during the year 1775. For the year 1774 there were 146 baptisms, while in 1775 there were 419 more, and in 1776 there were 98, the third highest year for converts. Beyond the workings of divine grace, the reason for the very early conversions of most of the natives in the Rosario Mission area is explained largely by the very practical, geographical and economical fact that Rosario was centrally located, possessing the sole permanent water supply, and therefore having the most fertile soil.23 From the very beginning the Capitanes, or chief Indian men, and the Indians eagerly desired baptism, provided they were assured food supplies, and could live on their own lands. For the most part, as Father Sales wrote, the Indians of Missions San Fernando and Rosario were "humble, peaceful and docile."24

By September 18, 1775, the Fathers had baptized at least 12 Capitanes of the Indians. The Rosario Baptismal Register lists in the left-hand margin the first name, the age, and the title of Capitán. The Stephens document number 149, which supplied the names and number of the missing first ten entries of the Baptismal Register, likewise indicates the title of Capitán. From these two sources the name of each Capitán and the order of his baptism can be obtained.

There is an interesting account of the apostolic activities of José, one of the capitanes. This human interest story is found in a Report of September 10, 1775, sent to Father Mora by Galisteo and Manuel Pérez.25 They record
<table>
<thead>
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<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BAPTISMS</th>
<th>BURIALS</th>
<th>MARRIAGES</th>
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<tr>
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<td>146</td>
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<td>1775</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>24</td>
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</table>

| 1744-1812 | 1420 | 1139 | 400 |
| TOTAL     | 14,52 | 1217 | 424 |
that, as was his custom, Capitán José went out in search of pagan Indians in order to bring them to Mission Rosario. By chance he passed by "la Ranchería de un Capn. gentil nombrado Macapá." José was challenged to a fight and was told that neither the fathers nor the Christian Indians were welcome. José and his group left the rancheria, only to be followed by the pagans, who definitely had the intent to kill them in ambush. Seeing this, he stood in the middle of the road, and said that he came to their rancheria, not only as a new Christian, but as one free from error and evil passions, and he wished to free them also. Moreover, he said that he desired to be killed, not to kill, because God had commanded not to kill another, nor injure another. With this the pagan Indians returned to their rancheria, and three days later the pagan capitán sent two of his sons to be baptized. They were baptized and sent back to their father. Soon four more Indians came from the rancheria with the news that the entire rancheria was sick with the fevers and that some of the Indians were dying.

The fathers immediately set out, accompanied by four soldiers, and after one day of travelling through well-nigh impassable lands, they arrived at the rancheria. They found the rancheria had sixty persons, of whom forty-two were sick. The fathers, having no medicines, greased their temples with fish oil. The following morning the sick appeared to be cured, and the fathers returned to the mission, accompanied by the capitán and thirty-three of his people. During the day the capitán went out to bring the rest of the Indians to the mission. Altogether there were about one hundred. The name of Santa Rosa was given to the rancheria.

Galisteo and Pérez finished the Report of September 10, 1775, to Mora with
this information. One of the fathers on September 3, 1775, went to visit another rancheria whose captain was very much opposed to receiving baptism. In two days searching he could not find any Indians, much less the nineteen in particular, whom the apostolic José had brought to the mission earlier. But apparently that captain and some of his rancheria were baptized, for on September 18, a forty-one year old Capitán Geronimo and thirteen others were given the waters of baptism.

Meigs says that there were ten rancherias grouped around the Rosario mission or within the mission area. The territory subject to the jurisdiction of Mission Rosario was 700 square miles. He gathered his information on the rancherias from the first four years of the burial entries, where the birthplaces were also indicated. The ten rancherias, according to Meigs, were: Rosario, Santo Tomás, Santa Rosa, Socorro, Santo Domingo, Fiel, Domingo, Agustín, Cava, and Macopa. He says that the three principal rancherias were Rosario, Santo Tomás, and Santa Rosa, borne out by the fact of the presence of the principal shell middens in those areas.

The relative importance of the rancherias can be determined by the burials recorded for each rancheria. The following chart indicates the burials at the ten rancherias. After meticulous checking of the four years of burials these are the burial figures, which differ slightly from those of Meigs.
As indicated in my burial statistics there were 258 burials at the end of 1778. The difference between 258 and 214 is explained by the death of 11 Indians imported from San Fernando, 4 Indians of the mountains, and 29 deaths with no reference to a rancheria.

It appears that Meig's rancherías Macapa, Agustín, and perhaps Santa Rosa, are one and the same. All three involve the name of Capitán Agustín de Macapa, whose rancheria was renamed Santa Rosa. The Baptismal Register records his baptism under the name of "Agustín Capn. de Macapa." The Mission Registers associate the names of Agustín and his family with the three rancherías as though they were one.

Viceroy Bucareli's estado of June 30, 1775 to the king stated the population to be 207, with 115 men and 92 women. Another estado of his placed the mission's population at end of 1776 at 564, with 269 men and 295 women. As far as I know there are not extant any population figures for 1777 to 1781.

Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga's estado for the end of 1786, and dated March 26, 1787, not only gave the Rosario population as 328, but also showed the proportion of men, women, boys and girls. There were 113 men, 126 women, 48 boys and 41 girls. Meigs listed this estado among his manuscripts, but did not
put down a 1786 population figure in his Population Table. Sales listed a general estado of the missions, and he placed the population figure of 1787 at 328. Most likely he was using Arrillaga's latest figure. So Sales is not giving a figure of doubtful accuracy for 1787 as Meigs claims.31

The State Papers "Missions" gives the 1791 population as 348, with 126 men, 133 women, 40 boys and 49 girls. And the same source for 1793 breaks down the population figure of 390 into 164 men, 148 women, 42 boys and 36 girls. The 1795 population was 323, which included 91 minors, while the 1796 population was 320, according to the resident minister, Fray Vicente Belda, and included 83 minors. The 1797 population of 334 included 78 minors. In 1812 the population of 117 was broken down into 58 men, 39 women, 12 boys, and 8 girls.

The following chart shows the population from 1775 to 1812 inclusive. The asterisk in the chart, between a given year and the corresponding population figure, indicates that Meigs in his Population Table also gave those figures. This chart gives many more population figures for the years 1791, 1794 to 1799 inclusive, 1802, 1804, 1806, 1808, and 1812. The 1804 figures of President Gallego are an exact duplicate or copy of Governor Arrillaga's noticia of 1802 for all the Dominican missions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
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<td>1775 *</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>92</td>
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<td>C-3152. Bucareli's estado. 6-30-1775.</td>
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<td>564</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>295</td>
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<td>C-3564. Bucareli's estado. 12-31-1776.</td>
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<td>1782 *</td>
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<td>SPM, I, 22; NMS, I, 740.</td>
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<td>1786</td>
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<td>113</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Arrillaga's estado. California Transcripts.</td>
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<td>1786 *</td>
<td>328</td>
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<td>Sales, Table 1; Rudkin, p. 108.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>348</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>SPM, I, 80; NMS, I, 740.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>SPM, I, 76.</td>
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<td>1794</td>
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<td>175</td>
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<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 142.</td>
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<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 147.</td>
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<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 308.</td>
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## ROSARIO MISSION POPULATION

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<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
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<td>185</td>
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<td>1 SW</td>
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<td>1800</td>
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<td>105</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801. Bancroft Library.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800</td>
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<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 410.</td>
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<td>125</td>
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<td>1801</td>
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<td>1806</td>
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<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 203.</td>
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<td>117</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Goycochea, Not., Cal., Vol. 61, fol. 430.</td>
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</table>
EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS, ABBREVIATIONS

* These figures also are in Meigs, p. 168.


C-3564 Ibid.

SPM State Papers, Missions. Bancroft Library.


Not. Noticia.

Cal. Californias Collection, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Mis. Misiones Collection, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Prov. Int. Provincias Internas Collection, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

SM Spanish man.

SW Spanish woman.
Meigs writes that "from the few rancherias, the location of which we know, we can form a rough idea of the limits of the territory tributary to Rosario, which must have included about seven hundred square miles."32

The land cultivated or sown in the mission days was about 212 acres.33 The year 1795 yielded a crop of 1200 fanegas of corn for six fanegas of planted seed, or a return of 200 to 1. The corn crops were larger at Rosario than at any other mission. The wheat yield for 1795 was 110 fanegas for 6 fanegas, or 18 to 1. The barley crop for the same year was 217 fanegas for 5 fanegas of planted seed, averaging 43 to 1. Meigs has a Table of crops for the years 1775 to 1794, for 1800, 1801, and 1830. His figures are in terms of bushels. To reduce to fanegas measurement one must divide the bushel figure by 2.6, since a fanegas is equivalent to 2.6 bushels. Rather than reproduce Meigs' figures the author presents in the following chart the crop figures for 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798, which he lacks. The chart shows the amount of fanegas planted with the yield from that planting. An Almud is somewhat less than a peck or quarter of a bushel. The figure 4.6 means 4 fanegas and 6 almudes. The chart also augments Meigs' Table for the herds of animals for the same years.

The first Rosario Mission with its buildings, as has been noted, was located three and a half miles from the ocean and the second Rosario Mission was two miles nearer to the Pacific Ocean.34 The Mission was moved about 1802 to the new site because of water shortage from the springs, which had either dried up or were buried as a result of a flood.

The Rosario Mission of Viñadaco was more than just a chapel or church. It was built in the usual quadrangle or variation of it, with the church forming part of the north side. There were many rooms used as sleeping quarters on the
### Chart of the Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat Seed Crops</th>
<th>Barley Seed Crops</th>
<th>Corn Seed Crops</th>
<th>Beans Seed Crops</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
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<td>1795</td>
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<td>110</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>217</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 87.</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>147</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 20.</td>
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### Chart of the Herds

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Mules</th>
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<td>516</td>
<td>151</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>158</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>82</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 87.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>87</td>
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<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>140</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>c.78</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 52.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
east side by the missionaries and the many natives who lived at the Mission itself. There were separate quarters for the soldiers. A very important part of this quadrangle was the industrial wing at the north-west corner. From the inventories of the Dominican mission we know that there were at least a forge, a carpenter's workshop, a masonry shop, a store-room or warehouse, as well as weaving and spinning rooms.35

The fathers taught the Indians how to farm, build dams and water canals for irrigation. There had been at Rosario Mission both a water canal and a dam. The women were taught to cook, sew, spin and weave. The men were taught how to use tools, and the very mission buildings are the result of their work.

The Dominicans introduced ceramics into Baja California, and especially at the mission sites there have been found specimens of their pottery. Meigs, in his Kiliwa Indians, speaks of the Kiliwa pottery: "the type of pottery here described prevails throughout northern Lower California, and occurs in the long-abandoned shell heaps along the Pacific Coast at least as far south as Rosario."36 William C. Massey, anthropologist and ethnologist, writing about ceramics in Baja California, says:

This northern portion of the peninsula is the only section where there is known to have been pottery making in historic times. . . . Elsewhere along the coast sites bearing potsherds are frequent; however there are marked concentrations of sherds on sites adjacent to the Dominican missions. There seems to be a long gap in pottery-bearing sites between Santo Domingo Mission and the old Rosario Mission; potsherds occur on sites near these missions but, so far as I have been able to determine, not in the area between.37

Besides the two main economies practiced at Mission Rosario, namely, raising grain and cattle, vegetables were grown, as well as figs and large grapevines.

The friars carried on occasional trade with sea-going vessels which came
into Rosario Bay, some miles south of Rosario Mission. Captain Benjamin Morrell, who came into the Bay in 1825, wrote that cattle, sheep, deer, hogs, potatoes, and vegetables could be obtained at very moderate prices. Now and then the fathers sold beef to the government. Bancroft, in speaking of the government slaughtering fifty head of cattle, wrote that the expense was greater than the beef would have cost at the missions. Also Rosario Mission engaged in catching sea otters and selling nutria skins, which especially was a source of revenue for Mission Santo Domingo. The above mentioned occasional trading was a much needed source of revenue for the mission. As mentioned before, the only support the missions received from the government was the three hundred and fifty pesos a year for each father.

In summary, at Rosario Mission, as at the other Dominican missions, the natives were taught their duties to God and neighbor, they were taught the catechism, how to pray, and they received the Sacraments. The natives learned how to farm, how to raise corn, wheat, barley, and use the dams and irrigation canals for best agricultural results. They were instructed also how to tend cattle, shear sheep, slaughter animals.

Rosario Mission, like all the Dominican missions, was indeed an industrial school. The women were taught home economics, how to cook, sew, spin and weave. The men learned the use of tools, carpentry and masonry work, which is seen in the work they did, for example, the construction of the mission buildings, correls, dams, irrigation canals. They were taught how to use the forge, and how to tan leather, at least at Mission Santo Domingo, where there were two small cement-lined pits three feet deep, four by four feet, and two and a half by four feet in length and width. Local tradition has it that these two pits
were used in the mission days for the tanning of leather. Both Rosario Mission and Santo Domingo Mission had a kiln or horno, which Meigs says was used probably for burning lime. And only in the Dominican mission area of northern Baja California, and especially at the Dominican mission sites, are there found the remains of pottery. The Rosario Mission was removed about 1802 to the San José site, where it had a tiled floor, composed of well-made unglazed red tiles, ten and a half inches square and two inches thick.

This practical industrial education had some obvious results, such as to make the natives somewhat self-supporting, and to provide the discipline necessary for the rudiments of civilized life. Another result of this mission system is seen in these words of Bolton: "The missionaries transplanted to the frontiers and made known to the natives almost every conceivable domestic plant and animal of Europe."

Many of these plants were discovered by the missionaries to have a medicinal value. The Dominican missionary, Luis Sales, in his book, *Noticias de la Provincia de Californias*, pointed out the need for a knowledge of herbs and the consequent application of these herbs to the physical ailments of the Indians. Thus he wrote: "there are many medicinal plants which I myself have used for sunstroke, sores, pains in the chest, and other illnesses."

He noted that the juice of the cardon was a remedy for syphilis, but that it is too painful to be endured. The Jesuit, Father Francisco Javier Clavigero, made this observation of the use of the cardon, a plant which reaches a height of forty feet:
The missionaries also found a way of making the branches very useful. They used to squeeze the juice out of a piece about two spans long, then they pounded it, and extracted the juice, which they boiled, removing the scum to a certain degree of condensation. This kind of balsam had been very good for wounds and sores. 47

Sales noted also that the roots of the chocuit, which grow in the swamps, were efficacious for all sorts of ulcers. 48 He also spoke about a certain Dominican missionary's successful inoculation of Indians against smallpox. He was so successful that not more than three or four Indians, in his Mission of San Ignacio, died. 49 Bancroft identified this Dominican as Father Crisóstomo Gómez. 50

Before concluding this chapter it would be useful to give a brief sketch of the first two missionaries who guided the destiny of Mission Rosario for the first fifteen years of its existence.

Father Francisco Galisteo, the first resident minister, was a native of Carcabuey, born about 1735 and professed about 1752. He was of medium stature, had fair complexion, blue eyes, and brown hair. 51 With Fray Miguel Hidalgo he drew up an expediente of suggestions in 1772 regarding the administration of the Dominican missions in Baja California, which expediente was mentioned in Chapter II. Assigned to Mission Purísima Concepción on May 15, 1773, in the course of that year Galisteo was sent to Mission San Fernando. His ministries multiplied there with the coming of many Indians and the founding of Rosario de Viñadaco. He accompanied Mora on the exploration of the Viñadaco site for Rosario Mission, where he was the first resident minister from its foundation, July 24, 1774, to the end of 1779. 52 Then he was assigned to Loreto Mission, apparently from the end of 1779 to October of 1789. 53 On October 18, 1785, Galisteo wrote a letter from the Mission of Our Lady of Loreto to a Most
Excellent Señor, more than likely the Viceroy, about the grave urgent need of provisions, food, utensils for the missions of Baja California. 54

Among other things Galisteo was postulated for the title of Preacher General, according to the Acta of 1784. 55 He was made Primus Praesentatus titulo Missionum Californiae by the Master General, Very Reverend Balthassar de Quinones, according to the Acta of 1788. 56 On October 2, 1789, José Joaquín de Arrillaga wrote to the Viceroy, Manuel Antonio Flores, that Galisteo, with Hidalgo, Sales, and Valero had permission to retire from Baja California and to go to San Blas on the Fragata Concepción. 57 On December 15, 1789, Galisteo and Sales in Mexico City wrote a joint letter to the Assessor-General. 58 By the Catholic King himself Galisteo was postulated for the Mastership with the title of Missions and he was instituted Master on July 18, 1792. 59 About 1792 Galisteo returned to Spain. The Acta of 1796 does not show him assigned in Mexico. The same says that Fray José Armento was instituted on January 6, 1795, as the First Praesentatus with the title of the Missions of California, due to Fray Francisco Galisteo's relinquishing the title upon his return to Spain. April 28, 1804, from Granada, Galisteo wrote to the King, saying that the greatest publicity should be given to the rewards promised clergymen who go into missionary service, in order to arouse interest among those who may wish to do so. He died in the Convent at Granada before April 15, 1815. 61

The second resident missionary at Rosario was Fray Manuel Pérez. According to his reseña, dated at Cádiz, June 15, 1771, he was a native of Narela, in the Archdiocese of Granada, and was born about 1743. He was of medium height, large of face, and he had a pale color, dark hair and large eyes. 62 He was assigned to Mission San Xavier, May 15, 1773. He was still there on July 1,
1774, since he, with Fray Domingo Gines, signed the padrón of the mission on that date. 63 From at least July 3, 1775, Pérez was assigned to Mission Rosario, for on that date his signature appears in the Baptismal Register and the mission Registers show his signatures until the end of 1787. His last entry was on December 31, 1787, in the Burial Register. In fact he stayed on at the mission till his death on March 18, 1788, although there are no more entries of his in the Registers. During his first four years at Rosario, from 1775 to 1779, he was the assistant to Galisteo. And in turn he was assisted by Fray Antonio Luesma from 1781 to 1783. He helped out occasionally at San Fernando for his signature appears in the mission's Baptismal Register for the years 1775, 1778, 1780, and 1782.

Pérez was the secretary to Mora on his canonical visitation of San Fernando, June 24, 1775, and of Mission Rosario, on July 11, 1775. 65 Likewise he was the secretary to Hidalgo on his visitations of the Frontera missions in September and October of 1782. 66 He died at Mission Rosario on March 18, 1788, and was buried the following day. His burial was recorded in entry number 607 of Rosario's Burial Register.
1. Viñadaco is the spelling used by Mora in his Diary, and is found in the Baptismal Register, as well as in many of the Dominican documents.


5. Ibid., A league was equivalent to 2.6 miles, and a vara was 33 inches. Cf. Meigs, p. 165.


7. Meigs, p. 43.

8. Prov. Int., Vol. 166, fols. 192-192v. A buey means ox. The expression "buey de agua" means a stream of water, an ox wide, or the volume of which is similar to the corpulence of an ox. A running stream of water frequently was described in terms of the cross-section of an orange, a lime, a lemon, an eye, or the volume of which is similar to the corpulence of an ox.


10. C-2501. This is a certified copy of his Ordenaciones.


12. Ibid., fols. 190v-191.

13. Ibid., fols. 198-199.

14. The Rosario Mission's Marriage and Burial Registers clearly show the date of foundation at the beginning of the Registers. On the title page of the second Burial Register one can see the distinct words: "Santissimo Rosario fundada día 24 de Julio del año 1774."

15. Meigs, pp. 41-62.

16. Ibid., p. 51.
17. C-2859, a one page estado, dated February 24, 1775, by Melchor de Peramás, is a summary of Prov. Int., Vol. 166, fols. 1-108, which is the first census and padrones drawn up by the Dominicans, between May and September of 1774, for the fourteen missions transferred to them by the Franciscans.

18. Stephens Collection, no. 149, fols. 6-8.


20. Stephens Collection, no. 147. In this document, dated at Rosario, September 10, 1775, Fathers Galisteo and Manuel Pérez, in giving the spiritual progress at Mission Rosario, mentioned that six soldiers were stationed at the mission.


23. Ibid., p. 145.


25. Stephens Collection, no. 147.

26. Ibid., no. 148, is a listing of families baptized between July 30, 1775, and November 23, 1775. In this list there are given the names of Capitán Agustín Macapa's family, showing Agustín, his wife, Polonia, and six daughters, but there are no two sons listed. The Baptism Register does not seem to indicate the baptism of two sons of Capitán Macapa.

27. The Baptismal Register, under the date of August 28, shows the baptism of Agustín de Macapa, aged forty, and his six daughters, Rita, Barbara, Luisa, Agustina, Rosalía, and Joaquina. August 29 his forty-four year old wife, Polonia, was baptized.


29. Ibid., p. 49.

30. Ibid., p. 59.

31. Ibid., p. 168.

32. Ibid., p. 59.

33. Ibid., p. 53.
34. Ibid., p. 22.


38. Bancroft, I, 716.


40. Ibid., p. 68.

41. Ibid., pp. 48, 68.

42. Ibid., pp. 49-51.


44. Ibid., p. 141.

45. Sales, I, 25; Rudkin, pp. 16-17.

46. Sales, I, 96-97; Rudkin, p. 61.


48. Sales, I, 97; Rudkin, p. 61.

49. Sales, I, 96; Rudkin, p. 61.


52. Cf. the Rosario Mission Registers.

53. Cf. the Nomina lists of June 4, 1783, by the Procurator of Missions, Father Francisco Estavillo, in the Prov. Int., Vol. 9; of February 25, 1786, by Hidalgo, in the Stephens Collection, no. 39; of early 1788, in the Calif., Vol. 82.
54. Calif., Vol. 82.

55. Acta of 1784, p. 10, a typewritten copy, preserved at Santo Domingo Domus in Mexico City.


57. Mis., Vol. 23, fol. 371.

58. Ibid., Vol. 23, fols. 374–376.

59. Father Clodoald Mercier, O. P., "Notices biographiques sur la plupart des Missionnaires Dominicains de la Basse-Californie (XVIIIème-XIXème Siècles)." This is a typewritten series of biographical sketches based upon a few of the Acta.

60. C-5999.

61. Mercier, "Notices biographiques."


64. Engelhardt, I, 603, 604.

65. Cf. the Mission Registers, and Engelhardt, I, 603.

Having seen the Rosario Mission off to a good start during the last half of 1774, the Dominicans turned their eyes to new fields early in the following year in the hope of finding a suitable place for their projected Santo Domingo mission. Toward the end of March, 1775, they were ready to investigate a region probably discovered by the Franciscans after their expedition of 1769 to San Diego and at least suspected by Fray Juan Crespi of being a very likely site for a foundation. He had heard from the Indians of good land near the sea on the San Dionisio River, now the San Antonio. Later events placed the site of Santo Domingo Mission more definitely. It was approximately sixty miles northwest of Mission Rosario, twenty miles north of the Bay of San Quintin, and some five miles from the Pacific Ocean. These distances changed some years after when Santo Domingo Mission was moved from its original site two and a half miles up the Santo Domingo Cañon.

Although Meigs says that almost nothing is known of the exploration for selecting the Santo Domingo site, yet there is an eight folio expediente thoroughly covering the first tour of inspection and other evidence regarding the second. The title of this folio of proceedings is very misleading, namely: "Sobre descubrimiento del sitio nombrado Viñádaco en Californias y fundacion
de cinco Misiones por los padres Dominicos." This expediente contains all of the official statements necessary for the legal foundations of the mission. There are the opinions of Señor Alferez Don José Velásquez, the government's representative on the expeditions, to Fathers Manuel Garcia and Miguel Hidalgo, who accompanied him on the first trip, and to Father Mora who was with him on the second. Then follow Mora's letter to Governor Neve, Neve's report to Viceroy Bucareli, and Bucareli's reply to Neve.

It is somewhat difficult to set the exact dates of the first exploration made by Lieutenant Velásquez, Fathers Garcia and Hidalgo, and some soldiers, but the time was between March 25, and April 2, 1775. This may be reasoned from the following time schedule of Garcia. The Burial Register of Mission San Francisco de Borja, where Garcia was stationed, indicates that he had performed a burial service there on March 6 and another on April 21. Shortly after March 6 he went to Mission San Fernando, where, according to the Baptismal Register, he administered a baptism on March 18. He continued north to Mission Rosario and again baptized on March 25. Thereafter he was on the way to Santo Domingo Mission site. When the expedition returned to Rosario, Garcia and Hidalgo made a written request of Velásquez on April 2 for his official opinion in writing as to the suitability of the place for a mission:

Señor Alferez Don José Velásquez:

Having inspected with you the new site, to which we gave the name of Santo Domingo, it is, in our opinion, a suitable and fitting site for founding a mission. Since we may be mistaken, due to our lack of experience we request you to tell us whatever may be pertinent to this point, so that we may give the information to our Very Reverend Father President.

Mission of the Most Holy Rosary of Viñadaco, April 2, 1775.
On the very same day the lieutenant obliged the fathers with a reply that was as favorable as they could have desired:

Very Reverend Fathers:

In answer to your petition requesting my opinion relative to the new site, inspected by me with yourselves, I affirm that the site seemed to me very well adapted to the founding of a mission, because first, it is a day and a half by road from the Mission of Viñadaco, a very moderate distance; secondly, it is located at the foot of the mountain ridges of Cieneguilla, where paganism abounds, since it is located close to Valladares, San Telmo, and the Bay of San Quintin, which places are full of pagans. Nor is it less suitable because it is two leagues away from the Mar del Sur (Pacific Ocean) whither may pagans go. It has very suitable land and water. As you Fathers experienced, there is such a depth of water that it could hardly be waded through anywhere, and the soldiers informed me that when they first saw the site the water was in great quantity, although it was the dry season and there had been no floods. There is much acreage, for one tableland alone, which I myself measured, is 1500 varas long and 300 varas wide, to which other large tablones can be joined, so that in my opinion there could be sown at least thirty fanegas of wheat. There is a great amount of lumber, a great deal of pasture for cattle in the neighborhood. The only drawback I found is its encirclement by jagged ridges, but even this serves for a more moderate climate and for protection from the winds, particularly from the northwest, which in some places are very violent. Therefore, I say, it seems to me to be a very suitable site for founding a mission.

The Mission of Rosario, April 2, 1775.

José Velásquez.12

The two letters were forwarded to Mora at Loreto. Probably without skepticism of the reports and more through a desire to assure himself of the sufficiency of the place, he decided to see it in the dry season. In early July, accompanied by Hidalgo, Velásquez and five soldiers, he visited the proposed site. On the return of the expedition to Rosario Mora wrote an official note to Velásquez on July 7, asking him again for an official report of the expedition, so that he could "carry out the due judicial proceedings with the Señor Governor of this Peninsula and take the most proper steps for founding the Mission of our Patriarch."13
Velásquez wrote his reply on the same July 7. He confirmed the adequacy of the site as far as the essential qualities were concerned. It was shrouded in paganism and there were numerous Indians about. There was permanent water, a steady stream, although not covering the verdant arroyo bed. There was a grove of oak and sufficient firewood. There was enough land for tilling and enough pasturage for "major and minor" animals, meaning by "major" the horses, mules and cows, and by "minor" the sheep, goats and hogs. There was an abundance of everything needed for the support of the mission and consequently Velásquez did not hesitate to affix his signature to the report. Nor did the five soldiers who were with him hesitate to do the same thing.

Mora wasted no time in getting off his petition to the governor. Moreover, assuming a favorable reply he told the missionaries at San Francisco Borja Mission to pack their belongings and move to the new site, as may be seen in his letter to the governor.

Señor Governor, Don Felipe de Neve.
My dear Señor:

Having set out with the second lieutenant and five soldiers to inspect the new site of Santo Domingo, I found it fit for putting into execution the efficacious desire which fills us to see founded the Mission of our beloved Patriarch, since it has adequate water for the irrigation of its soil and does not manifest the usual inconveniences of the preceding missions.

The neighboring pagan field is abundant judging from the foot marks we ran across, for the soldiers have seen them whenever they travelled past the above-mentioned site. And in view of the little experience which I have had in the above-mentioned matter, I requested the second lieutenant to give me his opinion along with those of the soldiers, which I enclose for Your Excellency, so that you may determine what is most suitable.

On the same date I informed the Fathers of San Borja that they may go, getting ready their things, having assumed the favorable reply which I hope for from Your Excellency, for giving birth to a
work pleasing to the eyes of God.

May Our Lord favor your important life with prolonged years. The Most Holy Rosary of Vihanado, July 8, 1775. Kissing the hands of your Lordship, your most dependable and devoted chaplain.

Fray Vicente de Mora.16

While Father Mora made his canonical visitation of Mission Rosario on July 11,17 his packet of letters was on its way down to Governor Neve at the Royal Presidio of Loreto. There on August 10, 1775, Neve wrote his official version of what had transpired and a recommendation that the establishment of Santo Domingo be permitted. This he despatched to Viceroy Bucareli in Mexico City, with a promise to send regular reports on the progress of the new foundation.18 The first of these, dated November 29, 1775, gives the day on which the mission was begun. Neve wrote that "on August 30 of the present year Fathers Manuel Garcia and Miguel Hidalgo arrived at the place with cattle and other necessary items for the founding of Mission Santo Domingo, that the Second Lieutenant, José Velásquez, and the guard went there to execute the matter, and already the establishment has begun."

There is an understandable error on the part of Neve with regard to Hidalgo's presence. Actually, though Hidalgo probably was there on August 30, Garcia remained in charge of Mission Santo Domingo while Hidalgo continued as the minister of Mission San Fernando. Eight months later, after April 2, 1776, Fray José Aíbar left San Borja to join Garcia at Santo Domingo.20 There can be no doubt that the official routine for the transfer of the lands to the custodianship of the friars was executed by the government agent on August 30 and that the mission was established on that day. Yet it was not until January 20, 1776, when people on the other side of the continent were making
ready to revolt and take over land from the British, that Viceroy Bucareli signed his approval of the foundation of Santo Domingo.21

Professor Meigs in his long research and probing of the area, found it impossible to locate the exact site of the original mission and the dwelling place of the fathers. He asked the people who from the local tradition thought that the missionaries chose a place at the mouth of the Santo Domingo Cañon at the foot of the well-known Red Rock. He adds: "at first, according to local tradition, a large cave on the north side of Red Rock was used instead of a building for the church services, and the adobe buildings were built on the west side somewhat later. Of the latter structures nothing now remains but a fragment of adobe foundation."22

Apparently, this dwelling was not to be the permanent site of Santo Domingo, and consequently little remains to mark it. A more suitable place to build was two and a half miles up the Santo Domingo Canyon on a wide flat formed by the convergence of two canyons.23 There the permanent mission chapel, the living rooms and kitchen, the workshops for the carpenter and the mason, the granary and the forge were constructed. Exactly why and when this move to the second site was made cannot be determined. Possibly it was more accessible to the wild Indians of the mountains and would make the task of drawing them into village life more easy. Possibly, it was not as cold and foggy, but more temperate. It may be that the dreadful epidemic of 1781 had something to do with the change. In that year, according to Sales who was at Mission San Vicente, the Indians deserted the missions and took to their caves in the mountains, where many perished. Certainly the move to the second mission site was made by 1793. Engelhardt says that the church building measured 8 by 18
varas or 22 feet wide and 49 1/2 feet long. Meigs says that this agrees with the measurements of the ruins at the second site today. The most obvious surmise for the move is that the mission was closer to water for the dam that was constructed above it, closer to the firewood and timber, and closer to "heathendom."

Building the mission required some time and no end of patience, since it went on while the friars were seeking out the Indians, instructing them, and preparing them for their new life of work and responsibility. The water collected at the dam had to be sluiced into the irrigation canals, which in turn had to be dug laboriously. Wood had to be gathered for the horno or lime kiln. Pits were dug and lined with cement for the tanning of leather with mesquite bark. The two tanning pits at Santo Domingo were 3 feet deep, one of them was 4 by 4 and the other 2 1/2 by 4 feet. Pottery, ceramics, and tile were made on the site. Massey wrote that "there seems to be a long gap in pottery-bearing sites between Santo Domingo Mission and the old Rosario Mission; potsherds occur on sites near these missions but, so far as I have been able to determine, not in the area between." The young Indians who were constantly fishing in the ocean satisfied the taste for fish and crustaceans and they moreover were learning to catch otter.

Three friars were responsible for the direction of the mission work during the founding years. Fray Manuel Garcia, the first to be assigned to Santo Domingo Mission, left little notice of himself in the Registers and his term of office cannot be given categorically. He recorded his first baptism on November 30, 1775, his fifth and last at the mission was on October 25, 1776. He officiated at the first three marriages of the mission, the first, on June
29, 1776, the second and third on September 22, 1776. There were no burials by him at the mission. He was born about 1740 at Valladolid, Spain, was medium sized, light complexioned, had black eyes and hair. After leaving Mission Santo Domingo, more than likely toward end of 1776, he was assigned to Mission Santiago de las Coras, in the extreme south of the Peninsula, where he died January 31, 1780. He received the title of "Preacher General."

His companion at first and then successor was Fray José Aivar, from Mission San Borja, who arrived on a visit toward the end of 1775 and officiated at Santo Domingo's first burial service on December 21 of that year. He then left and returned after April 2, 1776, to stay. His last burial service was December 11, 1791. His first baptism, the sixth for Santo Domingo Mission, was on March 1, 1777, and his last was December 28, 1791. His first marriage at Santo Domingo was January 6, 1778, and his last was on March 10, 1791. Consequently he was the guiding spirit of the mission for over fifteen years. He was born about 1745 or 1746 in the village of Torija of the Archdiocese of Toledo, Spain. He was of small stature, had black hair and smallpox markings on the face. In 1779 he made an exploration at Cieneguella relative to a possible site for the third mission. He more than likely left Mission Santo Domingo and went to Mission San José de Comondu, where he performed a baptism on May 13, 1792. He left Baja California, October 10, 1792, became a Prior in Mexico and died January 16, 1796. Fray Miguel Hidalgo was Aivar's assistant from at least June 15, 1777 to June 16, 1780, whose earliest and latest entries in the mission Registers were made on these dates. A biographical sketch of Hidalgo's life will be given toward the end of Chapter VI on Mission San Vicente, and in Chapter VII, on the
administrators of the missions.

While the fathers may have derived some inspiration from the physical progress of Santo Domingo they were not consoled by the number of baptisms. For the remaining four months of the year 1775 there were only two, which did not at all compare with the one hundred and forty-six baptisms performed during the first four months at Rosario. The natives around Santo Domingo were far different from those near the sister mission. Though not warlike nor vicious, they were extremely flighty and preferred their caves, their fishing and hunting, and worse their curanderos, their medicinemen, who were the traditional dispensers of their religious and superstitious ideas. Of them Sales wrote:

Among their follies and absurdities they have some old men by some called Quamas and by others Cusiyeas, who are the same thing as sorcerers. Some of the missionaries were led to believe, mistakenly, that these old men were their priest, but why should they need such priests when they have neither sacrifices nor idols? These old men are the most forward; their extreme eloquence, indefatigable talkativeness, and peculiar efficiency in absurd actions and movements are the reasons they are held to be oracles, and their lies are believed by those unfortunates more firmly than what the friars tell them.39

There were still only two Christians when Governor Neve wrote his report in May 1776, telling the Viceroy that "only two pagans have been baptized; and although there have come to this mission thirty-three women who desired to become Christians, yet Father Garcia did not wish to baptize them until they have been civilized and instructed...."39 Garcia was indeed acting cautiously.

The two converts were thirty year old Andrés Juan and twenty year old Domingo, so baptized on November 30, 1775. Not until June 8, 1776, was the third baptism recorded, that of a boy named Domingo. On August 9, twelve year old José received the saving waters, and so too a girl named Paria, on October 25. There were no more baptisms in 1776. The number could scarcely
be compared with the 419 baptized in the second year of Rosario's existence. What was worse, the two older of the five baptized Indians ran away and could not be found,\textsuperscript{40} according to Father Hidalgo, who left San Fernando about April, \textsuperscript{41} 1777, and was assigned to Santo Domingo.\textsuperscript{42}

Why did the fathers at first fail to convert the Indians around Santo Domingo? Meigs summarizes the reasons, but purely from a geographic and economic viewpoint. The mission was not centrally located, and most of the Indians within its sphere of influence lived along the coast. It did not possess the sole source of a permanent water supply, and was really on the outskirts of rancherias having sufficient water. The crop lands were limited and were in a relatively narrow cañon when compared to the broad Rosario valley and the open country around San Telmo.\textsuperscript{43}

Father Luis Sales, as mentioned above, took an ethnological view of the failure. The Indians of Santo Domingo were "restless, arrogant, and turbulent,\textsuperscript{44}" steeped in their own superstitions, addicted to their fishing, divorced from any and all restraints. To this Father Hidalgo, who was also an eyewitness, agreed heartily, going so far as to recommend a withdrawal of the fathers from Santo Domingo, though admitting that such an action would make the continuance of the conquest of the frontier impossible.\textsuperscript{45} This quality of flightiness on the part of the natives of the area was the main reason for delaying the foundation of San Vicente, the next step in the Dominican advance.

Professor Massey notices that the southern Indians of Rosario belonged to the Borjeno group of the Peninsular Yuman Indians, while the Indians of Santo Domingo and the other Dominican missions in northern Baja California belonged with the Indians of Southern Alta California. The dividing line between the
two groups of Indians was the San Pedro Martír mountains, and "this seems to be as true of the native cultures and languages as it is of topography and flora." Sales had already noted the difference in culture and languages back in the 1780's. "The Missions of Rosario and Santo Domingo are distinct in words and pronunciation." We may reasonably add another factor in the failure to convert natives of Santo Domingo, namely, the language barrier.

The woeful lack of manpower is another cogent reason. For eight months Father García was alone at Santo Domingo doing an heroic work, supervising the constructions indicated above and toiling with his hands. He undoubtedly was learning the new language. Where could he find time to hunt lively Indians over the large mission area of 1100 square miles, in caves, in the mountains and far away on the coast, to instruct them? It is rather surprising that he was able to take care of even two baptisms.

Another reason for the slow spiritual conquest was the opposition of the curanderos or medicine men. Sales wrote that "these old men are a great impediment to the conquest because, devoted to their follies and extravagances, they persuade the others not to accept the missionaries, and that the latter would deprive them of the liberty to gratify their passions." Another factor was the number of Indians actually available for conversion, or the total population of the natives around the mission. Here we encounter some appalling statistics in the study of Professor Cook on the diseases among the Indians of the whole peninsula. Taking the seventy-six years, 1697-1773, prior to the arrival of the Dominicans, he estimates that the total population of Baja California in 1697 was 41,500 and by the census of 1777 it was 5,424. He estimates that one-third to one-half of the population
decline was due to epidemic diseases, such as typhus, malaria, smallpox, and measles, while another third of the decline was caused by syphilis, or roughly, 20,000 perished by epidemic diseases and 15,000 by syphilis. How was the unknown area around Santo Domingo affected? This cannot be ascertained, but the records show that in the first ten years, the fathers buried 105 natives and baptized 209. This last fact, incidentally, argues against the common assumption that when the natives were gathered in the missions they were ready victims of plagues.

Without doubt all of the above reasons were factors which prevented a more abundant harvest of converts. However, one factor, the spiritual, stood out as all important. As stated before, Father Garcia would not baptize thirty-three women because he was not sure that they would remain steadfast, or, to put it realistically, he felt that their motives for wanting baptism were tainted with a desire for some personal comfort or security. He had two unhappy instances of fickleness and reversions to "the abundant paganism" of the region. Under such circumstances he was bound by the Canons of the Church not to baptize. It is also clear that Father Hidalgo was disgusted with an aboriginal group which seemed incapable of accepting any spiritual grace. It was not a criticism of the work of the friars when they and Neve remarked about "only two baptisms in four months." The words rather should be interpreted to mean: "What can one do with a tribe like this?"

Nevertheless, as in so many other instances of men devoted to spreading the faith, Garcia, Alvar and Hidalgo were endowed with a superhuman patience and trust in God, and they stayed on. After eight years more, by the end of 1784, the total number baptized was two hundred and nine, while the total
number of Christian burials was one hundred and five, leaving an accumulated difference of one hundred and four as the approximate number of native Christians at Mission Santo Domingo, supposing, however, that there were no other deserters from the fold.

The active period of conversions among the adult Indians lasted for twenty one years from 1775 to end of 1796. There were 677 baptisms of adults and children during this period, with an average of 32 a year. The year 1796 marked the high point in the population of the mission. The Noticia of 1796 by Fray Cajetan Pallas, President and Vicar-Provincial of the Dominican missions, shows a population of 319, composed of 171 men and 148 women. Of the 24 baptized in 1796 there were 13 adults and 11 children and infants. From then on the number of adult converts declined sharply while the number of parvulos increased. The epidemic of 1796 may also have been a factor in bringing to a close the active period of conversions, for in that year 30 died.

The period of initial decline began in 1797. Of the 9 baptisms 8 were of children. During this sixteen year period, 1797 to 1812, inclusive, there were 155 baptisms, with an average of 11 a year. During the twenty-seven years of the period of final decline, 1813-1839, there were 106 baptisms, or an average of 4 a year.
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<td>17</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>677</strong></td>
<td><strong>332</strong></td>
<td><strong>116</strong></td>
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## SANTO DOMINGO MISSION

### PERIOD OF INITIAL DECLINE

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<tr>
<td>1812</td>
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**TOTAL** 155 270 54

**1775-96** 677 332 116

**TOTAL** 832 602 170
### SANTO DOMINGO MISSION

#### PERIOD OF FINAL DECLINE

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<td>1838</td>
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Santo Domingo Mission

Period of Final Decline

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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>1775-1812</td>
<td>832</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>230</td>
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Meigs and others have noticed how little information there is in the Baptismal and Burial Registers regarding the names of the capitánes and the rancherias of Santo Domingo, compared to Rosario. There is only one capitan mentioned by name in the Baptismal Book. José Manuel, Capitán, was the padrino or godfather to an Indian, who was given the Christian name of Santiago, on July 25, 1779. The Burial Register gives the name of only one rancheria, San Telmo, under the date of October 12, 1777. Yet Mission Santo Domingo had seven known rancherias with their captains. Three of these rancherias, in pre-mission days, were around San Quintín Bay; a fourth was at San Ramón, beside the permanent fresh-water lagoon that terminates the Santo Domingo River; another was on the north side of Calamu Valley; one was at San Miguel, beyond the dam of the second Santo Domingo site; the seventh was San Telmo, which became an important subsidiary and visita of the main mission, having its permanent supply of water, little seasonal fluctuation, and lands for agriculture and grazing.

It may be remarked that no population statistics are available for the first six years of the mission. The following table of statistics gives the population figures for Santo Domingo from 1782 to 1812, inclusive. The asterisk in the table, between a given year and the corresponding population figure, indicates that Meigs in his Population Table also gives those figures. When two or more population figures are given for a specific year, as 1798, they are from different sources, as indicated. When possible the breakdown figures of population are given for men, women, boys and girls. These figures refer to native Indians. Sometimes the sources only gave the figures in terms of men and women, which most likely included the boys and girls. Occasionally
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1782</td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>SPM, I, 22; NMS, I, 740.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Arrillaga's estado, California Transcripts.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1787</td>
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<td>Sales, Table 1; Rudkin, p. 188.</td>
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<td>SPM, I, 80; NMS, I, 740.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1791</td>
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<td>83</td>
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<td>123</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>SPM, I, 129; NMS, I, 740.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>300</td>
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<td>93 minors</td>
<td>93 minors</td>
<td>Abad, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>300</td>
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<td>93 minors</td>
<td>93 minors</td>
<td>Abad, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 88.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1796</td>
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<td>160</td>
<td>110</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 318.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 308.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90 minors</td>
<td>90 minors</td>
<td>Abad, Informe, Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 51.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 359.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>MEN</td>
<td>WOMEN</td>
<td>BOYS</td>
<td>GIRLS</td>
<td>SOURCES</td>
</tr>
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<td>-----</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>1798</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 391.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 431.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1800</td>
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<td>163</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 410.</td>
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<td>1800</td>
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<td>121</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801. Bancroft Library.</td>
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<td>1801</td>
<td>278</td>
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<td>106</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802. Bancroft Library.</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 213.</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>239</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Goycochea, Cal., Vol. 61, fol. 430.</td>
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For the explanation of symbols and abbreviations, cf. Chapter IV.
a separate breakdown of population into Spanish men and women is indicated in
the source of information.

Bucareli's estado of 1776 to the king, while giving the population
figures for Rosario, fails to set forth the count for Santo Domingo. There are
not extant any population figures for the years 1776 to 1781 inclusive. An
unsigned summary of the December 31, 1782 estado gives the population of Santo
Domingo as 20 families or 79 persons. At the end of 1782 there were 148
natives baptized and 89 of them died, leaving an accumulated difference of 59.
Of course this figure of 59 embraced only the natives baptized at the mission,
while the population figure of 79 included the 59 as well as the two padres, a
few soldiers, and some baptized natives imported from the neighboring missions.

In May of 1777 there were 17 officers and men in the three frontier missions of
San Fernando, Rosario and Santo Domingo. That number was increased to 27 by
September of 1777. In 1783 there were 6 soldiers stationed at Mission Santo
Domingo.

Governor Arrillaga's estado for 1786 placed the population count at 119,
composed of 45 men, 38 women, 20 boys and 16 girls. Sales put the figure at
271 for 1787. As mentioned in the last chapter, he merely repeated Arrillaga's
1786 figure for Rosario Mission, but for Santo Domingo he has a much higher
figure than Arrillaga. Arrillaga's figure of 119 is much more realistic than
Sales count of 271. At the end of 1786 there were 248 baptisms and 144 burials,
making an accumulated difference of 104. Adding the two Fathers, the six
soldiers, and few imported Indians would account for the veracity of
Arrillaga's figure of 119. It is not evident how Sales could give a population
figure of 271 for 1787, when the accumulated difference between baptisms and
burials is 104 by end of 1786. The State Papers "Missions" indicates the 1791 population at 273, embracing 69 men, 58 women, 83 boys and 63 girls. And the same source for 1793 breaks down the population count of 296 into 137 men, 123 women, 17 boys, and 19 girls. The informes for 1795, 1796, 1797, and 1798 give a round figure of 300, which includes 93 minors in the first two years and 90 minors in the last two years. President Belda's Notitia of 1798 gives the highest recorded figure of 320, consisting of 170 men and 142 women, as well as 6 Spanish men and 2 Spanish women. Governor Goycochea's 1812 population figure of 239 is the most detailed. He broke it down into 95 men, 96 women, 25 boys, and 11 girls, all natives, and 12 Spaniards, 2 men, 2 women, 5 boys and 3 girls.

While statistics such as these are not unreliable they are almost impossible to interpret. Arrillaga's 1786 count of 119 is a realistic and accurate figure. If the number given in the Noticias of the Fathers President are accepted as most trustworthy we conclude that the average population at Santo Domingo for the twenty-five years before 1812 was 259. Thus, in 1786, we have Arrillaga's count; in 1794 and 1796, Father Pallas's; in 1798, 1799, and 1800, Father Belda's; in 1802, Father Arvina's; in 1804 and 1806, Father Gallego's; and in 1808, Father López's.

The Informes for the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive indicate the numbers of fanegas of grain planted. A fanega is a dry measure and is equal to 2.6 bushels. The informes of Fray Miguel Abad, the third resident minister at Santo Domingo from 1791 to 1804, show that 29 fanegas of wheat were planted in 1795, and 30 fanegas in 1796 and 1797. The yield of wheat was 1000 fanegas in 1795 or a return of 3\(\frac{1}{4}\) to 1. The yield of wheat in 1796 was 1000 fanegas or a
return of 33 to 1. The yield of wheat in 1797 was 350 fanegas for 30 fanegas of grain planted or a return of a little less than 12 to 1. Abad's informe for 1797 pointed out that there was a lack of water that year and that the arroyos dried up. This accounts for the big drop in the wheat yield. This same lack of water cut the corn yield in half. In both 1795 and 1796 four fanegas of grain was planted with a return of 100 to 1. But in 1797 for the 4 fanegas of planted grain there was a return of 200 fanegas or a ratio of 50 to 1. The banner year for corn was 1798 with a return of 750 fanegas of grain for 4 fanegas, or a ratio of 187 fanegas to 1.

In 1795 the Santo Domingo Mission produced 20 barrels of wine, according to Fray Abad's Informe. Captain William Shaler wrote that Santo Domingo Mission "also produces a considerable quantity of very good wine." There was no barley grown during the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive. In 1800, according to Meigs, there were grown 2600 bushels of wheat or 1000 fanegas, and 1300 bushels or 500 fanegas of corn. From 1794 on the statistics have entered a period of "round numbers."

There is also a great lack of information about the progress of the grazing program. In his estado of 1776 Neve wrote that the mission had 233 head of cattle, without however breaking the number into "major" and "minor" heads. Governor Neve's estado of June 16, 1778, copied by Teodoro de Croix in 1780, states that Santo Domingo Mission had 176 cattle, 139 sheep, 116 goats, 7 pigs, 16 horses, 54 mules and 7 burros. There is, of course, no indication of what use these were put to nor any description of the amount of animals slaughtered, nor of what might be termed the ordinary farm routine.

The following chart gives the data on the crops and herds for the years
### CHART OF THE CROPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>WHEAT SEED</th>
<th>WHEAT CROPS</th>
<th>CORN SEED</th>
<th>CORN CROPS</th>
<th>BEANS SEED</th>
<th>BEANS CROPS</th>
<th>SOURCE FOR THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 5h.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CHART OF THE HERDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CATTLE</th>
<th>SHEEP</th>
<th>GOATS</th>
<th>PIGS</th>
<th>HORSES</th>
<th>MULES</th>
<th>SOURCE FOR THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 5h.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1795 to 1798, which Meigs lacks. It will be noticed that these figures of
crops and herds grew rounder and rounder as time went on.

Very realistic in the life of any mission is the source of its financing
and revenues for support. Like the other missions in the Dominican chain Santo
Domingo had been granted a thousand pesos from the Pious Fund, according to the
stipulations of the Council of War and the Royal Exchequer on April 30, 1772.
The same Council also ordered that there should be paid in advance, out of the
Pious Fund three hundred and fifty pesos annually to each missionary. Of this
amount 300 pesos were deducted, according to the deliberations of the
Dominican Council of the Province, and put into the common fund, which was to
be used for the support of the laybrothers, who received no salary, for the
help of the sick, and for other emergencies. Thus the missionary father
retained a credit of fifty pesos for his yearly living expenses. The mission
itself would have to support the Christian Indians and neophytes. To do so
would call for considerable labor on the part of all.

For purchases beyond what could be grown or made at the mission other
sources of revenue had to be sought. A very small income, either in money or
barter, came from the salt which was plentiful in the San Quintin area, which
probably supplied the necessary commodity to all of the Dominican missions.
Although a number of foreign ships had put into the bay, there is no
indication of foreign sales until 1828. The next year the Russian brig Baikal
took on 1,400 tons of salt, and the Spanish authorities, who had been having
trouble for years with the foreign otter hunters, put a tax of four reales on
each fanega sold, ostensibly for the support of the troops. Whether the
Baikal purchased salt from the mission is unknown and there seems some doubt
that a brig of 180 tons net or 203 tons gross could store a cargo of 140 tons.
At least Adele Ogden does not mention the salt in listing the items she

There were sources of minor revenues common to all of the Upper and Lower
California missions and spoken of by H. H. Bancroft and Father Engelhardt. One
was supplying meat. Of this Bancroft wrote that "the government plan for
appropriating unbranded cattle seems to have proved impracticable. Fifty head
were slaughtered, but the expense was greater than the beef would have cost at
the missions. This was a staggering blow to the theory that the padres
demanded exorbitant prices." How much revenue came from the sale of meat is
not mentioned, but certainly in those early days few beves could be spared.
The same principle held for sheep, some of which may have been slaughtered for
sale but the majority of which were kept for the wool. This too may have been
sold. "The herds provided not only food, but also the raw materials for the
manufacture of two mission products, namely, woolen cloth and leather." However, Bancroft concludes that at Santo Domingo and the other Dominican missions
"there was no revenue except the products of the little patches of maize, wheat,
figs, dates, and a few vines, added to the padres' stipends." The mission
also grew tabacco, onions, beans, peas, pears, raised chickens and produced a
very good wine.

Whatever revenue there was belonged to the mission and the crops belonged
to the Indians, as Sales explains in a summary of the "wealth" of the
missions. The Friars were merely managers and custodians of all belongings,
with the duty of seeing that the mission was self-sustaining. If the soldiers
bought anything they paid in cloth and clothing which served to cover the
Indians. Moreover, there was a regular price on all items and this was set by the King. Sales gives a list of the prices on the major items, and though the pesos and reales cannot be readily reduced to our dollars and cents, one can see the relative value of each to the whole economy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pesos Fuertes</th>
<th>Reales</th>
<th>U. S. Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 fanega of wheat</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>$3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 fanega of maize (corn)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 horse, broken</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 mule, broken</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 bull</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 cow</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 select sheep</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 goat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 burro</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This scale does not hold if the horse, mule, or burro was an especially fine animal. Elsewhere, Sales says that the furs of sea otter were sold for six, eight, ten pesos, and that the fur traders could get 100 or more pesos for them in China. As for hogs, they seem to have been too plentiful to reach the peso bracket in value.

What might have become a very sufficient and constant source of revenue for the Franciscan and Dominican missions in both Californias, the sea otter and seal trade, was effectually stopped by ruthless fur hunters from Russia, England, and New England, and the inept governments of Spain and Mexico. One phase of the epic story of the fur wealth of the Pacific has been well told by Adele Ogden in the *California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*. The coasts of both Californias abounded in sea otters and seals. There were seven coastal spots where the concentrations of the furry amphibions were particularly great and one was the Bay of San Quintin within the confines of Mission Santo Domingo. Therefore the Bay and the Mission became important goals in an international
struggle for furs.

In 1784 Vicente Vasadre y Vega approached the Viceroy with a plan he had originated for embarking on a lucrative sea otter trade. Vasadre proposed to have the missions put the Indians to the work of gathering seal and otter pelts which would then be bought by Vasadre and transported to China for sale. In China he would use the income to buy quicksilver, a much needed commodity in New Spain where it all belonged to the King wherever found. Thus the crown would benefit, the missions would benefit, and, be it said in all fairness, Vasadre would benefit. Two years later the crown approved the plan and Vasadre as sole commissioner made his appearance at the Franciscan missions in Upper California. The Franciscan superiors, Fathers Francisco Fermín de Lasuen and Francisco Palou took to the idea and the project was launched. The regulations were that nobody could sell pelts to anyone but Vasadre. Spain seemed to be in control of the Pacific fur trade.

Then affairs went awry. Vasadre got to the Philippines and found himself under another Spanish governor. In defiance he set out for China and found the British and Russian traders ahead of him, with better furs. However, he sold his collection and returned triumphantly with quicksilver. Thereafter, the viceroy, the governors, the soldiers, and entrepreneurs in Spain and New Spain wanted to share in the profits, while the missionaries fought against their exploitation of the Indians. The poor Indians were trading valuable pelts for a few abalone shells and trinkets. Vasadre lost his commission and in the 1790's various Spanish merchants gathered the mission pelts at small cost and realized a sizeable profit in the China trade. The missions were being demoralized. Against all laws, the soldiers and families of the presidios were
collecting furs from the Indians. The Indians were leaving the missions to hunt otter and seal. The buyers were encouraging the lawbreakers.

Worst of all, the Yankees from Boston began to appear on the coast in 1796, following some British scouting expeditions. Other British, Russian and American ships came until the notorious Joseph O'Cain, Captain of the O'Cain reached San Quintin Bay in 1804. Seeing the abundance of otter there he formed an agreement with the Russian hunters at Kodiak and returned in 1806 and 1807, once with 100 skilled Aleutian hunters and once with fifty, who got 4,819 otter furs for the Boston trade. The O'Cain under another captain returned to San Quintin Bay in December of 1810, and during the next three months obtained 3,952 otter skins. Little wonder is it that in fifty years of such ruthless hunting the sea otter became almost extinct. We may only surmise the outcome if the padres of the missions had been able to train the Indians and control the otter trade. Writing in 1794, Father Sales pointed out the importance of the trade to the missions and went on to predict "that if on the part of Spain the most serious precautions are not taken in this trade, we will lose greatly because of the grudges which other nations have over our conquests, and because of the selfish interest of those who manage this trade." The Dominican missions made very little from the otter sales, although Sales remarks in general that the buyers had visited them and had taken some furs for six to ten pesos. He had often seen the hunts and describes the difference between the trained Aleuts and the mission Indians. He concludes:
The Russians and English give them a lump of copper and get as many \[\text{furs}\] as they want. We missionaries give them wheat, tobacco, ribbons, and small articles of clothing, and I believe that if all the missions were kept supplied with these things, otters would never be lacking; but there has been much disgracefulness in this commerce owing to the greed of some secular persons who attend only to their own advantages.
1. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774 (Berkeley, 1921), pp. 8, 79.


3. Ibid., p. 65.

4. Ibid., p. 65; Calif., Vol. 36, fol. 386.

5. Meigs, p. 23.

6. Ibid., p. 22.

7. Calif., Vol. 36, fols. 382-390, a certified copy by Melchor Peramáés of the original documents, which are contained in the Calif., Vol. 72, fols. 53-58.

8. Cf. the Burial Register of Mission San Francisco Borja, which is preserved in the Junípero Serra Museum, San Diego, California.

9. Cf. the Baptismal Register of Mission San Fernando, preserved in the Library of the Convent of Saint Albert the Great, Oakland, California.

10. Cf. the Baptismal Register of Mission Rosario, preserved in Oakland, California.

11. Calif., Vol. 72, fol. 56 (original); Vol. 36, fol. 385-385v (copy).


17. Mora's certification of the visitation and examination of the Mission Registers is indicated in the Baptismal and Marriage Registers, under date of July 11, 1775, with Fray Manuel Perez, Minister of Mission Rosario, acting as secretary.

19. Provincial Records, I, 157. This is referred to by Bancroft, I, 715, and by Meigs, p. 22. It should be noted that Bancroft's reference is to the present Provincial Records, which are an abridgement of the original and longer Provincial Records, destroyed in the San Francisco fire in 1906. Meigs gives the reference to the originals. It seems best to use Bancroft's references to the present, existing, abridged copy.

20. He officiated at Mission Santo Domingo's first burial service on December 21, 1775. Then he returned to Mission San Borja, according to the Burial Register, which has his signature to April 2, 1776.


23. Ibid., p. 23.


26. Ibid., pp. 68-69.

27. Ibid., p. 68.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 70.


34. Calif., Vol. 71, an eight page expediente, which will be utilized in Chapter VI.

35. Mis., Vol. 5, fols. 54, 56.

36. Libro de Difuntos: 1770-1830, p. 11.
37. The original Santo Domingo Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers are preserved in the Library of Saint Albert the Great Convent, Oakland, California.

38. Sales, I, 59-60; Rudkin, p. 38.


41. Englehardt, I, 603.

42. The Santo Domingo Baptismal Register shows his first baptism on June 15, 1777, and his last baptism, on June 16, 1780.

43. Meigs, p. 145.

44. Sales, I, 38; Rudkin, p. 24.

45. Provincial State Papers, I, 265-266.


47. Sales, I, 100; Rudkin, p. 63.

48. Meigs, p. 79.

49. Sales, I, 63; Rudkin, p. 40.


52. Calif., Vol. 29, fol. 308.

53. Meigs, p. 70.

54. Ibid., p. 58.

55. Ibid., pp. 70, 133.

56. Ibid., pp. 23, 69, 74.

57. C-3564.

59. Provincial State Papers, I, 277; Bancroft, I, 718.

60. Provincial Records, I, 16-17; Meigs, pp. 23, 81.


63. For the Informes of 1795 and 1796, cf. Mis., Vol. 2, fols. 63 and 88, respectively, and for the Informes of 1797 and 1798, cf. the Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fols. 21 and 54, respectively.


65. Meigs, p. 166.

66. Provincial Records, I, 42.


68. Mis., Vol. 12, fols. 9-12.

69. Meigs, p. 63-64.

70. Adele Ogden, *California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley, 1941).

71. Bancroft, I, 716.

72. Meigs, p. 144.

73. Bancroft, I, 726.

74. Sales, III, 99-103; Rudkin, pp. 189-192.

75. Eight *reales* equals one *peso*.

76. The silver *peso* was equal in value to eight *reales fuertes* or silver *reales* or to twenty *reales de vellón* or copper *reales*. The *peso fuerte* seems to have been equivalent to the *peso duro* or *duro*. This is taken from Rudkin, n. 34.

77. Sales, I, 26-32; Rudkin, pp. 17-21.

78. Ogden, *California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*.

79. Sales, I, 28, Rudkin, p. 18.

80. Sales, I, 32, Rudkin, p. 21.
CHAPTER VI

A QUESTION OF ROADS AND THE FOUNDATION OF SAN VICENTE

Five years almost to the day elapsed between the founding of Santo Domingo and that of San Vicente Ferrer on August 27, 1780. Among other reasons for the delay was a conflict over the path which the line of missions was to follow. For the next mission it was a question of following the coastal road from Rosario to the jurisdiction of the Franciscan mission at San Diego, placing missions about twenty leagues apart, or of a highland road about thirty to forty miles from the coast at an altitude of 3,000 to 5,000 feet. San Fernando de Velicatá, as the base Dominican mission, was the starting point for the coastal and mountain chains and in 1774 and 1775 Rosario and Santo Domingo had been founded along the coastal road. Father Mora thought that now a mission should be established along the mountain road to the east of Santo Domingo, but the governor wanted the coast chain built as soon as possible. However, it was not until 1779 that an exploratory expedition went over the mountain road and not until 1780 that San Vicente was chosen along the coastal road. In the meanwhile there were enough obstacles to building any mission in the region.

First, in the coastal lands north of Santo Domingo, the Indians were even more unruly than those described in the previous chapter. It is true that Sales characterized the Indians of Santo Domingo and San Vicente with the same phrase: "restless, subversive, and inclined to revolt." But the Indians of
the San Vicente area were far more restless, subversive and arrogant than those of Santo Domingo. Sales later on wrote that the foundation of San Vicente Mission was accomplished "with many sudden assaults on the part of the heathen, since they are arrogant and always inclined to do evil." This meant that there would be need for more troops if the occupation of the lands were to continue. In May, 1777, there were only seventeen soldiers to protect the three Dominican missions at San Fernando, Rosario, and Santo Domingo, scarcely enough forces for even one presidio. In that month Mora, as President, asked the Lieutenant-Governor, Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncado, for an adequate increase of men, but Rivera denied the request without consulting Governor Neve. Mora then threatened to abandon the frontier missions if the government's promise to supply an adequate guard were not fulfilled. Rivera's retort was that the Dominicans might retire from the frontier whenever they pleased. Mora did not carry out the threat, for within four months ten soldiers were added to the mission force.

H. H. Bancroft poses another obstacle to the advance of the missions. He admits that the Indians of the peninsula were particularly troublesome during the 1770's, and adds:

and not altogether by their own fault. The Dominicans, with less experience as missionaries, were harder masters than either the Jesuits or Franciscans had been, exacting comparatively excessive labor and administering severe punishments. At Santa Gertrudis and San Borgia the Indians confessed their intention to plunder and burn the missions, boldly declaring that they were weary of being beaten and imprisoned by the padres and would endure it no longer. It was necessary to make an example of such hardened offenders, and a number of them after being tried at Loreto and found guilty of rebellion, were severely flogged, the leaders being banished to the south.
Father Engelhardt took decided issue with these gratuitous remarks. He says Bancroft offers not the slightest evidence for his charge. The truth was that "we know the work allotted to the neophytes was not excessive either in time or kind. They labored considerably less than eight hours a day. The truth is, there was little work of any kind to do, inasmuch as the land was tilled in a few spots only. The punishment, too, was such as a kind father might apply; for this there is abundant evidence." There is evidence also that the Dominicans strictly adhered to Mora’s moderate and conservative six Ordinances, regarding the daily mission routine, as given in Chapter IV. Bancroft forgets the fact that there were soldiers and settlers who caused the Indians to rebel now and then. Moreover, the Dominicans had long experience in the mission fields of New Spain, which Bancroft tells us about. Finally, the Indians of the Pacific slope had slain Jesuits and Dominicans and Franciscans alike.

Other factors delayed the planting of new missions. The friars were discouraged with the little progress at Santo Domingo and were trying to consolidate that mission district. Then there was a smallpox epidemic in 1777 which caused many of the neophytes to run away to caves in the mountains. The fathers and sometimes the soldiers had to seek out the sick, the dying, and the dead. They brought some of the sick children to the missions, baptized the dying, and buried the dead. These waves of smallpox and influenza continued from time to time and were especially fatal in 1781, 1782, and 1787. Another major factor in the delay was the lack of confidence in the inept Comandante Teodoro de Croix and the government’s organization of the Comandancia General.

There had long been need for a solid governing authority in the vast areas
of northern Mexico from Texas to Lower California. The viceroy was too far from the area for any efficient government and was too little acquainted with frontier conditions. His office required much work on his part, and as the settlements in the newly occupied areas grew in numbers and populations his desk became more cluttered. It was clear that authority would have to be delegated to local officials. Consequently, by royal decree of August 22, 1776, military jurisdictions were marked out and a General Commandant was appointed for each. Viceregal powers were given to the Comandante General within his Comandancia General, with the qualification that he must report all his activities to the viceroy. The Provincias Internas, which included both Californias, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya, were made into a Comandancia General, though each had its governor. The purpose of the new military jurisdictions was to stop the threatening advances of France on the east and Russia and England on the north and west. To achieve this the mission-presidio system was to be used and once the natives were pacified settlers could take lands. Father Engelhardt says that the institution of the Comandancia General is "an important change, which proved unfortunate for the missions during Neve's administration."12

The first appointee to the Comandancia of the Provincias Internas was Teodoro de Croix, than whom few could have been less qualified for the administration of California affairs. Professor Chapman, forgetting the vast territory assigned to Croix and seeming piqued at his neglect of California, has a characterization of him: As a first assistant to somebody else, or even as a ruler in a realm where there were no serious difficulties to encounter, he would have been a marked success, but as a leader in the frontier provinces of New Spain he lacked the broad vision to compass the whole range of his duties. While working hard to settle some one problem he was apt to let others take care
of themselves, or try to have somebody else handle them, certainly as regards matters affecting northwestward advance. In fine, Croix was a hard-working, painstaking, well-meaning but rather stupid man.\(^1\)

Shortly afterward Chapman remarks about Croix's administration of Texas affairs, which had been added to his burdens, that he gave much attention to Texas, "taking care of it with considerable skill."\(^1^4\) The inconsistency is clear, but the fact remains that Croix had no understanding of or interest in California progress and left matters in the hands of Governor Neve. Thus Croix said that "the more he read about the Californias, the greater was his own confusion of mind with respect to their affairs."\(^1^5\)

Croix was residing in the former Jesuit mission at Arizpe in early 1779 when a Dominican deputy arrived from Lower California. Father Mora had sent Father Nicolás Muñoz, the resident minister of Mission Loreto, to seek aid for the foundation of the third mission, and to ask for certain privileges for the friars, some of which were granted.\(^1^6\) Croix in a brief note to Neve, dated February 14, 1779, announced the arrival and purpose of Muñoz.

The Reverend Father Fray Nicolás Muñoz, commissioned by the Reverend Father President, Fray Vicente Mora, delivered to me in this Capital the enclosed petition applying for the helps conducive to the establishment of a mission and the preliminary inspection of the lands in which it ought to be situated.\(^1^7\)

From what soon transpired it is clear that the petition was granted. Moreover, Croix outlined some beneficial privileges which he granted to the Dominicans. 1) There was to be no interference on the part of officials with the mission servants or with the crews of mission ships, except in case of urgent necessity. 2) The mission ships were permitted to carry goods of others, probably soldiers, their families, and settlers, provided the others paid duties. 3) Guaymas and Tamazula missions in Sonora were to be ceded to
California, and one friar was to be sent to each. 4) The missions were to be paid for any supplies furnished, presumably excepting the Indians. 5) Indians were to be excused, as far as possible, from courier service. 6) Other matters were to be considered later. It is clear from the type of orders given that Father Mora had been having some problems with official interference and that Croix had decided to remedy it.

Shortly after the return of Muñoz to Mission Loreto, Mora took the customary steps to establish the third mission. He sent out the exploring party headed by José Velásquez and Father Jose Aivar of Santo Domingo Mission. But they did not make their way westward from San Fernando through Rosario and up the coast to Santo Domingo and beyond. They chose the mountain road north from San Fernando. At some forty or more miles distance, as Muñoz later reported to Croix, they found a very suitable place on the summit of the Cieneguilla mountains. The usual affidavits and reports were made by Velásquez and Aivar and brought to the Captain of the Province, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncado. Rivera said he had no authority to grant the permission. This the friars disputed since it had been the whole purpose of Spain to allow the Dominicans to build missions and since the order to build the missions had been given by higher authorities.

Father Aivar took up the question with Governor Neve who made a report of the state of affairs to the Comandante General, Teodoro de Croix, on April 21, 1780, a year after the event. Neve reported thus:
I proceeded to inform myself about the site on the summit of the Sierra de Cieneguilla and insinuated to the said Padre [Alvar] that he did not have the authority to proceed with the said foundation, which besides being considerably separated from the agreed upon [coastal] line offered serious inconveniences because of its location, to the safe keeping of the establishment, e.g., as the sustenance of the troops, the impossibility of providing enough troops to aid her in case of attack, and to provide her with food, since there is a shortage of mules for carrying food.

Apparently, Neve diplomatically granted that the friars were correct in saying that they had higher orders to plant the next mission, but not where their zeal led them, rather according to the government's wish for a protected road along the coast.

On July 11, 1779, Neve wrote to Mora urging him to examine the place called Santa Rosalía, which he thought would be the best place for the next mission. It was about ten miles from the ocean and some fifty miles from Santo Domingo. Within a month Mora's official reports of the exploration were made out and sent to Joaquín Cañete, Lieutenant-Governor in the absence of Neve. The reports, dated August 26 and 27, 1779, were apparently not favorable and moreover Mora had no promise of sufficient aid from the government. Cañete sent the packet of letters to Neve in Monterey, Upper California.

Neve was not pleased with the reports nor with Mora's decision to put off the founding until provisions and troops were available. Yet, Neve was under the pressure of filling in the gap between Santo Domingo and San Diego. Therefore he wrote to Mora on both points on October 24, 1779, authorizing, and really ordering the President to take all necessary steps to build the mission. First, it was necessary to make a new or second reconnaissance of Santa Rosalía by Don José Velásquez and a friar appointed by Mora. Neve seemed certain that the site was suitable, and apparently the first-lieutenant Cañete, and the
second-lieutenant, Velásquez, agreed with their superior, and as events proved they were correct. As to the troops, Velásquez would supply a sufficient number. When Mora was convinced that the site was suitable, he was to select the missionaries who were to proceed to the site with utensils, food, cattle, and everything necessary for a start, and begin tilling and sowing.

So simple was it to give orders. Where in the poverty-stricken mission lands could one get the food, cattle, and other supplies? From the poverty-stricken Old Missions, was Neve's answer.

In accordance with what has been said it is essential that the Old Missions contribute to the development of this one, with the helps indicated, in proportion to their capabilities. May it be done graciously as it has been done till now, or from the thousand pesos amount which has been assigned for each foundation....In spite of the deplorable condition of the caballerias in which the army men are living, in spite of the lack of mules and the total scarcity of provisions for the Garrison, which is fully known to you, a competent escort of troops will be given and all the helps that are in my power to maintain such an important undertaking, provided that your Reverence inform me of the needs to supply for its perfect erection, in which no doubt your Reverence will manifest your ardent zeal for the Propagation of the Faith and the spiritual conquest.

The friars were evidently supposed to gather supplies where none were available. Their concern over the lack of official support was expressed in no uncertain terms by Father Muñoz, on whose shoulders as procurator the burden of obtaining supplies rested. He had gone to Sonora to see the conditions in the newly acquired missions of Guaymas and Tanazula and at Ures he wrote to Croix on November 23, 1779. He called attention of the Commander-General to the refusal of the governor to permit the mission of Sierra de Cienaguilla to be established. He stated that the king had sent five chests of ornaments for the five missions which were to be established by the Dominicans. These might have been founded already if the necessary
assistance had been given. The spiritual conquest had been delayed certainly not by the friars, who were eager to enter the fields ripe for the harvest, but by the lack of help from the authorities. The latter would be responsible for the loss of souls. The missionaries were laboring under severe handicaps by reason of the lack of cooperation. Muñoz ended with the hope that His Excellency's sense of justice would make provisions in a matter "in which the King is so interested, and also the Order, for the service of God." How swiftly justice moved may be gathered from the fact that long after the Mission of San Vicente Ferrer was built and in operation, the order was given, May 19, 1781, to pay the Dominican Procurator the 1,000 pesos for its foundation.

In early January, 1780, Velásquez, Hidalgo, the assistant at Santo Domingo, made their way to the region named San Isabel by Father Crespi, the Franciscan, and Santa Rosalía by Neve. The expedition with eight troopers arrived at the place on January 9, inspected it in all directions during the next three days, and was back in Santo Domingo by January 15. Velásquez on that same day signed, as did his soldiers, a long and detailed report. Two days later Velásquez made a map or field sketch of the San Vicente area. (See the accompanying diminished photograph of the sketch.) It was quite in accord with what Neve had predicted of the place, and one would imagine an Eden of the Pacific had been discovered. Along the camino real, about five miles from the spot where he thought the mission should be built, he found "a beautiful abundance of water." A mile or so to the northeast there were two warm water springs with plenty of force, which they called San Gonzalo. Two leagues north of the mission site they found "a very beautiful place" and named it San Jacinto. It was sufficient for a mission by itself, for it had two arable places on a table-land, "good and
FIELD SKETCH OF SAN VICENTE MISSION

A sources of water
B running water
C trickling water
D lands for cultivation
E location for the dam
F plains, ravines
G hills with grazing lands
H the Sierra
J the forests
K the site for Mission San Vicente

(Photostat from the Californias, Vol. 71, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City)
beautiful," and "a stream filled with alders and willows," that reached to the mission, and "great fields of pasture lands that might maintain a thousand head of cattle." To the west some two leagues was the ocean, but in that area there was an abundance of water and pasture lands sufficient for 300 to 400 major cattle. To the north-northwest about two leagues there was a place, named Saint Rose of the Alders, which might serve as a ranch, and maintain 200 head of cattle. Three leagues south of the mission site, along the camino real there was a place named Santa Catarina or El Salado, which might maintain 1000 head of cattle. Best of all, the natives were numerous, and those seen by the exploring party have proved themselves "very amiable and loving."

Father Hidalgo in his report of January 20, to Governor Neve, agreed in general that the site was suitable, probably aware that it had been predetermined. It was separated from the main road by some elevations worth considering. Evidently following Velásquez' chart, Hidalgo thought some fruit trees could be grown in part of the acreage assigned for them, but the rest was a useless sandbar. He was not sure how much seed could be planted or what the yield would be. He had some doubt about the permanence of the large flow of water. He agreed heartily that the pasture lands were large, and he shared Velásquez' enthusiasm about the beauty of San Jacinto. The two bubbling springs caught his fancy so much that he thought the mission should be placed near them rather than where Velásques had indicated, and his opinion was shared by some travelers going to and from San Diego. As for the Santa Rosa and Santa Catalina ranch sites, he did not go to see them because their marshes and water pools were no recommendation to him. This may have been one reason why Hidalgo did not want to do the added hiking, but a better reason can be inferred from
his last paragraph of report to Neve. He was meeting the Indians. True to his missionary spirit he was not concerned, except in a general way, with the physical surroundings, but he was anxious to seek souls. Thus he wrote:

I had the consolation of making known the Faith to various groups of pagans, and it was refreshing to see them so joyful and courteous. They not only gave us information about all the neighboring lands, but they went with us in our reconnoitering..... Their language is totally different from that of the Santo Domingo Indians, and if His Divine Majesty had not furnished us with an old person learned in both languages, they would have been left without the knowledge of God. For this reason I asked the father of a family to give me a little son of his, about ten years old, and the father gave him to me without any reluctance. The boy remains and is being instructed in mission Santo Domingo until his time is due for baptism.34

Perhaps the boy's instruction was one reason why Hidalgo required five days to make out his official report, January 20, 1780.

Well over a month transpired while the official reports were on their way to Governor Neve and while his official approval was on its way back. Father Mora wrote his acknowledgement on March 4, accepting the order to establish San Vicente Ferrer, though he could not at the time appoint a priest, whose selection would require some reflection. The President assured Neve that he would keep an accurate account of the amount of goods contributed by the other missions.35

Neve wrote two reports in letter form to Croix, which reveal the caution with which government officials put every action in writing, and accidentally contributed source materials for future historians. On April 21, 1780, he reported what was done to change the direction of the mission chain from Cieneguilla to Rosalía, and what had been done to get San Vicente under way. He added that there was only one drawback, the lack of mules. Therefore he had asked the Reverend Father President to give the missions ten or twelve in order
to supply the troops with food. Neve sent a short covering letter to Croix, saying he was inclosing two letters of his, one to Mora, October 24, 1779, and the other to Croix, April 21, 1780, regarding the establishment of the new missions. Neve in the short, covering letter of June 21, spoke of returning to Croix on February 14, 1780, Father Nicolás Muñoz' representation or expediente of November 23, 1779.

In the Californias Collection, Volume 16, there is an expediente of Fray Nicolás Muñoz, dated at San Miguel de Horcasitas, November 21, 1778, which consists of forty five points regarding what is necessary and convenient for the subsistence of the existing Baja California missions and the foundation of the remaining coastal missions. There is another expediente of providencias or measures in consequence of Muñoz' forty five points, which were remitted by Neve to Croix on February 14, 1780. The forty five points are dated November 21, 1778, and so Neve must have been mistaken by one year in his dating, when he said that he had returned to Croix the Muñoz expediente of November 23, 1779.

Muñoz' forty five points among many things touched upon the provision of an escolta for each mission. Thus more soldiers would insure better order, the more rapid delivery of the mail, and the reduction of desertions of neophytes from the missions. The additional soldiers were necessary for founding the remaining three coastal missions. The soldiers should treat the pagan and neophyte Indians more charitably and they should serve the fathers more willingly instead of seeking to get out of work. Further, the soldiers should have useful qualifications for mission life, such as knowing how to plant and to care for cattle. More soldiers were needed to insure the lives of the missionaries
and advancement of the missions, thus forestalling or preventing various plans to kill the padres, as at Santa Gertrudis and San Francisco de Borja, where the Indians had planned to plunder and burn the missions, and kill the padres in 1777.

According to the forty-five points there was need for more servants in the mission work, who are indispensable as laborers, cultivators, cowboys, bricklayers, and carpenters. There was need to provide mission vessels and to keep them in repair, as well as need to provide a competent crew of sailors, other than the six or seven Indian boys who were not skilled in operating the mission launches. There was a great lack especially in the Frontera, of hoes and other implements for the cultivation of the land. The missionaries went without habits, tobacco, and chocolate, rather than receive alms from outside Mexico. For the efficient provision of the missions it was necessary to have good missions on the mainland to help the peninsula missions, for example, one in Sinaloa, and another in Ostimuri. The pueblo of Belen in the province of Ostimuri was expressly conceded by the Royal Cedula of April 8, 1770. The natives should be taught the art of diving and fishing for pearls and they should receive sufficient pay for the time they dive. Muñoz recommended the appointment of a reputable, honest secular person who would handle the pearl industry, supervise the divers, manage the distribution of the pearls and their sales, thus freeing the fathers from such work.

Muñoz urged the return of the old method of paying a fifth of the pearls to the King, instead of paying 100 pesos for the permit to pearl dive as prescribed by Governor Neve. Often a mission lost money on the pearl hunting expedition, as Mission Santiago which paid the license fee of 100 pesos and netted a return
of seventy pesos for pearls. The cost of transferring Indian families of Santa Gertrudis and San Borja to San José del Cabo in 1777 should have been paid by the storehouse of the Presidium of Loreto. 40

The Comandante General may have been pleased with the news sent to him under date of July 19, 1780. Mora notified him that he was in the mission of San Fernando Velicaté ready to commence the new mission. He had gathered the supplies, had obtained a sufficient number of cattle, he had put horses and mules at the service of the troops and for use in transporting provisions, and he had other workers to go with him. 41 When the transport moved is not certain, but from an official report of Neve to Croix dated October 24, 1780, we learn that the Mission San Vicente Ferrer was founded on August 27, 1780, by Fathers Miguel Hidalgo of Santo Domingo, and Joaquín Valero, who had been assigned to Mission Santa Rosalía since 1773. 42

Neve's report continues with some eyewitness observations, since he had visited the mission on the tenth of the same month. The first resident ministers were Hidalgo and Valero. Temporary thatched huts had been built separated by stockades. There were sufficient major and minor cattle, including a twenty-two mule train, and the animal herd could become the best in the area within a few years. There was plenty of arable land and water, and much nearby pasture. Neve proposed a dam for the storage of water to be flumed for watering the fields. At the time the workers were busy laying the foundations of the permanent buildings. Since the mission was actually founded, the thousand pesos could be paid to the Father Procurator, Fray Francisco Estavillo.

In his study of the mission in 1927 Meigs had two charts drawn from such data as the ruins of San Vicente yielded. 43 The center of mission activities
was evidently placed where Velásquez had indicated in his rough sketch. The main buildings were situated on a nearly level platform eight or ten feet above the arroyo level. The mission church measured 22 by 6.75 varas, about sixty-two by eighteen and a half feet, and was flanked on the west by a large quadrangle. It was about one-third the size of the presidio or fort, which was located about 180 yards northeast of the church on higher ground. The living quarters, kitchen, dining room, and store rooms were on the northeast side of the patio, while dwellings for the Indians and guests were nearby on the seventy-five acre tableland. Another group of buildings surrounded a second quadrangle halfway between the fort and the church. An eight foot wall was built in a half circle around the groups of buildings with three towers placed in strategic spots. These towers and walls were built by Fray Luis Sales who succeeded Hidalgo as the next resident minister. The total area within the jurisdiction of San Vicente Mission was about 500 square miles.

San Vicente was the largest and most important mission in the Dominican chain, and from a military point of view was the center of the frontier defense from 1780 to 1849. Meigs, citing all authorities for the primacy of this mission and noting the paradox that there were never more than three dozen soldiers in the five missions of La Frontera, gives reasons why it was very important strategically. It was the central of the coastal missions, in a key spot to prevent attacks of the wild Indians to the east, whose path was down the San Vicente Arroyo. It served also to protect the mission chain in the mountains as that chain was built. One can see why Neve and the military advisors foreordained Santa Rosalía as its site, and placed the commanding officer of all Dominican mission troops at San Vicente Mission.
Of vital importance to the missionaries was the harvest of souls, the number of conversions and baptisms. Unfortunately, the baptismal register for San Vicente is missing, but tables of baptism statistics will be arranged from other sources after a survey of the factors that retarded the spiritual growth.

The first problem was to learn the languages of the large area. Father Sales, who began to live at San Vicente in 1781, says that up to that time the conquerors supposed that there were only two languages in Baja California, the Ado in the south and the Cochimi in the north. Now a great diversity was being noted, which was not only dialectical but basic. The words and pronunciations in Rosario were distinct from those in Santo Domingo. The San Vicente jurisdiction had three distinct languages. The language of the mountain Indians, even in the course of seven leagues, had enough variations in pronunciation and meanings to cause the poor missionary to despair. Sales could not arrange an alphabet, a vocabulary, or grammar, since the natives had neither declensions, conjugations, nor present, past, and future tenses. All words had one termination, and all were uttered in a harsh guttural voice. The fathers were hard put, even with interpreters, to convey any abstract ideas to these gentiles.

The sick they seemed always to have with them. Memorable in the mind of Sales was the violent smallpox of 1781-1782. He went into the fields and found the dead. He traversed the hills and found the dead, the dying, and the orphaned children, "and few were the days that I did not take some soldiers with me to help, and we would return loaded down with abandoned children, and we cared for them at the mission." He believed that more Indians died of starvation than of the smallpox, and he added a sharp criticism of the military
and if he had permitted the friars, especially he of San Vicente, to go out continuously seeking Indians, so many would not have perished. But he, not wishing to add to the burdens of the soldiers nor incur the slightest expenses, hindered the missionary from his sorties by depriving him of the troops for his escort.49

It was difficult to instruct the natives in view of the general restlessness on La Frontera. This was occasioned by a lack of supplies and by the Indians' resentment of the intruders. Their attacks on the missions became more bold and more frequent until at length the Yuma Indians destroyed the two Franciscan missions on the Colorado River in 1781.50 This had an immediate effect upon Mission San Vicente, which was on the road leading to the Colorado River and was distant only a day and a half journey. Croix sent two punitive expeditions without result. The Yumas continued insolent and San Vicente was in a constant state of alarm. Croix hesitated. "He no longer thought of extending the conquest but only of restoring and strengthening what had been recently reduced," Sales wrote.51 Sales was more practical. As soon as the epidemic of 1780-1782 burned itself out, Sales wrote that "the mission of San Vicente was growing and, being alone at that mission, to keep out the hostile Indians I managed to build a wall three varas high, with little towers. Also I built a satisfactory church with all the necessary equipment."52 This was putting it modestly, since Weigs says that it was the largest of the Dominican establishments.53

Although the Baptismal Register has not been found, other documents give some statistics on baptisms, as well as marriages and burials for the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive.54 These Informes, for the given years, are signed by the resident minister, and give the number of baptisms, marriages, and burials
for a given year, and the sum total to date. There were thirty-two baptisms in 1795, and thirty-four in 1796. The total of baptisms by the end of 1796 was 514, with an average of thirty-two a year for the sixteen year period from 1780 to 1796. During this same period there were 108 marriages, which agrees with the Marriage Register,55 with an average of six marriages a year. There were 224 burials56 during this sixteen year period, or an average of fourteen burials per year. These sixteen years, from 1780 to 1796, represent the period of spiritual growth and principal missionary activity at San Vicente.

The period of decline seems to have started in 1797, with only fifteen baptisms, and the following year had thirteen, making a total of 542 baptisms by the end of 1798. There are no available data for the later years. The Marriage Register, which ends in September of 1800, shows the decline of marriages after 1796, with two marriages in 1798 and two in 1799. The total number of marriages by September of 1800 was 122. There must have been a second marriage register, corresponding to the period of decline, but it is not extant. The epidemic of 1796-1797 increased the number of ecclesiastical burials to twenty-one in 1796, twenty-five in 1797. The Burial Register shows continuous burials for each year and at the end of 1817 there had been 576 burials. Then there is a nine year break in the records, with twenty more burials in 1827, and two in 1828, and the Register comes to an end with 598 burials. A table follows showing the statistics for baptisms, marriages, and burials year by year. The available data are fairly complete for the period of spiritual growth, 1780-1796, and very incomplete for the period of decline.
## SAN VICENTE MISSION

### PERIOD OF GROWTH

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#### PERIOD OF DECLINE

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| TOTAL | 28 | 374 | 14 |
| 1780-96 | 514 | 224 | 108 |
| TOTAL | 542 | 598 | 122 |
In the Burial and Marriage Registers there is no mention of a capitán nor of a rancheria. Doubtless, there were such, at least ranches to the north, west and south. From Velásquez' report and pencil sketch of the area we know that there were three places that would be natural ranch sites, San Jacinto two leagues to the north of the mission, Santa Rosa of the Alders, about two leagues to the north-northwest, and Santa Catarina, three leagues to the south of the mission. His report also spoke of a great amount of pasture land to graze 300 or 400 head of major cattle, to the west. This place probably can be identified with the Mission Ranch of which Meigs spoke. Hidalgo said that undoubtedly there could be set apart three ranches, San Jacinto, Santa Rosa, and Santa Catarina.

If the total area within the jurisdiction of Mission San Vicente was five hundred square miles, the approximate original population of this area has been estimated at 770. In his table of population statistics Meigs has indicated how many were actually in the mission, presumably the baptized and the neophytes. For a number of years, however, he had no data, hence the table on the next page is intended to amplify the statistics for the years 1782 through 1812.

An unsigned estado placed the 1782 population of San Vicente at eighty-three, while a similar estado gave 174 as the count for 1785. Bancroft by mistake gives the 1785 figure as 257, which is really the figure for 1790. Arrillaga's estado broke down the 1736 number of 205 into fifty-seven men, sixty-eight women, thirty-seven boys and forty-three girls. Sales gives the highest population in the history of the mission, namely 317, including the two missionaries, eight soldiers and 105 families. There is an unexpected increase
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SPM, I, 22; NMS, I, 740.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SPM, I, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Arrillaga's estado. California Transcripts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>317</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sales, Table I; Rudkin, p. 188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>257</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SPM, I, 79.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>SPM, I, 76.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>SPM, I, 129; NMS, I, 740.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>104 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td>Valdellón, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>3 SM 1 SW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 318.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>3 SM 1 SW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 308.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>204</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td>López &amp; Fontcuberta, Informe, Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td>López &amp; Fontcuberta, Informe, Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 56.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>4 SM 3 SW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 359.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>4 SM 3 SW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 391.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>MEN</td>
<td>WOMEN</td>
<td>BOYS</td>
<td>GIRLS</td>
<td>SOURCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>3 SM</td>
<td>4 SW</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 431.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>3 SM</td>
<td>4 SW</td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 410.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801. Bancroft Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>6 SW</td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>6 SW</td>
<td>Arvina, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 186.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>6 SW</td>
<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 213.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1805</td>
<td>200-</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>3 SM</td>
<td>4 SW</td>
<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Goycoechea, Cal., Vol. 61, fol. 430.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Span.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the explanation of symbols and abbreviations, cf. Chap. IV.
over Arrillaga's reckoning of 205 for the year before. However Sales was the resident minister from 1781 to 1787 and should have known the population figure and would have had no reason to falsify the number. Consequently, the sudden increase of people at San Vicente remains inexplicable. Fray Tomás Valdellón, resident minister of San Vicente, from 1793 to 1797, stated the 1796 population as 242, including 105 minors. In Belda's report for 1799, there were 131 men, 137 women, three Spanish men and five Spanish women, a total count of 276. President Gallego indicated the population of 1801 as 271, with the breakdown of 120 men, 139 women, six Spanish men and six Spanish women. In general Captain Shaler's 1805 estimate of 200 to 300 people is correct.

Feeding the Indians called for farm work. Meigs estimates that in the mission days there were about 208 acres under cultivation at San Vicente, and the records are given only for the major crops of wheat, maize, beans, and occasionally barley. Nothing is said about the production of other edibles, such as olives, fruits, vegetables, and grapes. Sales, who built the church, very likely superintended the construction of the dam three quarters of a mile from the church and the stone lined irrigation ditches with their system of outlets to the fields. Meigs has a table of statistics on the yield for ten of the years from 1782 to 1801 inclusive, but he does not give the amounts of seed used and he has no data for the years 1795 through 1798. Rather than repeat Meigs' data I have prepared a table for those years, which seem representative of the mission's productivity. The figures are in terms of the fanega, equivalent to 2.6 bushels, and almudes, somewhat less than a peck or quarter of a bushel. Thus in the table, the figure 3.3 means 3 fanegas, 3 almudes. A banner year for crops was 1786 when 783 bushels of wheat and 1568 bushels of
corn were harvested. The year for the next highest yield of corn was 1794 with 1,560 bushels. In the year 1800 San Vicente raised its largest crop of wheat with 910 bushels, as compared with the 520 bushels or 200 fanegas in 1795.

As for the livestock in 1782 San Vicente had fifty-six cattle, 114 sheep, twenty-seven goats, six horses, and forty mules and burros, according to Meigs. Two years later there was an unbelievable jump in the number to 178 cattle, 517 sheep, 141 goats, sixty-three horses, while the mule and burro figure went down to thirty-four. Least believable are the figures from Bandini: 750 cattle, 1,150 sheep, for the year 1800. There are no data on pigs and chickens. If the figures are even approximate they would explain one great cause for the decline of the mission, since herds of the type would have consumed all the grass and would have prepared the pasturages for erosion. Perhaps the statistics include numbers from the several ranches pertaining to San Vicente, but very little is known of the Mission Ranch and San Jacinto. The accompanying chart shows the statistics on crops and herds for the years 1795 to 1798, not given by Meigs.

It is pleasant to have some biographical information about the missionaries who founded San Vicente Mission and directed its spiritual and material development during the early formative years of its life. Father Miguel Hidalgo, the co-founder of the mission and first resident minister during 1780 and early 1781, was born about the year 1743 in the village of Adamus of Cordova, Spain. He was small of stature, had dark brown eyes, black hair, and two scars above his eyebrows. May 15, 1773, he was assigned with Fray Pedro Gandiaga to Mission San Fernando until about May, 1777, when he became the assistant at Santo Domingo. He remained at Santo Domingo till he laid the foundation at San Vicente late in August, 1780. He officiated at the first five burials of
### Chart of the Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat Seed Crops</th>
<th>Barley Seed Crops</th>
<th>Corn Seed Crops</th>
<th>Beans Seed Crops</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>3 Al. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>2 Al. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>13 1/2</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>3 Al. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 1/2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2 Al. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 56.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart of the Herds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Mules</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 64.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 89.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 56.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
San Vicente, the first on September 15, 1780, and the fifth on January 6, 1781. He had one marriage at San Vicente, the first one, on February 3, 1781. Early in 1781 he succeeded Father Mora as the President and Vicar-Provincial. More information will be given in the next chapter concerning the administrations of Mora and Hidalgo.

Fray Joaquín Valero, co-founder of San Vicente Mission, and assistant of Hidalgo, was born about 1740. He was of medium height, ruddy, slightly bald, and he had a scar on the chin. He had been assigned to Mission Santa Rosalía in May, 1773. He more than likely was assigned to San Vicente from its foundation, August 27, 1780, although his signature does not appear in the Burial Register until October 12, 1781, and then continues intermittently until April 20, 1782. On September 7, 1782, he had five marriages at the mission. During his stay at San Vicente he baptized at San Fernando on March 5, 1781. He was still listed as assigned to San Vicente about June of 1783, according to a Nomina list in the Provincias Internas Collection. By another Nomina list of May, 1788, he is shown assigned to Mission Santa Gertrudis. Along with Francisco Galisteo, Luis Sales, and Miguel Hidalgo, he retired from Baja California, October 5, 1789. According to the Acta of 1792 he was assigned to the Imperial Convent of Santo Domingo de Mexico, where he was subcantor and conventual preacher. The Acta of 1792 indicated that he was postulated by the Provincial Chapter to be made a Preacher-General. The same Acta of 1792 lauded his missionary activities:

For seventeen years with an open hand he gave to the Indians the Bread of heavenly life. He instructed 108 pagans in the Faith and washed them with the waters of regeneration, and now there are forty more who bear witness to his ministerings. Neither did he look down upon the temporal affairs, because he rebuilt (relocated) two missions, almost extinct, enlarged
another, and built another, under the title of San Vicente Ferrer. 

The notification of his having been granted the degree of Praesentatus arrived October 26, 1799, two days after his death. According to a Brief of Pope Pius VI, those missionaries who had labored accurately and laudably a given number of years were eligible to receive the following honors or degrees: the Preacher-General for twelve years of service, the Praesentatus for sixteen years and the Master of Sacred Theology for twenty years of missionary service. Valero labored much, enjoyed little of this world's honors. His reward awaited him in eternity.

Luis Sales succeeded Miguel Hidalgo in 1781 as the next resident minister. He was born in Valencia, April 20, 1745. He was short of stature, long-faced, had smallpox markings, and a scar on the forehead. He labored at Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 1773-1778, at San Francisco de Borja Mission, 1778-1781, and at Mission San Vicente, 1781-1787. He explored various sites for Mission San Miguel, which he founded in 1787 and removed to a new site in 1788. He was instrumental in determining the site for Mission Santo Tomás, founded in 1791, after he left the mission fields. About 1788 and 1789 he wrote three long letters to an unknown friend in Valencia about Indian ethnology, customs and languages in Baja California, and the missionary activities of the Jesuits and Franciscans. The whole of the third letter pertains to the Dominican activities. His unknown friend was most likely the Archbishop of Valencia, Señor Don Francisco Fabián y Fuero. Sales left Baja California, October of 1789, was in Mexico City in January of 1790, and in Valencia, in October of the same year. He was elected Prior of the Convent of Segorbe in 1806, and died September 10, 1807. After his return to Valencia he published his three
letters in 1794, with permission of the superiors. However, he had failed to get the permission of the government, and so his request for a Mastership in the Order was turned down by the government. The reasons given were that he had broken the Laws of the Indies, publishing material without permission of the government, and secondly he was not entitled to a Mastership, which required twenty years of service in the mission field. 79 He was, however, entitled to the Praesentatus, having spent sixteen years in missionary service.

Father José Estévez, who was the assistant and later the successor of Sales, was born in 1745 or 1746 in the village of Villar of the Diocese of Tudén. He was of fair complexion, blue eyes, and of normal height. 80 He was assigned to Mission Santiago, May 15, 1773. He was sent to Santo Domingo, as assistant, more than likely from 1783 to 1785, since his signature occurs frequently in the Baptismal Register from March 30 to December 21, 1783, and from October 9, 1784 to June 12, 1785. 81 He was assigned to San Vicente in 1785. His signature occurs in the Marriage Register intermittently with that of Sales, beginning with October 31, 1785 to July 2, 1787, and then continuously from July 29, 1787 to March 22, 1788. The Burial Register shows his signature from March 4, 1786 till March 1, 1789. 82 The Mission Registers of San José de Comodú show that he was there from at least December 31, 1790, to July, 1791. He made a request for the Mastership after twenty years of service in the mission field. 83 He died January 22, 1823. 84 The entry shows that the Mastership in the Order was granted: "M. R. P. Mro. Fr. José Estévez, Ex-Misionero, 22 d Enero, Ano de 1823."
1. Sales, I, 35; Rudkin, p. 24.
2. Sales, III, 65; Rudkin, p. 166.
8. C-2501.
15. Ibid., p. 325.
17. Calif., Vol. 71, fol. 9, of the "Santa Rosalia expediente."
19. Calif., Vol. 71, fols. 18-25, entitled: "Californias, Ano de 1779. El Procurador de los Religiosos Dominicos empleados en las Misiones de la California sobre no haberseles franqueado los auxilios que pidieron para fundación de una Mision en la Sierra de la Cieneguilla." This shall be referred to as the "Cieneguilla expediente" since its pagination is similar to the "Santa Rosalía expediente" of the same volume.

20. Ibid., Vol. 71 fol. 22v., of the "Cieneguilla expediente."

21. Cf. Calif., Vol. 71, fols. 8-22, entitled: "Californias. Ano de 1780. No. 29. Expediente formado a instancia del Reverendo Padre Presidente Fray Vicente de Mora sobre la fundación de una misión en el paraje de Santa Rosalía." This expediente shall be referred to as the "Santa Rosalía expediente."

22. Meigs, p. 77. However, Velásquez in his report of January 15, 1780, and Hidalgo in his report of January 20, 1780, to Neve said that the Pacific Ocean was some two leagues away from the mission site, or a little better than five miles.

23. Sales, III, 65; Rudkin, p. 188.


25. Ibid., Vol. 71, fols. 21-22 of the "Cieneguilla expediente."

26. Father Francisco Estavillo was the Procurator of the Baja California Missions and he resided in Mexico City. Perhaps Nicolás Muñoz was the local procurator. He resided at Mission Loreto and was certainly doing work pertaining to a procurator. And the title of the "Cieneguilla expediente" implies that Muñoz fulfilled those duties upon the scene of action.


28. Ibid.


32. The springs were located on January 10, which at that time was the feast day of Blessed Gundisalvus or San Gonsalo of Amarantha, Confessor, O. P. At present the feast is celebrated on January 16.


34. Ibid.
35. Calif., Vol. 71, fol. 16, of the "Santa Rosalía expediente."
36. Ibid., Vol. 71, fol. 17-17v. of the "Santa Rosalía expediente."
37. Ibid., Vol. 71, fols. 21-23v. of the "Cieneguilla expediente."
39. Ibid., Vol. 16, no. 6, fols. 155-224.
40. Ibid., Vol. 16, no. 12, fols. 277-356.
41. Calif., Vol. 71, fol. 18, of the "Santa Rosalía expediente."
42. Ibid., Vol. 71, fols. 19-20, of the "Santa Rosalía expediente."
43. Meigs, pp. 83, 88.
44. Sales, III, 70-71; Rudkin, p. 170.
45. Meigs, pp. 85-86.
46. Ibid., pp. 80-81.
47. Sales, I, 99-100; Rudkin, p. 63.
49. Sales, III, 69; Rudkin, p. 169.
50. Bancroft, I, 722; The History of California, I, Chapter 17.
51. Sales, III, 67; Rudkin, pp. 167-168.
52. Sales, III, 70-71, Rudkin, p. 170.
53. Meigs, p. 82.
54. Mis., Vol. 2, fols. 64 and 89 for 1795 and 1796, respectively; Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fols. 23 and 56 for 1797 and 1798, respectively.
55. The Marriage Register is preserved in the library of the Convent of Saint Albert the Great, Oakland, California.
56. The Burial Register is also preserved in Oakland, California.
57. Calif., Vol. 71, fol. 14-14v. of the "Santa Rosalía expediente."
58. Meigs, p. 86.

60. Meigs, p. 86.

61. Ibid., pp. 137, 140.

62. Ibid., p. 85.

63. Ibid., p. 84-85.

64. Hist., Vol. 41, no. 12, fol. 387v; Acta of 1773, p. 5.


68. Ibid., I, 604.

69. Prov. Int., Vol. 9, no. 5, fol. 58. The Nomina list was signed by Francisco Estavillo, the procurator of the Baja California missions.

70. Calif., Vol. 82.

71. Stephens Collection, no. 81.

72. Acta of 1792, p. 36.

73. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

74. Ibid., p. 31.

75. Acta of 1796, p. 3.


77. Sales wrote that "if there is room for it I will make a complete map of all these missions on which you shall see easily the relation of these provinces to great Siberia." "Cf. Sales, III, 97, and Rudkin, p. 136. D. Justo Pastor Fuster, in his Biblioteca Valenciana de los Escritores que florecieron hasta nuestros dias (Valencia, 1830), Vol. II, 296, says that Sales is the author of "Mapa particular de lo interior de la Provincia y otro de lo exterior de la costa oriental y occidental." Then Fuster has this comment on the two maps: "Ambos manuscritos originales se lo pidió al Autor el Exmo. Sr. D. Francisco Fabián y Fuero, siendo Arzobispo de Valencia, y con su muerte se desaparecieron del palacio."
78. Ibid., Vol. II, 295.

79. Cf. C-5939 and C-5940 for Sales' efforts to obtain the Master's degree. There is another 130 folio expediente at the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, not listed in Chapman's Catalogue. This expediente is filed under the Audiencia de Guadalajara, 374 (105-1-12), and is entitled: "Expediente sobre Fray Luis de Sales, del Orden de Predicadores, conventual en el de la ciudad de Valencia y Misionero que ha sido en las Californias, 1794-1800."


81. Cf. the Baptismal Register and Engelhardt, I, 619.

82. Ibid., I, 623.

83. Cf. a thirteen folio document at Seville, contained in Guadalajara, 376 (104-1-14). Chapman refers to this document on page 53 of his Catalogue.

84. Libro de Difuntos, p. 19, preserved at the Domus of Santo Domingo, Mexico City.
CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATORS AND ADMINISTRATIONS

In the long and complex history of Spain and her colonies events in La Frontera of Baja California seem of little moment, but they are significant illustrations of Spain's domestic, colonial, and international policies. Charles III, who began his reign in 1759 at the age of forty-three, has been ranked as the greatest of the Spanish Bourbons partly because of a complete lack of competitors, and partly because of his "reforms." The reforms were generally designed to supply his treasury. He suppressed the Jesuits and confiscated their holdings. Though he remained a Catholic nominally, he suppressed many of the clergy and thus relieved the crown of payments for their support. Where they were useful, as in the Californias, he doled out a meagre salary. He introduced the Intendency system which had already been tried and found useless by France. He received Louisiana by cession from France, just before the whole of France's colonial Empire was taken by England in 1763. By the Family Compact he was bound to France, which was on the verge of its Revolution. More through a hatred of England than sympathy for her Atlantic colonies he secretly aided the Americans in 1776 in the Mississippi Valley and later openly with France as an ally. Until his death in 1788, as the Absolute Monarch, he was the supreme administrator of the Californias. His son, Charles IV, king from 1788 to 1808, deserves no mention as a ruler.
Charles III made José de Gálvez the Visitador-General of New Spain in 1765 with all power to introduce reforms, keep down expenses, and obtain more income for the royal treasury.¹ These Gálvez undertook ruthlessly, until he was declared insane. Gálvez had Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, appointed Viceroy from 1766 to 1771, and controlled his activities during his term of office. We have seen what Gálvez and Croix did to advance the mission and settlement programs for the Californias. The rule of Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua (1771–1779) is praised by Californians because of his activity in establishing Upper California on a secure basis. A series of inept Viceroyalty followed: Martín de Mayorga (1779–1783); Matías de Gálvez, brother of José (1783–1784); Bernardo de Gálvez, son of Matías (1785–1786); Archbishop Alonzo Núñez de Haro y Peralta, interim Viceroy for three months in 1787; and Manuel Antonio Flores (1787–1789). After the death of Charles III, December 14, 1788, Juan Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla, second Count of Revilla Gigedo, ruled from 1789 to 1794, and has been named by Priestley "the greatest of the eighteenth century viceroys."² The last two incumbents of the century were Miguel de la Grua Talamanca y Branciforte, Marqués de Branciforte who ruled proudly but incompetently from 1794 to 1798, and Don Miguel José de Azana, 1798–1800, who was busy chiefly with the Juan Guerrero conspiracy to overthrow the government.³

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century there was plentiful confusion of political and military jurisdiction in the Californias and the northern provinces of New Spain. From 1769 to 1776 the Californias were under viceregal jurisdiction as delegated to the military leaders, Captains Gaspar de Portolá and Fernando de Rivera y Moncada. In 1776 the whole of the northern
area including the Interior Provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and the newer governments of Texas, New Mexico and the two Californias, were placed under the Commander-General Teodoro de Croix, nephew of the earlier Viceroy Croix. Teodoro was independent of the Viceroy in Mexico City and appointed Felipe de Neve governor of the Californias from 1776 to 1782. Neve succeeded Croix as Commander General in 1783 and died the following year. From 1784 until 1788 the respective authorities of the Viceroy and the Commanders General were not clearly defined, but after 1788 the Viceroy was again in supreme command.

The governors of the Californias were the colorful Pedro Fages from 1782 to 1790, Antonio Romeu from 1791 to 1792, José Joaquín de Arrillaga from 1792 to 1794, and Diego de Borica to the end of the century. Under these civilian and military leaders, Viceroy, Commanders General, and Governors, the distant outposts of the Spanish empire in North America were built at a minimum cost to the Crown and a maximum of labor on the part of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and were held by a minimum of military protection as defenses against foreign intruders and the raids of the savages. One Royal Highway led through Texas to Missouri, another to Santa Fe, and the third led to Upper California. The Dominican missions in Lower California became less and less important in the eyes of the rulers and more and more off the beaten path to Upper California. The zeal of the Dominicans of the Frontera alone supported them.

During this time the Dominican Superiors of Baja California came and went. Father Juan Pedro de Iriarte y Laurnaga was the first President of the missions and Vicar General. He was born about the year 1715 in Oyeregui, in the Diocese of Pamplona, Spain. A sketch of Father Iriarte, signed at Cadiz on June 15,
1771, described him as short of stature, gray-haired, and beginning baldness, and lists his age as fifty-six. He was Procurator-General of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, and resided at the royal court of Madrid, as early as April 17, 1760. He was the zealous promoter of the idea of Dominican Missions in Baja California in the year 1768. He was the first President and Vicar-General of the Baja California Missions. He was constituted Vicar of the Missions of Lower California, in a document, dated at Rome, June 13, 1770. As we saw in Chapter III, Iriarte never reached Baja California, but died shortly after a shipwreck in the Gulf of California.

Father Vicente Mora, the successor of Iriarte, did not come from Spain in the group of missionaries conducted to New Spain by Iriarte. The Acta of 1773 states that Father Mora was thirty-five years old, sixteen years a professed Religious, and that for seven years he was a Professor of Philosophy and Theology in the Imperial Convent of Saint Dominic, Mexico City, after which he volunteered to work in the Dominican missions of Baja California. Viceroy Bucareli on December 30, 1772, approved the appointment of Father Mora as the President and Vicar-Provincial of the Baja California missions. Mora made the old Mission of Nuestra Señora de Loreto his headquarters. During his eight year term of office he established three Dominican missions in La Frontera, namely, Missions Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Santo Domingo, and San Vicente, in the years 1774, 1775, and 1780 respectively. In late 1780 or early 1781 Mora apparently suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and Fray Miguel Hidalgo succeeded him early in 1781. Hidalgo, moving to Loreto headquarters, saw the impossibility of taking care of the paralyzed Mora in such barren surroundings, and on February 20, 1782 he gave his permission for him to go to the
Mora arrived there at the beginning of June, according to the Prior, Fray Juan de Dios de Córdova. Later Mora was sent to the Convent of the Most Holy Rosary in Guadalajara where the mild and even climate seemed to have proved beneficial, for in 1784 he was instructor of the novices in the Convent of Santo Domingo, in Mexico City, and was also teaching them Latin. Father Mora passed away on May 6, 1786.

Although Bancroft, Engelhardt and successive writers on the history of California have stated that nothing was written by the Dominicans, except Salas's account, and that no official documents were left, there is, nevertheless, a great deal of material on the administrators of the Dominican missions. Volume 123 of the "Historia" collection is almost entirely devoted to Father Mora. Folios 11 to 22 charge him with bad administration of the sinodos of the Lower California missions. These accusations would be amusing if compared to present day incomes and expenditures. The first sinodos or year's salary was figured from May 16, 1773, to May 15, 1774. For the first six years from 1773 to 1779 there were twenty-seven fathers and the sinodos paid to them was 350 pesos annually for each one, plus an extra 250 pesos to maintain the lamps of the mission church of Loreto. The annual income was 8,700 pesos or 56,200 pesos for the six years, from 1773 to 1779. Father Antonio Salas died June 6, 1779, and so the sinodos was for twenty-six fathers or 9,350 pesos for the year 1779-1780. Father Manuel Garcia passed away January 31, 1780, and the sinodos for 1780-1781 was 9,000 pesos for twenty-five fathers. The final total of these three amounts adds up to 76,550 pesos for the eight years of Father Mora's administration. This was less than Viceroy Bucareli's salary in 1777, which was 80,000 pesos. Each father was
credited with fifty pesos of the 350 for his personal annual expenses, and each item he obtained was checked off against his account in Mexico City. The total amount of 76,550 pesos was deposited with the Procurator of Missions in Mexico City, and had to be used for the Indians, support of the laybrothers, various emergencies, mission needs, improvements in the missions, and moreover, had to be accounted for penny by penny. Of course this amount did not come from the King's treasury, but from the Pious Fund, which was a large purse, formed from many donations, during the Jesuit period in Baja California.

From the following quotation taken from Hidalgo's Report of 1786 it is clear that many of the missions' needs, improvements, and expenses were paid for out of the sínodos deposited with the Procurator of Missions:

In Missions Santa Rosalía, San José and Purisima there were made crosses, big candle-sticks and ornamental candle-holders of silver, and finally the entire work cost two thousand pesos. ... More than twenty-four thousand pesos of our sínodos were used for the benefit of the Indians and their villages, with many other things which have been made, which we have not taken into consideration, having judged them as accessories to our goal, which is the salvation of souls. 26

In the same Report Hidalgo tells the Prior-Provincial, Fray Ignacio Gentil, that due to the floods washing away the good soil of some missions, it was necessary to bring in new soil, and do much repairing.

A comparison of the fathers' salaries with others in the Californias is interesting. According to the Reglamento of May 24, 1773, a governor's salary was 4,000 pesos; a lieutenant in command of troops, 500; a sergeant, 400; corporal, 350; soldier, 300; a comisario at Loreto, 1,500. 27 And according to the Reglamento of 1779, a captain's salary was 1,500 pesos; a lieutenant, 550; an alferez, 400; a sergeant, 262.50; a corporal, 225; a private, 217.50. 28

The 1793 salaries were the same as 1779, with the following additions for those
who retired: captain, 500; sergeant 120; corporal and soldier, ninety-six pesos. 29 In the naval department a carpenter received 132 pesos in 1789, 240, in 1793; a smith and caulker, 240 pesos. 30 In these times a mule cost twelve to sixteen pesos, a horse nine, a calf two to four, a cow five to six, and maize $1.75 pesos per fanega. 31 Although the salaries and the cost of living had risen over the years the fifty peso personal remuneration of the Dominican missionary remained stationary.

Other complaints against Mora came from the governor of Lower California, Felipe Barri. Like many officials Barri was puffed up with his authority and complained that Mora had sent a ship to San Blas without permission. 32 Moreover, Barri said that Mora and the commissary, Don Antonio López de Toledo infringed upon his jurisdiction and treated him with contempt. 33 Also Mora did not make proper records of the sínodos, according to Barri. 34 He also had complaints about the missionaries, 35 and he was angry about the reception of a ship from the Philippines that put in at the Cape of San José. 36

Barri sent these charges to Viceroy Bucareli and Bucareli in a confidential memorial to José de Gálvez, dated March 29, 1778, 37 included them among a list of accusations against the Dominicans in Mexico. He asked that not only Mora be deposed but that all the Dominicans be sent back to Spain because of the scandals and disorder within their ranks. This dispute reached the Council of the Indies on November 13, 1778. 38 The very same day the king issued an order that a complete investigation be made, which was duly acknowledged by Bucareli on March 4, 1779. 39 The fiscal or attorney-general appointed to investigate, September 25, 1779, made the complete investigation, questioning all witnesses and obtaining all depositions, scrutinizing the
memorial sentence by sentence, and finally on October 13, 1781, signed his
direct and weighty opinion. He declared Father Mora and the Dominicans were
completely exonerated; the memorial he added, was full of generalities, rumors,
unproved moral charges, exaggerations, and downright falsehoods. In view of
the recent suppression of the Jesuits the memorial may have some significance
as a move to suppress the Dominicans likewise.

Many world-rocking events occurred during the eighty year span of the life
of little Fray Miguel Hidalgo, the successor of Mora. He was born in 1743 in
the village of Adamus in the Diocese of Cordova, Spain, when France and England
were warring for European domination and colonial control. He entered the
Order and was professed about 1759. In 1771 the resena described him as being
twenty-eight years old, small in stature and having dark tan skin, black hair,
and two scars, one over each eyebrow. He arrived in Mexico August 19, 1771. He
was with the first group going to the Peninsula and was sent with Father
Pedro Gandiaga to the old Franciscan Mission San Fernando on May 15, 1773, when
rumbles of the American Revolution were beginning. Though attached to San
Fernando until at least April, 1777, he was co-founder of Santo Domingo
Mission in 1775, where he was next assigned by at least June, 1777. He
remained at Santo Domingo until his establishment of San Vicente Mission, with
Joaquin Valero, on August 27, 1780. Early in 1781 he succeeded Mora as Vicar-
Provincial and President and left to reside at Loreto.

Before discussing his administration it seems best to conclude the life
story of this notable missionary. His petition for retirement from the
California scene was granted on October 5, 1789, but he was still in Loreto
the following May asking for travel expenses to Mexico. In Mexico City he
was assigned to Santo Domingo Convent in 1792 and made Director of the Third Order of Saint Dominic and Procurator of the Baja California Missions. The Acta of 1796 and 1800 show him assigned to the same convent and still Director of the Third Order. While Director of the Third Order, he wrote and had published the following book on the Third Order: \textit{Glorias Dominicales en su esclarecido Orden Tercero}. It was printed in Mexico in quarto size, in the year 1796 by Jauregui. Jauregui published in Mexico another book of his, entitled \textit{Catéclamo historico dogmatico}. He was still in Mexico on April 28, 1803, when he wrote a request to travel to Andalusia, Spain. By this time there was a United States, the French Revolution had been finished and Napoleon was threatening Europe. He was in Spain in 1806, and became Prior of the Dominican Convent of Córdova, in October 1808, just as Napoleon was taking control of Portugal and Spain. In 1809 he was given permission to return to America. When and how he reached Mexico city would be interesting to know, but he was back at Santo Domingo for his seventieth birthday in 1813. In 1817, with Napoleon gone and the British-American War of 1812 concluded, he returned to Spain and ended his eighty years of life in 1823, knowing that New Spain was now independent Mexico.

Returning to Hidalgo's activities and to the year 1781, we find him getting acquainted with his new position. This entailed study of the conditions of the old Jesuit missions, probably by visiting each one. He made his canonical visitation of the northern missions in 1782. From the Baptismal, Burial, and Marriage Registers of that year we know that he visited Santo Domingo on September 3, San Vicente later in September, Rosario, on September 25, and San Fernando on October 13. The Mission Registers show that he visited the
missions and inspected the Registers, signed by Hidalgo, and co-signed by Fray Manuel Pérez, the resident minister of Mission Rosario, who acted as the secretary and Notario Ecclesiasticó, witnessing the Auto-de-Visita. Then Hidalgo made a similar tour inspecting the Registers of the missions in the south. Thus on October 29, 1782, he inspected the Registers of Mission San Borja, and Fray Joaquín Valero, who was most likely still at Mission San Vicente, acted as the secretary. The following November 11, 1782, Hidalgo made his usual visitation of Mission Santa Gertrudis, and Joaquín Valero was the Secretary.

Before March 20, 1781, Hidalgo had prepared a set of 100 rules for the conduct of the missionaries and missions and had sent them apparently to be copied in each mission. On that date a certified copy was made at Todos Santos by Miguel Antonio Cuevas from Hidalgo's original, written, incidently, in a beautiful script. The Rules re-stated many of those in vogue, which have been indicated earlier, modified others from experiences gained in practice, and added some regulations. They reveal the high spiritual motives of Hidalgo, his concern for the welfare of the Indians and his zeal for their souls, and his paternal charity.

The fathers were enjoined to continue their strict observance of their own vows and rules. Not only were the churches and chapels to be kept scrupulously clean, but cleanliness should be taught to the Indians. The children were to be marched to the well in the morning and made to wash their hands and faces, and the women would have to dress neatly. The ordinary greeting when people met, instead of the "Good day!" was to be "Ave Maria!" and the return was to be "sin pecado concebida." No one, except a priest or the governor of the
peninsula was to be buried in the church, and the bodies of the deceased to avoid possible spread of disease were not to be brought to the church before the actual funeral services. He urged frequent use of the sacraments of Confession and Communion, which was new for the times. There were to be no favorites when food was being given out, but all were to get equal shares. Meat was to be given to those who had especially hard work, to the sick, to nurses and nursing mothers, to those convalescing from epidemics, and to those whose strength had been sapped by hunger.

Labor regulations were to be strictly enforced. No "speed up" was to be tolerated, and no Indian was to work beyond his strength. There were to be shorter hours of labor during the summer when the sun rose earlier and set later. Morning work was to stop at eleven and more rest was to be given before the afternoon hours. There was to be no work for boys until they had the use of reason, twelve to fourteen years of age. On all Sundays and solemn feast days the boys were to play games, but not the girls, who were to engage in some approved recreation. Indians coming into the mission and new converts were not to continue their pagan dances, fights and wrestling, drinking, and painting themselves. There was to be no hunting outside the Indians' own captaincy. No food, otter or deer skins, or cloth could be sold to soldiers or settlers from what belonged to the Indians.

The Indians upon rising were to go to the church to recite the Christian doctrine in their own language, except on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays, when it must be recited in Spanish. At sunset they were to recite the Rosary in the church, after which the missionary father would explain briefly and clearly some point of the Christian doctrine. The paternal punishment of the Indians
must be done with a spirit of charity, and the stewards, governors and fiscals of the missions are not to be allowed the least excess in this matter. A minimum of three months instruction was necessary before the baptism of an adult Indian may take place, and the missionary must inquire into the motive and sincerity of the Indian's call to Christianity. The missionaries in no way were to go aboard the ships from China, which anchor in the Port of San José del Cabo, nor buy anything for personal use, nor engage in smuggling. The fathers when travelling were to go without any display, carry no weapons, armed only with the crucifix about the neck. The fathers were to be careful in their bookkeeping, indicating accurately the expenditures, and other pertinent circumstances. Regulation ninety-nine stated that every two months the missionaries must send to the President a letter about their health and give a sketch of what has happened in the mission during the two month period.

Some diocesan changes were taking place at the beginning of Hidalgo's term which caused him, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans no end of worry. The mission lands of the north had been under no diocesan control since the Spanish people, creoles, and mestizos were not supposed to be in the missions. At the suppression of the Jesuits and the taking of their lands on the Pacific slope the Spanish and creoles began to obtain parcels of land and ranches. The missionaries still had no control over the newcomers who were not formed into parishes, nor did they have pastors. Pastors and curates were supposed to collect the Church tithes from the whites. This the missionaries could not do, and their Indians were free of all taxation. A weak attempt was made about 1772 to remedy the deficiencies of pastoral care, administration of the sacraments, and tithe collecting, by appointing two curates for the whole
northern states of Sonora and Sinaloa, who were stationed at Horcasitas and Tonibavi, and who could do nothing but send out comisarios for the collection of church taxes, leaving the mulatoes and all who claimed an admixture of Spanish blood practically free from all moral restraints. As time passed the situation became more acute and more settlers moved into the north, even to San Francisco.

Fray Antonio de los Reyes, a Franciscan father of the Convent of Querétaro, wrote a long report on the missions of the Pacific slope in 1772, recounting the conditions and the needs. As usual, the question of a more efficient organization required long consideration in Spain and possibly in Rome, and it was not until February 4, 1781, that a royal order created the new Diocese of Sonora, which was to embrace Sinaloa, Sonora and the Californias. Names of possible bishops were suggested to Rome and Pope Pius VI chose Fray Antonio de los Reyes for the See, which was to be at Arizpe. His Majesty, through the Council of the Indies, of which José de Gálvez was head, sent a cedula to Reyes on May 20, 1782. This apparently gave Reyes instructions concerning the disposition of the Dominicans, the Querétaro Franciscans, and the San Fernando Franciscans, which gave rise to all the trouble. Reyes was consecrated Bishop of Tacubaya on September 15, 1782, and took possession of his See at Arizpe on May 1, 1783.

The Bishop's troubles began after he was named to the See. As Bishop-elect he had been in Spain and had returned in the summer of 1782 with a contingent of nineteen Franciscan Observantines "whom he had enlisted in Spain for the purpose of establishing a custodia in Sonora under the patronage of San Carlos," thus possibly honoring Charles III. This plan could scarcely
have caused difficulty. But, Engelhardt continues: "After organizing this


custody he intended to pass over to Loreto to remove the Dominicans and


substitute the Franciscans with whom he expected to found the Custody of San


Gabriel which was to comprise the Franciscans of both Californias." He plan-


ned to put the Dominicans in charge of the entirely ruined Jesuit missions of


the Rivers Yaqui, Mayo, Fuerte, and Sinaloa.


The opposition of the Franciscans to the Bishop's plan is told by Father


Engelhardt. As for Father Hidalgo, he visited Reyes for a conference and was


asked to submit a report. The result was a far more astonishing proposal


which the Bishop made to the new Commandant General Neve on December 13, 1783.


He proposed that "all the missions of Old and New California and some of the


ruined ones" along the Sonora coast be given to the Dominicans. Sales set


forth the full letter, which is reproduced here.


Señor Comandante General:


My dear Sir: By the reliable and competent account of the Reverend Father


Superior of the Missions, Prelate of the Friars of Saint Dominic of


California, the good order, method and government of these towns and


missions is evident. I have asked for a report to me concerning their


apostolic zeal and application to the spiritual instruction of the Indians


and the truly praiseworthy manner in which they have reestablished certain


nearly ruined missions and concerning the three new ones they have founded


on the frontier. If to these friars are entrusted all the missions of Old


and New California and some of the entirely ruined ones of those four


Rivers, the Yaqui, the Mayo, the Fuerte, and the Sinaloa, with a well


thought out set of regulations and with communication to the peninsula with


this government of Sonora, surely there will follow as a consequence both


the progress that the King desires and the happiness of these almost ruined


provinces and their inhabitants for which Your Lordship watches and works


so much.


In this matter both the dispositions of his Majesty in his royal

cédula of May 20, 1782, and the opposition and notorious resistance of the

College of San Fernando to the new rule and government of the missions

which the Council granted and the King ordered, appear to require me to

extend my inquiry in the way that Your Lordship proposed, and I hope that
in your reply you will give me information which will be helpful in matters of detail.


Sales, in his Noticias, gives the aftermath of the Bishop's plan:

This letter, written with his own hand, produced consequences most favorable for the Dominicans, for not only was the erection of the proposed custodia in California not carried out, but in view of it the King conceded to the Dominican Order all the four rivers mentioned, with his assurance of confidence that we would carry out the intentions of the Sovereign, sacrificing our lives in the ministry so useful and so honorable. However, the smallness of the numbers of missionaries and the fact that the letters of summons (la convocatorias) produced no effect have left those territories without harvests while the many Indians are begging for the bread of doctrine, and even in California, for the same reasons, not all can be done that should be, since most of the missions have but one missionary and the most exposed but two. In some missions there are no soldiers, in others only one, and at the farthest frontier, the most hazardous, there are only eight.

The Franciscans, even though not favoring Bishop Reyes' plan, obeyed him, as we know from Father Engelhardt's account. Apparently nothing more was done about the shift of missionaries for the general reasons given by Sales: there were not enough missionaries and not sufficient military protection. But other reasons will be given presently in particular. Bishop Reyes died in 1786, but prior to that Father Hidalgo wrote a nice letter to the King, designed to close the episode with no hurt feelings: Senor:

Fray Miguel Hidalgo, President of the Missionaries of the Order of Saint Dominic, in Old California, with all veneration and respect, proposes for the exalted consideration of our Royal Majesty an explanation of how the Religious of the said Order have manifested all the fulness of their zeal for the spread of the True Faith in the Apostolic ministry which they are exercising, and likewise in the fulfillment of whatever duties they have undertaken relative to the service of Your Royal Majesty.

These statements make clear first of all the truth that three missions are now established in the direction planned for the Spiritual Conquest and all efficient means are being employed to make real the two remaining
missions which ought to unite the two Californias.

In the second place, the decrease in paganism by more than two thousand persons gathered together under the God of Abraham, has been accomplished by the ministry of the Dominicans despite the misfortunes and impediments which they have experienced in their respective frontiers, and the labors gladly undertaken have either renovated some old missions of a disagreeable appearance or restored others that had been reduced to nothing by the torrential rains.

The continuous fatigue which they suffer and the particular pains-taking efforts which they take in instructing the Indians, civilizing them, keeping and maintaining them in the mission or Faith by vigilance and hard work, in the scarcity of water provided by these miserable streams, and the added circumstance of having spent for their benefit and for their dwellings more than twenty thousand pesos, corresponding to the sinodos that Your Royal Majesty has assigned for food and their welfare. (They have) simple resignation, moreover, and voluntary conformity not only to the just dispositions that have originated directly from your High Authority but also those from subordinates who represent the august person of Your Royal Majesty.

And the complete approbation, finally, which they have merited from the Most Illustrious Señor Bishop of Sonora, Don Fray Antonio de los Reyes, of the Statutes and Method which in both lines direct these missions which Your Majesty has designed to entrust to them.

In virtue of the foregoing and the merits of my Patriarch, I beseech Your Royal Majesty to forget those falsehoods which to the dishonor of the Habit and their persons have been brought to the respectable throne of Your Royal Majesty; and in your great benignity deign to accept the labors of these afflicted priests with royal graciousness, so that to the confidence in which they live that they are accepted in the eyes of God, they may add the consolation of knowing that they are likewise so to the eyes of Your Royal Majesty, for whose life and health, so necessary for the well-being and happiness of this monarchy, they are offering special prayers and sacrifices to His Divine Majesty in all the missions.

Royal Presidio and Mission of
Our Lady of Loreto, 15 April, 1785

Señor

The most faithful vassal and humble
servant of Your Serene Royal Majesty.

Fr. Miguel de Hidalgo, O. P.
As a superior of religious men and as a business manager for the Spanish colonial government Hidalgo found little time for rest. His responsibilities to his brother priests called for care of their spiritual welfare, their health, their personal problems, their appointments. Again he had to see that general regulations regarding the duties of the missionaries were obeyed. He had to write reports and he had to receive reports from the individual missions. His concern was the progress and spread of the mission system. Much of his attention had to be devoted to the old Jesuit missions, which are beyond the scope of this dissertation. Costs of improvements had to be estimated to the penny, and so too the new foundations had to be equally cared for. Complaints of officials, suggestions, and innumerable details were part of his day. Visitations to the missions and inspections got him out on the rugged roads.

A royal cedula was despatched to the Prior-Provincial, Fray Ignacio Gentil, on January 31, 1784, telling the Provincial that the King, we may suppose through José de Gálvez, wanted a true report from the President of the Baja California missions and sent a list of specific items on which he wanted exact information. When this order reached Gentil and when it finally came into Hidalgo's hand is not known. But Hidalgo got the report together finally and dated it March 20, 1786. The King's questionnaire seems to have been broken into fifteen headings or articles, and Hidalgo answered each succinctly.

First, the Sacred Order of Preachers administered sixteen missions in Lower California, namely, Loreto, San José del Cabo, Pillar or La Paz, Santiago de los Coras, San Francisco Xavier, San José de Comondú, Purísima Concepción, Santa Rosalía de Mulege, Our Lady of Guadalupe, San Ignacio Loyola, Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco Borja, San Fernando, Rosario, Santo Domingo, and San...
Vicente Ferrer. They extended over many leagues: mostly useless; in places there was some land for sowing and for raising a few cattle, but there was little rain. The following three articles pertained to the numbers of tribes of Indians, the Indian populations, the languages spoken, and the conditions of life, all of which points have been discussed previously in this paper.

The fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, and tenth articles covered the Dominican fathers and their conduct, their number, the spiritual ministrations, their language qualifications, their care of the churches, and their establishment of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary in the various missions. Hidalgo in the fifth article said that there were twenty-one missionaries in the sixteen missions, and that, while His Majesty had assigned two fathers for each mission, no one addition to the original twenty-seven had been made in fifteen years. Some had died, one lost his reason, a few returned to Mexico. Hidalgo wrote in the sixth point that the rest have fulfilled all their religious duties capably, as the Bishop of Sonora, the officials of California, and the Visitor have testified in the papers accompanying the Report.

The eight, eleventh, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth points were on subjects which the King most likely wanted to hear: financial aids, incomes, products, land planting, costs, equipment, repairs, and expenditures. Hidalgo answered these questions in a general way, but sharply, as though telling the King he already had detailed accounts from all the missions of every scrap and morsel on the property, as may be seen from the preceding and following chapters of this work.

The twelfth point indicated the character of the Indians, especially with relation to their possibilities of becoming trained workmen or craftsmen. In
reply to this Hidalgo saw no future for them as independent householders or ranchers and he thought that they would always have to be supported. Hidalgo closed his Report with a brief description of the physical features and condition of each mission. His last paragraph is a suggestion that the Indians of San Francisco Xavier should be transferred to San José de Coronel, and those of Guadalupe to Santa Rosalía, because of their extreme poverty.

The Report did not say anything about the restoration of the old Jesuit missions of the Yaqui, Sinaloa, Mayo, and Fuerte Rivers in Sinaloa. A long stretch of the coastal highway to California, the Camino Real, was left unprotected from the Indian attacks and was moreover without a hospice or stopping place for travellers and caravans. The Bishop of Sonora, the Commandant General, the Governor of Upper California, as well as the King's officials in Mexico were anxious to get the Indians of Sinaloa back under mission control. Hidalgo across the Gulf of California was in favor of a plan to reestablish the old missions but was also anxious to complete a highway branch from the Camino Real around the top of the Gulf to the Dominican missions of Lower California, about which there had been talk for almost a century. Between 1786 and 1789 the plan was much in debate, but on October 5, 1789, Hidalgo was relieved of the President and Vicar-Provincial offices. He was given permission to go to Mexico without, however, receiving travelling expenses. These he was still asking for on May 25, 1790. 78 When he finally arrived in Mexico City he was assigned to Santo Domingo Convent, was instituted Director of the Third Order, and appointed Procurator of the Missions of Baja California. 79

From a report of his, dated August 2, 1791, we gather a sequence of
events. Sometime in 1789 or early 1790, Hidalgo's opinion was asked regarding the rebuilding of the Sinaloa missions and he replied that he thought it could and should be done. The Royal Fiscal in Mexico City then proposed to the Provincial of the Dominicans that his Order should take over the task. The Provincial refused because of lack of men and money. The Royal Fiscal in July 1791, wrote to Hidalgo as Procurator, demanding a complete, detailed statement about his earlier opinion regarding the reestablishment of the ruined missions of the four rivers and an elaboration of some of his succinct expressions and inferences. This drew the fire of the veteran missionary and he minced no words in his blunt report. "It is now twenty years since this Province took charge of evangelizing and pacifying in Old California and in the course of that time we have never merited a visitation from a prelate or substitute to satisfy the law of visiting and by this means to avoid the despotism or correction of the lower officials." He went on to say that even the Visitor who came from Spain did not visit the missions. The missionaries had no opportunity to point out the problems to anybody, and nobody seemed to care. Moreover, that sort of neglect forced the fathers to handle affairs on their own initiative.

The missionaries, Hidalgo continued, had no idea of their financial condition. They did not know what was owing to them nor what they owed, nor the way the sinodos were distributed, nor if they were asking too much according to their religious rules, nor if their distribution of food and clothing was equitable, nor, Hidalgo pointedly writes: "if the pious and generous allowance of money assigned to them by the King is given to them in integrum." Furthermore, they did not know if any adjustments could be made according to individual needs, or if their mail to the ministers was tampered with and changes made.
The only one to take care of these matters and to show care and solicitude for the missions has been the Procurator of the Missions, and "if you think I am exaggerating, look at the enclosed bill and you can realize how abandoned these missions have been over the past six years." The bill was made out by Fray Manuel Rodríguez at the Mission of Santa Gertrudis on May 28, 1785. It illustrates Hidalgo's point; no prices are put after the articles purchased, hence the missionary did not know whether he was buying too much, or at too high a price, or what his mission's financial condition was. As added proof Hidalgo remarked: "And please consider the labyrinth Estavillo is in."

Hidalgo was sorry to say that when he was in the missions the Provincials did not settle fundamental questions which had been proposed to them after serious consultation, so that there was uncertainty about the method of carrying on the missions. Now, the Provincial cannot see his way clear to rebuilding the four oldest missions because of the scarcity of men. But it would not be difficult if it were done this way: Take three or four missionaries from less necessary works or works which can be done more properly by laybrothers and seculars, for instance, take one priest and a brother from the flour mill, a priest from the sugar mill, one from the fathers begging for the Pious Fund, and one from the public storehouse.

Hidalgo felt that the Provincials had not been keen about the missions and that they were unaware of the many regulations binding the missionaries. Moreover, there were times when the President and the Procurator of the Missions had to act according to one set of regulations and the Provincial and the Procurator of the Province according to another. Hence there should be a complete coordination to avoid time-consuming "red-tape." If, he told the
Royal Fiscal, you want a complete account of all transactions, orders, credits and debits, you will not get it soon, because they are dispersed widely, if not lost.

In a summary conclusion Hidalgo offered a list of eight demands that the Royal Fiscal might make. 1) Urge that there be convened a Provincial Council including the Fathers to consider the problems related to the missions. 2) Make it of obligation on the Council to request European religious, not only as a new relay for the veteran missionaries, but also for the establishment of new missions to complete the chain in northern Baja California and to the east. 3) See to it that the Discretorio will not allow the Procurators more action than that allowed by the law (or rule) for those holding similar jobs. 4) Urge that the Province ask for new foundations and use its influence to obtain the means and all requisites to establish them quickly. 5) Enjoin the Province to accept the missions of the four Rivers, and 6) put up the two hospices in convenient and adequate places, and see that measures are taken to help get them into effect. 7) All the papers relating to the conquest or missions should be collected and filed and those documents on which the government of the missions is based should be scrutinized, amplified or limited, modified or deleted, and finally approved. 8) They should rule that no balance sheets should be sent to the missionaries until the Council had checked the bills against the credits of each missionary, and had found out if all his requests have been satisfied, and the Council should order that each missionary be given his annual salary whether or not he asks for it.

Obviously, there was a serious crisis. It was a legal, not a personal or religious crisis. Why had the Provincials not been interested in the Lower
California Missions? The missions, for practical purposes, were in a Vice-
Province and except for finances were under the Province directly. The
missionaries had been gathered in Europe and sent to the Frontier; they were in
the employ of the King, who thereby had claims upon them. The Province wished
to maintain its independence of the Crown. Now, the original group of mission-
aries was being depleted, and the veterans wished a relay. Hidalgo would have
to get men from the Province or from Spain, or drop the missions one by one.
His eight points proposed that the Province of Santiago de Mexico take over the
northern missions, but since the Provincial had already stated that he had no
men, Hidalgo wanted the Province to get the men from Spain. The Province could
not adopt the missions under the King's terms without involving itself with
some Crown control.

The Royal Fiscal read the points and on August 19, 1791, wrote a summary
with his recommendations to Revilla Gigedo, the Viceroy. The Viceroy sent an
order to the Provincial, Fray Cosme Enríquez, to convoke a Council to consider
the eight points. The Provincial called the Council and gave copies of the
points to the fathers who wished to study them, and when they had done so there
was another convocation. The responses were: 1) All mission business was to
continue as from the beginning, and missionaries would be called only when
information from them was necessary. 2) Evidently, it is necessary to request
missionaries from Spain to accomplish the wish of His Majesty of having two
missionaries in each mission. 3) The powers of the California Procurator are
limited, and it is not convenient to have them match those of the Province
Procurator. 4) The demand for the establishment of the new mission has been
taken care of, since five have been established and are governed like the old
ones. 5) The Province has not taken the missions of the four Rivers because they were not given to the Province, and also during the rule of the Marqués de Croix after he had asked the Province twice to take them, His Excellency decreed that there was no possibility to do so, since they were occupied by the Franciscans. 6) The hospices would be very useful, but, since no material means are available, they are before Your Excellency for decision. 7) The files of the conquest are at the Headquarters more than likely the Archives of the General, Rome, and the Province has only the dispositions and ordinances, and reports that everything was well. 8) Regarding the balance sheets, it will be sufficient that they be examined by the fathers in charge of the storehouses, who, with the Procurators, would send the credits of each missionary and give an account of everything to the Provincial.

Clearly the Province of Santiago de Mexico did not want to change the original status of the missions in the Vice-Province of Lower California. By May 20, 1791, Fray Juan Crisóstomo Gómez was President and Vicar-Provincial of the missions of Baja California, and, upon finishing his term of office in 1793, he succeeded Hidalgo as Procurator of the Missions. Gómez was Procurator of the Missions until at least May 18, 1797, on which day he signed a document as the Procurator of Missions.

2. Priestley, The Mexican Nation, p. 188.


7. C-470.

8. C-1035; Bancroft, I, 703.

9. Ibid., I, 705, 707.

10. Acta Capituli Provincialis, 1773, p. 3.

11. Ibid., p. 18.


13. Engelhardt, I, 567. In the Santa Barbara Mission Archives (SBMA) there is a letter of Hidalgo to Serra, dated July 2, 1781, which speaks of his appointment as President of the Lower California missions.


15. Ibid., Vol. 9, fol. 61.


17. Ibid., 1784, p. 7, typewritten transcript.


21. Temp., Vols. 11 and 49.

23. Temp., Vols. 11 and 49, Calif., Vol. 36, no. 7, fol. 244.


26. Hidalgo, Informe sobre la condición actual de las Misiones de Baja California, March 20, 1786. This report is document 23, preserved at Bancroft Library, in a collection of original documents, entitled: "Missions. One Book Containing 57 Original Reports on Missions."

27. Bancroft, I, 711, n. 30.

28. Ibid., I, 721, n. 22.

29. Ibid., I, 737, n. 66.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.


33. Ibid., Vol. 123, fols. 277-296.

34. Ibid., Vol. 123, fols. 358-403.


36. Ibid., Vol. 123, fols. 304-357.

37. Ibid., Vol. 123, fol. 22.

38. Ibid., Vol. 123, fol. 23.


40. Ibid., Vol. 123, fol. 29.

41. Ibid., Vol. 123, fol. 36.


43. Sales, III, 47; Rudkin, p. 155. The Acta of 1773, p. 4, gives the date of arrival as August 20. Palou, Engelhardt, Bancroft give August 19.

44. The Baptismal Register of San Fernando shows his signature and entries from July 2, 1773 to April, 1777.
45. He was assigned to Santo Domingo Mission from at least June 15, 1777, to June 16, 1780, during which dates his signature appears in the Baptismal Register.

46. Calif., Vol. 71, fols. 19-20 of the "Santa Rosalia expediente."

47. Engelhardt, I, 567.

48. Stephens Collection, no. 31.

49. Calif., Vol. 16, fols. 113-126.

50. Acta of 1792, p. 35.


52. Ibid.

53. Calif., Vol. 53, no. 15, which is an 8 folio expediente.


55. Engelhardt, I, 619, 623, 61h, 60h, respectively.

56. The Burial Register of Mission San Borja is preserved at the Junípero Serra Museum, San Diego, California.

57. Cf. the Baptismal Register of Mission Santa Gertrudis also preserved at the Junípero Serra Museum.

58. This set of rules is document 24, preserved at Bancroft Library, in a collection of original documents, entitled: "Missions. One Book Containing 57 Original Reports on Missions." The original document is not dated, but a certified copy, made at Mission Todos Santos by Miguel Antonio Cuevas, is clearly dated March 20, 1781. The date is written out: "Fadas en la Mision de Todos Santos a veinte de Marzo, de mil setcientos ochenta y uno." Rule 64 speaks about the eight years' experience gained by the Dominicans in the Baja California Missions, 1773-1781. The certified copy is included with another document, preserved at Archivo General de Indias. Cf. C-1349.

59. Bancroft, I, 675.

60. Ibid., I, 675, n. 25.

61. Ibid., I, 678; cf. C-3987, which is the original document of the Bull of Pope Pius VI, dated May 7, 1779, creating the bishopric of Sonora, including Sinaloa, and the Californias.
62. Cf. the letter of Bishop Reyes to the New Comandante General, Don Felipe Neve, dated December 13, 1783, in which he refers to the cedula. Cf. Sales, III, 73-75; Rudkin, pp. 171-172.


64. Engelhardt, I, 567-568.

65. Ibid., Also cf. Bancroft, I, 723.

66. C-4349. This is a 28 page, certified copy of original documents. The first document, dated at Arizpe, December 29, 1783, is a letter written by Bishop Reyes to Neve, the Comandante General. The second document was dated at Alamos, January 21, 1784, from Reyes to Neve. The third document is a copy of Hidalgo's 100 Rules, dated March 20, 1781.


68. Sales, III, 72; Rudkin, p. 171.

69. Sales, III, 73-75; Rudkin, pp. 171-172.

70. Sales, III, 73-75; Rudkin, pp. 171-172. Bishop Reyes spoke in the letter of "a well thought out set of regulations" which most likely referred to Hidalgo's 100 Rules, since a copy of them is contained with his two letters to Neve, in C-4349, described in note 66.

71. Sales, III, 75-76; Rudkin, p. 173.

72. Engelhardt, I, 568.

73. In the Santa Barbara Mission Archives there are documents respecting the rumored or proposed coming of the Dominicans to Upper California. Cf. Maynard J. Geiger, O. F. M., Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Archives (Washington, D.C., 1947), for the documents numbered 369, 370, 380, 385, 387, and 372, of Section I.

74. C-5393.


76. By March 20, 1786 six of the fathers had passed off the scene in this order: Antonio Salas, died June 6, 1779; Manuel Garcia died January 31, 1780; Vicente Mora left Baja California about February 20, 1782; José Santolaria left Baja California by July 17, 1782, for Mexico; José Diaz Bustamante returned to Mexico City by May 15, 1784; Nicolás Múñoz, demented, returned to Mexico, September 27, 1784. Father José Naranjo came to Baja California from Mexico in 1781 and left the Peninsula for Mexico, February 1, 1784.
By October 5, 1789, he had the permission to retire. Cf. the Stephens Collection, no. 81.

Calif., Vol. 10, fols. 118-126.

Acta of 1792, p. 35.

Cf. the Mis., Vol. 5, for a 20 page expediente entitled: "El Pe. Procurador de Californias Promoviendo varios puntos del mayor gobierno de aquellas Misiones y sobre que el P. Provincial de la Err. no es adicto a ellas." The folios are numbered 23, the title page, to 31v inclusive. Folios 26 to 31v. contain the valuable letter or report of Hidalgo, dated at the Convent of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, August 2, 1791.

Mis., Vol. 5, fol. 25-25v.

Fray Francisco Estavillo was the Procurator of the Baja California missions from 1772 to about 1786 when he was succeeded by Fray José Santolaria, who had retired from Baja California in 1782.

Mis., Vol. 5, fols. 32-33.

Ibid., Vol. 5, fols. 36-37.

Engelhardt, I, 574.
CHAPTER VIII

MISSION SAN MIGUEL

The Yuma massacre of 1781 had far-reaching effects on all of the missions in Upper and Lower California. The cause of the Yuma uprising dated back to the policy of José de Gálvez after his harsh suppression of the Jesuits. On the exiling of the padres, the Indians of Lower California were temporarily free from restraint and generally resented a restoration of the old order under the Franciscans. The natives of Sinaloa and Sonora up to the Pimería or Arizona area were without missionaries for a time. The Yumas and Apaches were in the way of an overland advance from Sonora to Upper California, and were dire menaces to convoys of supplies that might help save the outposts of the Spanish Empire in Upper California. The Franciscans were sent to establish two missions in the Yuma lands, on the California side of the Colorado River. With protecting presidios the famous "Camino del Diabolo" would be able to carry the supplies. But the slaying of the four Franciscans and more than thirty soldiers left the Franciscan chain of missions in Upper California dependent upon the slow coastal ships.¹ It became very urgent that the other land route, namely, through the five coastal missions of the Dominicans, be built and protected by missions and their garrisons. San Vicente Mission was a vital holding place, yet it was in a critical position, exposed to Yuma attack from over the mountains.

The King gave orders on October 24, 1781, that the next two missions of
the coastal chain should be built immediately.\(^2\) Croix, however, was still trying to fix the blame for the Yuma massacre and was against punitive expeditions and as stated previously, wanted to consolidate what was already built.\(^3\) The King's new order, however, could not stop the smallpox epidemic that struck Santo Domingo in 1781, Rosario and San Vicente in 1782.\(^4\) Father Luis Sales was the lone missionary in the key position of San Vicente and he was busy with building the church, the irrigation ditches, with the farming and grazing and above all instructing the natives. He seems to have been the only man who was aware that the worst of the Indians were around him particularly and directly in the path of the next two projected Dominican missions. Besides these obstacles to founding a new mission it was not certain until the end of 1783 that the new Bishop of Sonora would not make changes, as has been indicated in the preceding chapter.

Father Sales observed that the Indians between the Old and the New California were savage in nature. They were bold and haughty, they were bent upon revenge. When an Indian could not get his revenge on an enemy, he committed a form of hari-kari by hanging himself, casting himself into the flames, or diving off a high cliff. Women showed similar uncontrollable frustration, one of whom he had to cut down twice when she hanged herself after a dispute with her husband. When the parents could not kill themselves they would kill their own children in rage and anger. Their personal habits were vile. Little wonder then that the missionary had to apply the switch to those who were apprehended in immorality, and hold off baptism until they knew the commandments.\(^5\) Sales rated the natives of Baja California as half civilized in general, but those north of San Vicente as below the average. "And those of
San Miguel, among whom I live (and it is the end of the frontier before the heathens) are of vigorous constitution, unteachable, inordinately proud, brave and warlike, and in all periods have kept the troops busy." They were also noted for their "stupidity, degradation, laziness, and lack of reflection."7

The establishment of the two linking missions got into the immediate discussion stage in 1784, according to Revilla Gigedo's report of November 26, 1789.8 Viceroy Martín de Mayorga (1779-1783) had died aboard ship and was succeeded by Matías de Gálvez, brother of José de Gálvez, who could not do much about the mission program. Priestley says of him: "He was an old man without particular capacity for the position which was thrust upon him and happily died in the fall of 1784." His son Bernardo ruled in 1785-1786. Archbishop Alonso Núñez de Haro y Peralta was Viceroy for a few months in 1787 and was followed by Manuel Flores, who lasted until the appointment of Revilla Gigedo in 1788.

Governor Pedro Fages of Alta California took matters into his own hands in early 1785 when he journeyed along the Camino Real and picked Encino as the best site for a mission.10 It was "half way between San Diego and San Vicente," about seventy-five miles or two long days of travel.12 Since this was too great a distance, Father Sales was instructed to find an intermediate site between San Vicente and Encino.13 Sales would have for the military leader José Francisco Ortega, since José Velásquez and his successors, Diego González, Joaquín Cañete, and Felipe de Goycochea, had retired.14 Sales, donning his cassock of leather, four thicknesses of hides for protection against arrows,15 and Ortega with his four soldiers took the road north on April 11, 1785. On April 15, back in San Vicente, Ortega sent his official report to Fages.16

He found the first place suggested, La Grulla, useless. It had some warm
water and nitrous lands, but no woods nor pasturage. Up the arroyo a league and a half he found two springs, each with a dribble of water trickling out of some rocks and running into sand pits twenty varas away. The next day the party went down the arroyo of San Francisco Solano toward the ocean and after two and a half leagues discovered a large flow of water named the San Francisco Solano River. Here there was enough good land for three missions. There was a fine place for building houses, an abundance of alders, willows, and live oaks. The stream was permanent, according to the Indians, and though it ended in gravel beds at the rim of the land, it could be controlled by one large ditch and dam. Roads would have to be built. The site was about a day's journey from San Vicente and was very suitable for the mission. There was pasturage for the cattle.

Governor Fages, however, considered the place unsuitable. He thought that the cañon was too narrow and that the few fields might be washed away by floods. Moreover, it would be in the shade of the hills for a third of the day. Fages wanted the mission in the open plain near the debouch of the San Solano River, while the Dominican President wanted it between the cañon and the mouth of the river. As a result the mission was not built in either place. Fages was bent upon having a settlement at Encino. In reporting the exploration of San Solano to Croix on May 4, 1785, he told the Commandant General as much: "No better place has been discovered than the "Encino," half way between "San Diego and San Vicente." He pointed out its great advantages in rich lands, pastures, woodlands, beautiful climate, much accessible water, and added that "the camino real runs through it." Evidently, Fages thought the San Solano site was too much off the road, and roads were expensive to build. Sales also
referred to San Solano and neighboring areas as an "out-of-the-way spot." 19

Bancroft wrote that "early in 1786 by the general's orders to found the new missions as soon as possible, Fages sent another expedition to Encino, but the Indians kept the frontier in such a state of turmoil, that nothing was accomplished until March 1787, when the mission of San Miguel was founded by Padre Sales at or near Encino." 20 Sales wrote that "immediately all the equipment was prepared for exploring the place, to look at the water situation and the other facilities." 21 The expedition was organized and set out to cover the thirty leagues to the appointed region. Storms caught Sales and the soldiers in the mountains, holding them up for five days, while the Indians attacked from all sides. Hence the site could not be explored at that time, which was probably May. 22 Two months later, about July of 1786, the second expedition, reinforced to ten soldiers, got under way. They reached the mountains thirty leagues from San Vicente where they were attacked by a multitude of heathens, thrown into confusion, and put to flight. Sales wrote: "when we came to a plain where cavalry could maneuver we attacked them and captured their principal captain." 23 Sales told the captured man that the expedition meant no harm but wanted to do them good. The Indians gathered around and were happy with the gifts, so much so that they trotted along with the expedition and helped with the exploration. They found all that was necessary for a "very rich settlement" and returned to San Vicente. Sales brought back with him two heathens to be instructed, and we assume, to help him to learn the language of the new found Indians. He notified the governor and sent word to the missions to prepare to send the animals and supplies for the new foundation. 24 All this must have happened between July 1 and August
Salas states that six months later all was in readiness for the move into the frontier. This was on or shortly after February 17, 1737, when he made his last entry in the San Vicente Burial Register. His last entry in the Marriage Register was on January 8, 1787. Father José Estévez, who was the assistant, became the minister in charge of San Vicente.

On arriving at the Encino site Sales was heartbroken:

But just imagine what mortification I suffered when on reaching the place already officially reconnoitered, in which there had been so many advantages, only sand banks were to be seen, and rock piles created by furious floods, which had sealed up all the water springs; and at the same time to see in my company so many troops, so many Indians and so many cattle, without being able to settle there. 26

The governor of the peninsula, who was present, must have been equally upset, but he and Sales agreed that the convoy should not return to San Vicente. They found an arroyo nearby called Encino, which was made into what proved to be a temporary camp. Scouting parties were sent out every day. Sales says that "the Governor, tired of travelling, went on to his destination and left me to continue the project." 27 Dwelling places were built and fields were sowed, even though there was scarcely enough water for household needs.

A snake-bitten, pagan Indian solved the problem of the site. He staggered into the camp swollen and at the point of death. Sales quickly applied the common oil used regularly for snakebites and saved the poor fellow's life. He told Sales, in his gratitude, that his land had everything necessary for a settlement. Sales immediately went to the place and found out that the Indian was not lying, so the caravan was put into motion and arrived at the place called San Juan Bautista, three leagues away, the permanent site of Mission
San Miguel Arcangel del Encino. Putting the mission under the patronage of the avenging angel, the leader of the heavenly hosts against the powers of Satan, seemed more appropriate to the invaders of heathendom than continuing the name of San Juan Bautista.

The date of the establishment at Encino was March 28, 1787, according to the Comandante General and the Viceroy, Conde de Revilla Gigedo. On June 20, 1787 the Comandante General wrote to Governor Fages from Arispe, that he received word of the foundation at Encino on March 28, and was advising the Viceroy to give the one thousand pesos as stipulated. On September 11, 1787, the Comandante General gave his written permission to move San Miguel Mission to San Juan Bautista. Governor José Arrillaga wrote on February 11, 1789 to the Comandante General, Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, that the transfer had been made, but he did not specify the time. On August 24, 1793, writing to Ortega, he said that the move was made in 1788. We must assume this to be the time when San Miguel was permanently located a mile and a half from the Pacific coast and thirty miles by road northwest of Ensenada. The place from the time Crespi first noted its possibilities was apparently well known to travellers and had been designated as a mission site in the Concordat of 1772. Why Sales did not know of it until the advent of the snake-bitten Indian is a mystery. So too is the exact site of the mission at Encino a mystery.

Leaving the spiritual protection of the mission to Saint Michael, Governor Fages issued some strict orders on April 4, 1787, to the sergeant of the presidio regarding its military protection. A guard of four soldiers was to be on watch alternately at night from seven until dawn, and two soldiers were
to patrol in turn during the day. No one was to leave the enclosure without a guard and a soldier was to be assigned to the father whenever he went forth from the mission. Sales had to take care of the physical protection of the mission and its inhabitants.

He built the mission like a fortress. The whole enclosure was practically a square with walls and towers on the north and west. The church and living quarters were on the east and south. The enclosed open court was fifty yards wide and sixty long. The only entrance was a gate at the southeast corner of the quadrangle and this was protected by a guardhouse. The road from the southeast led to the gate. Outside the walls on the north and west ran a steep embankment and at the foot of this the irrigation ditch curved from east to west. Looking north then one can see the broad San Miguel Valley with the Rio Guadalupe about five hundred feet away. On the south the steep walls of the cañon rose seven hundred feet. To the east are tablelands rising to 1700 feet, except for the gashes cut out by the river and the tributary arroyos. To the west in the valley were irrigated fields. There was about a square mile of grazing in the valley to the east. In 1795 there was built a granary sixty feet long and 16½ feet wide about four leagues from the mission, where there were lands for growing maize. In 1796 there were constructed three more granaries, two houses and a corral or stock-yard, fifty varas or 137½ feet long. And in 1798 there were added three dwellings and two granaries.

Father Sales was kept more than busy at El Encino. McIlwraith wrote that "at San Miguel, recruiting started in 1787 with a rush, no doubt because of the large number of Indians present at the mission site." Sales tells us that he baptized 123 heathens within six months after March 28, 1787. But about the
end of September the sudden rush of baptisms came to a standstill, as we can conclude from the San Miguel population figure at the end of 1787, which was 137, according to Sales. What was the cause for the sudden decline of baptisms after six months? Sales answers: "Since I was alone, there was no way in which I could take care of the multitude of things that came up and for lack of workers things did not go as fast as could be wished, nor could they send me a companion as I requested." Another strong reason for the halt may be deduced. Probably toward the end of the six months the meager water supply was giving out and the river dried up. It was on September 14 that the Comandante General gave his permission to move San Miguel from Encino to San Juan Bautista, just about the time Sales found himself in the "predicament" from which the grateful Indian extricated him. He would have had a difficult time feeding more neophytes and new Christians and he would have been too busy seeking the new site to instruct the natives. After the removal of San Miguel to the final site in 1788 the baptisms again increased.

The hardworking missionary seemed happy that he had opened the road to the Presidio of San Diego, the first Mission in New California. Apparently, the temptation to go to New California overcame him and he set out on the camino real. About ten miles north of San Miguel there was a marker indicating the end of the Dominican mission lands and the beginning of the Franciscan field of Alta California, as indicated by Father Palou in 1773. Past the marker went Sales, at least fourteen miles past it, until he was half way to San Diego. "There," he says, "I met with a small population of heathens to whom the fathers of the first foundation in New California had preached in order to convert them, but they, always perverse, had killed the soldiers, stolen the horses and done
Sales was probably referring to the Indian revolt at San Diego in late 1775, in which Father Jaime and two soldiers were slain. Two months later Sales again took to the road to visit the same Indians. He succeeded in bringing them back to San Miguel where he "fed them, instructed them, and baptized the captain and his wife with all of his family, and nine girls from fifteen to twenty years old." When the governor heard about the invasion of the Franciscan domain he apparently did not scold Sales, rather he moved the old marker of Palou's boundary northward fourteen miles, making it Sales's boundary of 1788, the dividing line between Lower and Upper California until the international line was established between Mexico and the United States in 1848. When the new area was given to the Dominicans Father Sales's mission of San Miguel embraced an area of about seven hundred miles, mainly of desert and rocks, be it said in all justice.

There were in all likelihood rancherias attached to San Miguel but their location is unknown. Meigs did his best to find out where they were and presented his findings from the memories of old Indians and the few observers who visited the area and left some record. He says that A. S. Taylor visited San Miguel in 1856 and "was informed" that the rancherias of the mission were seven, whose names he gave. They need not be bothered about here. Neither can there be any certainty about three or four others mentioned by Meigs. However, Tesuque, which certainly had a larger population of natives in the time of Crespi's exploration, and which became the "new" San Miguel, as will be recounted later, was an important rancheria.

Unfortunately the five Registers which Sales undoubtedly kept have disappeared and we are at a loss for accurate statistics on baptisms, marriages,
burials, instructions, and accounts until 1795. Sales mentions that he baptized 123 in 1787, and that at the end of the year the population of the mission was 137. However, we have the Informes as in previous chapters, for the years 1795-1798 inclusive, which are presented in the following chart, showing the number of baptisms for 1787, and 1795 to 1798 inclusive, along with the total till end of 1798. Likewise the numbers of burials are shown for specified years with the total number from the foundation of the mission. The Informes give the marriages for the same years, but do not give a total from the foundation of the mission, but only the total of families living at end of 1798, namely, sixty-nine. According to the Informe of 1795 by Fathers Mariano Apolinaria and Mariano Yoldi, the fourteen baptisms were made up of seven adults and seven children. A further breakdown of the fourteen baptisms consisted of one child of a soldier, two from the neophytes, and eleven from among the pagans, which indicates the Mission was still in the period of spiritual growth, drawing most of its baptisms from the pagans, rather than from children of the neophytes.

The 1796 Informe, signed by the same two Fathers, showed twenty baptisms, made up of one man, six women, seven boys, and six girls. Of these twenty, two are children of soldiers, three from the neophyte families, and fifteen from among the pagans. The Informe of 1797, signed by Fathers Mariano Yoldi and Raymundo Escola, lists forty baptisms, drawn from among eleven adults and twenty-nine children. The forty is further broken down into three children of the soldiers, sixteen from the neophytes, and twenty-one from among the pagans. The 1798 Informe, signed by the same two fathers, has eighteen baptisms, composed of three adults and fifteen children. The further breakdown consists of one child of a soldier, eleven from the neophytes, and six from among the
pagans. Perhaps the period of spiritual growth was nearing an end since the number of baptisms among the pagans has declined sharply while those among the neophytes is more than half the number.

The chart shows that there were 373 baptisms from the foundation of the mission. Subtracting from 373 the 123 baptisms of 1787 and ninety-two for the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive, leaves 158, or an average of twenty-two baptisms per year, for the seven intervening years, 1788 to 1794, inclusive. There were 117 burials from the foundation of the mission. Subtracting the fifty-six burials for the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive, leaves sixty-one, or an average of seven or eight burials per year for the eight years, 1787 to 1794, inclusive. The informes did not give a total figure of marriages from the foundation of the mission, but only the number of families living at the end of 1798, namely, sixty-nine.

In his table of population statistics Meigs gives the number of inhabitants at San Miguel for six of the years between 1787 and 1824, namely, 1787, 1793, 1794, 1800, 1801, and 1805. The asterisk between the year and its population in the following population table indicates that Meigs gave those figures in his table. His figures are implemented considerably in the following table, where all of the years are accounted for to 1802 inclusive, as well as for 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1808. Sometimes two population figures are given when the number given by the Dominican President differs from that given by the Governor. This difference makes it impossible to give the average population of the mission, but in general it was over 200. By the end of 1806 the population was 262, according to the President, Father Miguel Gallego, the highest in the twenty years of San Miguel. The number given by the President, Ramon Lopez, for 1808
MISSION SAN MIGUEL

PERIOD OF SPIRITUAL GROWTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BAPTISMS</th>
<th>BURIALS</th>
<th>MARRIAGES</th>
<th>SOURCE FOR THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sales, III, p. 82; Rudkin, p. 177.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788-1794</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>373</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
is indeed startling. He writes very clearly a total of 178, breaking this down to 250 men, 209 women, twelve Spanish men and seven Spanish women. The notes at the end of the President's Noticia throw no light on the phenomena. The Noticia for 1810 cannot be found. Governor Felipe de Goycoechea's Noticia for December 31, 1812 exists, but the population figures for San Miguel are covered by the binding of the documents. As we shall see in Chapter XI, the headquarters of San Miguel Mission was moved northward to Descanso about 1810. Perhaps evangelization at Descanso became very active as early as 1808. The reason given for the transfer of the headquarters northward was a flooding of the San Miguel Mission lands. Besides that reason may be placed the more cogent one of a sharply increased number of conversions to the north, at Descanso. Meigs says that we may safely estimate the original aboriginal population of the San Miguel and Descanso areas as 665, with an approximate density population of three to the square mile, after allowance is made for the inland Guadalupe area. The following table of populations also gives a breakdown of the populations, when possible, into native men, women, boys, and girls. A few times the documents indicated a further breakdown into Spanish men and Spanish women, indicated by SM and SW in the table. In such cases the native boys and girls were included in the figures of the men and women respectively.

Feeding the people of the mission apparently was not a great problem. Sales remarked: "This mission was founded in a plain close to the Pacific Ocean, and an estuary that reaches in from the ocean furnishes all who live there with a great deal of fish." Meigs amplified this by saying: "food abounded on all sides: mescal at the mouth of the valley and north and south near the coast." This may be questioned, since Sales branded the land as sterile. Undoubtedly,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>* 137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sales, Table I; Rudkin, p. 188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>* 171</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>SPM, I, 129; NMS, I, 740.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>* 206</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>SPM, II, 8; NMS, I, 740.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 142.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1 SM</td>
<td>1 SW</td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>74 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apolinario, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>64 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Apolinario and Yoldi, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>98</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 318.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 308.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 359.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2 SM</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 391.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## SAN MIGUEL MISSION POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>13 SM</td>
<td>8 SW</td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 4:10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>10 SM</td>
<td>7 SW</td>
<td>Arriña, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 196.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>3 SM</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 203.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the explanation of symbols and abbreviations, cf. Chap. IV.
there were plenty of fish and clams. Sales wrote that

On both coasts there is a great variety of fish, sea bass, cabrillas or kelp bass, corbinas, tuna, porgy [parvos], bonitos, milt, hake [luces], croakers, dog-fish, sharks, mantas, rays, anchovies, jureles, sardines, mackerell [bogas] and an infinite number of others. In the gulf they are of better flavor than in the ocean. 50

It would require a great number of mescal plants to supply the mission, since they require from five to sixty years to mature. This kind of maguey or agave, the national plant of Mexico and our century plant, is known for its numerous by-products and uses. Father Francisco Javier Clavigero described it for the period and place:

California has no plant more esteemed by the Indians because of its shoot than the mescal. This is a plant of the aloes family, similar to the maguey in the manner of issuing sprout and flowers; but the mescal is smaller, more thorny, and deeper green. When this plant is permitted to grow, it throws out, as does the maguey, an upright stalk of the thickness of a man's arm and from ten to fifteen feet in length; and at its top it has some bunches of yellow flowers and then the fruit. These flowers are full of a sweet liquid, and they have so much of it that the Indians collect an excessive amount to sustain themselves. 57

Sales says that the mescal puts forth shoots a vara long, about thirty-three inches. 58 The sweet liquid of the mescal is pulque, a national drink, which can be fermented and distilled into pulque fuerte or tequila, as can be the juice from the stems and trunk. The food is in the ripened heart of the mescal flower and was generally roasted. Otherwise the leaves and fibrous trunk were used to make sandals, fish nets, baskets, needles, cord and string, fenceposts, supports for thatched houses, and rafts. 59 It is not known if the Indians were aware of the narcotic and medicinal properties of this plant, and especially of the smaller mescal. Nor can we say how much was cultivated and how much grew wild. It was the only contribution of the land to mission upkeep. The pitahayas did not grow north of the thirty degree latitude, where the
Dominican missions began.

Outside the fish and rascel the fields and grazing lands had to produce their share of the food and other articles. It must be noted that in the cold, foggy valley the crops might be slower and less abundant, and would vary in yield from year to year. Meigs has the harvest for 1793, 1794, 1800, 1801, and 1834. To supplement his findings the following charts have been arranged for the crops and the livestock.

The mission proper had about 110 acres of arable land, and it is not known if other farming was done at Descanso and Guadalupe during the first twenty or thirty years. Meigs says that the best pastures, about twelve square miles, were in the area of the Rosarito Creek in Rosario Plain, which was the land annexed to San Miguel by Sales.

The staple crops were wheat and maize. The greatest yield was maize, which gave three hundred to one, Sales says, but qualifies the exaggeration by saying "in places." There are juicy melons and watermelons, French beans and chick peas, lentils and other garden produce, and barley, but the harvest of these was smaller. The grapes gave an abundance of wine and brandy, which were not given to the Indians because it made them drunk and silly, but were sold to obtain clothing and utensils for the Indians. There may have been olives and fruit. Whatever food was given to the Indians coming into mission life had to be given with caution until they had become used to the vastly different diet.

This fact had long been known to the missionaries that once they were reduced the Indians had poorer health. Perhaps the question might be raised: How did one find out the state of health of the wild men prior to mission life? Again, the fathers were far more observant of the natives' illnesses, their boils,
# Chart of the Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat Seed Crops</th>
<th>Barley Seed Crops</th>
<th>Corn Seed Crops</th>
<th>Beans Seed Crops</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 91v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 59.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Chart of the Herds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Mules</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>1547</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 91v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 25.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 59v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ulcers and lung trouble, than the natives were. The missionary had to be alert to all symptoms of contagious disease, lest he suddenly find himself without a mission.

Life for the missionary at San Miguel was one of toil and loneliness. Sales wrote to his friend that "the work was heavy beyond measure" and that in one day in the mission the labors were equivalent to twenty days in a convent. The Indians were no company because they did not "know how to keep up a conversation," although they were "continuously bothering us, asking for bread, flour, meat, clothing, and many times there is none to give them." The missionary had to be "the father, the mother, the servant, the judge, the lawyer, the doctor, and whatever other kinds of craftsman there are in the community." He had to share the common life of the mission, working along with the Indians in sowing, and building.

The daily order in the mission was patterned on that of a religious convent. Rising at dawn, all were gathered into the church to recite the Christian doctrine, the rosary, and to hear Mass. After breakfast, the men and women lined up for the assignment of the day's work. Sales would distribute wool and cotton from the store room to the women, boys and girls, and would appoint an overseer for the males and females. The men were assigned to the fields, buildings, herds, and fishing. Then the missionary visited the sick in the infirmary and gave instructions to the cook. The mornings and afternoons were spent working and supervising and seeing to it that the workers kept singing or praying. Sales had to be back for dinner and supper, since he alone dished out the dinner of boiled wheat and the porridge in the evening. So too the care of the cattle, major and minor, and the supply room were under his
control for the accounting work. Yet the natives were inveterate thieves. One of his chief duties was to see that the men and women, the boys and girls were kept separate at all times, even at night, when they slept locked in separate dwellings. After dinner Sales had instruction classes in his own house, and on finishing the explanation of the catechism, he sat as judge correcting faults and administering whippings to evil doers.

It is useful to have a little personal information and biographical data on the missionaries who directed the mission in its formative period. Fray Luis Sales, who was its first missionary from 1787 to 1789, is accounted for in footnote 30 of Chapter II, and in the biographical sketch at end of Chapter VI.

The next minister was Fray Caejano Pallas, who came to Baja California in 1788. He was born in 1750 in the village of Benabarre of the Kingdom of Aragon, and was professed in 1768. He was of medium height, brunette in color, brown eyes, grayish hair, thin nose, and one scar on the point of his chin. He succeeded Sales who retired late in 1739. President Gómez' assignment list of July 24, 1790 shows him at San Miguel. Governor Arrillaga's list of July 25, 1791 has him at the same mission. He was the secretary to President Gómez, when he made his visitation of Missions Rosario, Santo Domingo, and San Vicente, on February 7, 14, 23, 1791, respectively. The Acta of May 12, 1792, has him assigned to Loreto Mission with President Gómez. Engelhardt says that he succeeded Gómez as President probably early in 1793, since on April 10 of that year, he reported to the Franciscans the death of Fray José Vidaurreta at Mission San José del Cabo on March 22, 1793. He made his visitation in La Frontera in 1794, at San Vicente, Santo Domingo, and Rosario, on October 24 and 31, and November 13, respectively. He personally founded San Pedro Mártil
Mission, April 27, 1794, and he authorized Fray José Lorige to found Mission Santa Catalina on November 12, 1797. He retired early in 1799, receiving an excellent testimonial letter from Governor Borica.

The third resident minister was Fray Juan Salgado, who came to Baja California in 1792. He was assigned to San Miguel for a year or so, 1792-1793. He was assigned to Rosario during 1794 and early 1795, for the Baptismal Register shows his signature continuously from April 23, 1794 to February 16, 1795. He was stationed at Mission San Borja for 1795-1796. He signed the Informe of that mission for December 31, 1795, but not the one for 1796, which was signed by Fray Melchor Pons. Salgado had asked Governor Borica on April 14, 1796 for a change on account of calumnies circulated about him. He retired early in 1799.

The fourth resident minister was Fray Mariano Yoldi, who came to Baja California in 1792. He was assigned to San Francisco Xavier Mission, according to the Acta of May 12, 1792. According to various nomina or assignment lists of the Presidents, Governors, and Prior- Provincial, he was at San Miguel Mission from at least September 30, 1793 to May of 1804. He made a request to retire and return to Spain in the year 1804. Governor Arrillaga granted him the permission to retire, January 7, 1805.


5. Sales, III, 76-77; Rudkin, pp. 173-174.

6. Sales, I, 33; Rudkin, pp. 24-25.

7. Sales, I, 38; Rudkin, p. 25.

8. Juan Vicente de Gúemes Pacheco de Padilla, Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Provision for establishing new missions . . . . November 26, 1789. This is a California Transcript, University of California, Berkeley.


10. Bancroft, I, 725. Encino is the correct spelling, as given by Bancroft. Sales incorrectly spelled the word "Encina."


12. Sales, III, 78; Rudkin, p. 174. Sales, in his Estado General de las Misiones, gives the distance between San Vicente and San Miguel as 29 leagues. Cf. Sales, III, 98-99; Rudkin, p. 188.


15. Sales, III, 63-64; Rudkin, p. 165.


17. Meigs, p. 27.


19. Sales, II, 16; Rudkin, p. 77.


22. According to the Marriage Register the first expedition, early in 1786, must have been between January 2 and June 16, 1786. On these two dates Sales had weddings. I chose May as the month, figuring backwards from Sales' third expedition, the month of which we are quite certain, namely, February of 1787.

23. Sales, III, 78; Rudkin, p. 175.

24. Sales, III, 78-79; Rudkin, p. 175.

25. On July 1 and August 30, 1786 Sales performed weddings at Mission San Vicente.


27. Sales, III, 80; Rudkin, p. 176.

28. Provincial State Papers, VII, 40. Likewise the Conde de Revilla Gigedo, on November 26, 1789, closed his letter to the King with these words: "On this account La Grulla was rejected, and there was discussed the establishment of only the fourth mission, which under the name of San Miguel del Encino was established on March 28, 1787." Cf. n. 8.

29. Provincial State Papers, VII, 32.

30. Ibid., X, 50-51.

31. Provincial Records, I, 211.

32. Meigs, 99, 105, 146.

33. Ibid., 26.

34. Provincial Records, III, 261-264.

35. Meigs, p. 103.

36. Informe of 1795, in the Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 69v.

37. Informe of 1796, in the Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 91v.


40. Sales, III, 82, Rudkin, p. 177.
11. Sales, III, 98-99; Rudkin, p. 188.
12. Sales, III, 82; Rudkin, p. 177.
13. C.E. Meigs, pp. 111-112, for a discussion of the original boundary.
14. Meigs, pp. 112-113; Sales, III, 82; Rudkin, p. 177.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., III, 82-83; Rudkin, p. 177.
19. Ibid.
20. Sales, III, 82; Rudkin, p. 177.
22. Ibid., p. 141.
23. Sales, III, 83; Rudkin, pp. 177-178.
25. Sales, I, 25; Rudkin, p. 17.
26. Sales, I, 25; Rudkin, p. 17.
27. Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, Clavigero's History of Lower California, p. 51.
28. Sales, I, 22; Rudkin, p. 15.
29. Sales, I, 21-22; Rudkin, pp. 14-15; Meigs, pp. 18, 41 and Plate 1a.
30. Sales, I, 23; Rudkin, p. 16.
32. Ibid., pp. 113, 147.
33. Sales, III, 88; Rudkin, pp. 180-181.
34. Sales, III, 86-87; Rudkin, pp. 179-180.
65. Sales, III, 54; Rudkin, p. 160.
66. Acts of 1788, pp. 7-8; Mis., Vol. 9, nine folios of resenas, about 2/3 way through the volume.
67. Stephens Collection, no. 81.
68. Calif., Vol. 81, about the middle of the volume.
70. Ibid., I, 574.
72. Ibid., I, 575, 580-581.
73. Ibid., I, 577.
74. Ibid., I, 580-581.
76. Engelhardt, I, 615-616.
77. Cf. his signatures in the Burial Register of Mission San Borja, preserved in the Serra Museum, San Diego, California.
78. Engelhardt, I, 598.
79. Ibid., I, 580.
80. Cf. the assignment list of the Prior-Provincial, Fray Domingo de Gandarias, O. P., for September 30, 1793, in the Prov. Int., Vol. 5, fol. 325-328; President Gallego's list for 1803-1804, in the Calif., Vol. 59; also many Nomina lists between 1793 and 1803.
CHAPTER IX

SANTO TOMAS MISSION COMPLETES THE COASTAL CHAIN

While the first four coastal missions were founded the original group of 27 Fathers and one laybrother was diminishing. As Father Hidalgo indicated in his report of March 20, 1786, there were only 21 fathers left. Then Father Manuel Rodríguez died August 22, 1786, and Father Manuel Pérez died March 13, 1788. Fathers Andrés Souto and José García Villatoro had permission from their religious superiors to leave, but when the "red tape" of government sanction and travelling expenses delayed matters, they left their missions and returned to Mexico, about October, 1788. Father Luis Sales and Father Francisco Galisteo were in Mexico City on December 15, 1789, for on that day they sent a joint letter to the Assessor-General.

So if the fifth coastal mission was to be built it was imperative to obtain new missionaries from Spain, as had been decided by the Provincial Council, mentioned in the end of Chapter VII. The Acta Capituli Provincialis of 1788 announced the arrival in Mexico on February 26, 1788, of 12 priests and 2 deacons, destined for the mission fields of Baja California. Their names were: Joaquín Calvo, Cajetano Pallas, Tomás Marín, Gonzalo Portero, Miguel Abad, Antonio Sánchez, José Loriento, Francisco Ontigüelo, José Saéta, Miguel Gallego, Ricardo Tejeiro, José Jorge Coello, Mariano Fernández, deacon, and José Herrera, deacon.
Father Gonzalo Portero died at Guadalajara, before the group left for Baja California. The Acta of 1788 listed him among those who died between the Provincial Chapter of 1784 and that of 1788, which was held from April 27 to May 3. The Libro de Difuntos for the Convent of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, gives his death as June 4, 1788. This is obviously an error. More than likely his name was written in the book some time later, when a chronicler relied upon a poor memory. Occasionally the entry of death was put in weeks and months later, after many other deaths, and so a lapse of memory could occur very easily.

Apparently the two deacons were ordained before the group left for Baja California. On August 22, 1788, eleven of the group arrived at the Presidio of Loreto in Lower California. Father Sánchez was sick in Guadalajara and Father Loriente was infirm in Tepic. So they arrived later at Loreto on July 8, 1789. Father Pedro de Acebedo came to Lower California, at least two months before the second group arrived. He was not a member of the second group, but for purposes of filing and information, it is practical to associate him with the second group. The Acta of 1782 showed him assigned to the Convent of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, while the Acta of 1784 listed him at the Convent of Saints Peter and Paul, Querétaro. The Baptismal Register of Mission San Fernando has entries made by him between July 2, 1788, and April 26, 1789. He was assigned to Mission San José de Comondú, at least from April 15, 1790, to March 18, 1793, according to his signatures in the Mission Registers. He was at Mission Loreto in 1795, having signed the annual Informe, along with the President of the Missions, Fray Cajetano Pallas, on
December 31, 1795. 19

The Dominicans now could fulfill their commitment for founding the next mission. There was very little land north of Mission San Miguel's area, since after Sales extended San Miguel farther northward, the distance was about a league to the Sales boundary of Old and New California. Sales wrote that Mission San Miguel "encircles almost all the territory up to a league distant, and that is said to be the end or boundary of Old California." 20 But there was plenty of room in between Missions San Miguel and San Vicente, a distance of at least twenty-nine leagues or about seventy-five miles. 21 Thus it is not surprising that, according to Sales, the Governor, noting further the distance from San Miguel to San Vicente, gave orders for establishing an intermediate mission.

The Governor, noting further the distance from this mission (San Miguel) to that of San Vicente, asked me to locate some suitable spot near the seacoast to set up another, intermediate, establishment, and though fatigued by so many explorations, expeditions to the heathens and blows I had received from them, still, placing first the honor of the Order, I went in by way of the San Solano mountains and the Sierra de la Grulla, and found a very good territory for the foundation of a settlement in the name of Santo Tomás de Aquino.

Remembering vividly what had happened in the interior, I wanted to return to the site at different times and seasons, still all that we saw was good. Our only contrary experience was an attack by the savages in which some of us were wounded, and it seems that God wanted to conserve my life since, having been hit and seeing that the soldiers were in flight and that I was alone among the arrows of the Infidels, I began to run my horse and it fell into a concealed hole, throwing me. As the Indians passed me howling, they failed to discover me, until the soldiers returning found me half dead, covered with mud, and scarce able to move. I notified my superiors of the occurrence and they all remained of one mind, that the village of Santo Tomás de Aquino should be founded as soon as possible. 22

Sales at the very beginning of his Second Letter, where he gives an
excuse for not writing sooner, has another short account of this exploration for founding Mission Santo Tomas. He wrote:

To this (excuse) must be added that by the superior orders of His Majesty I was obliged to go out with some troops to survey certain lands and to establish a site suitable for founding a town or mission among the heathen who occupy the mountains of San Solano, la Grulla, el Veladero and las Animas, and in spite of facing many heathens, suffering from more than one heavy rain, I succeeded in locating a very good mission. As we were returning from the search the barbarians met us and seeing how few we were they thought then that we should all fall victims to their fury. They followed us for the space of six days, only succeeding in wounding two men slightly and in wounding my horse. It was frightened and in starting to run away stepped into a hidden hole, throwing me and injuring my arm, and God be thanked that, since the heathen were all around us, they did not see me. I was disabled for many days, even for important business.

It seems quite clear that there were two exploratory expeditions into the San Solano mountain region to locate another mission site. The first was made by Ortega and Sales on April 11, 1785, and upon returning to San Vicente, Ortega wrote his report on April 15, as stated in Chapter VIII.

From the internal evidence of the documents and the close scrutiny of Sales' two accounts, given above, it is evident that the second expedition was made after the foundation of Mission San Miguel, which was founded March 23, 1787, and changed to the new site in 1788. So the time element for making the second exploration of the San Solano site would be in 1788 and before October 5, 1789, when Sales had permission to retire from Lower California.

Here I set forth the internal evidence from Sales' two accounts. First, Sales having finished speaking of exploring the site and founding San Miguel, referred to all this as an accomplished fact, and said that the Governor noticed the distance between Mission San Miguel and San Vicente was considerable. Sales spoke of Mission San Miguel, not the site for Mission San
Secondly, Sales recorded that, although tired out from many expeditions to the heathens, still he carried out the royal orders. The other expeditions were those of April, 1785, into the San Solano mountains with Ortega, the two expeditions in 1786, relative to San Miguel site, and the third San Miguel expedition, ending in establishment of that Mission in March of 1787.

Third, Sales vividly recalled what had happened in the interior, regarding the second and third Encino or San Miguel explorations. Of the second Encino expedition Sales wrote: "we saw all the facilities that could be desired for a very rich settlement." And as regards the third expedition to Encino he wrote about his disappointment:

Six months later I set out with the whole convoy, leaving the other missionary (Father José Estévez) in my place. But just imagine what mortification I suffered when on reaching the place already officially reconnoitered, in which there had been so many advantages, only sand banks were to be seen, and rock piles created by a furious storm, which had sealed up all the water springs.

So it is not surprising that Sales wanted to make sure of the promising Solano site, by returning several times, especially at different seasons, to see if the water supply and other soil conditions would have changed very much.

Fourth, Ortega, a military man, in his report of April 15, 1785, regarding the first exploration of the San Solano site of Santo Tomás, made no mention at all of Indian attacks, as did Sales in both of his accounts of the second San Solano expedition. Most likely Sergeant Ortega would have referred to such an important matter as an Indian attack, which would hamper or hinder the expedition. So it seems very clear that there were two expeditions to
explore the San Solano site for Mission Santo Tomás.

Father Sales says that he reported the Indian attacks to his superiors and they were of one mind, namely, that the Mission of Santo Tomás should be established as soon as possible.

In regard to the actual foundation of Mission Santo Tomás, Bancroft wrote:

On the 24th of April, 1791, after some controversy between the governor and president about the site, in which the latter had his way, the mission of Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded at San Solano, between San Vicente and San Miguel, being put in charge of Padre José Loriente. (President) Gomez proposed to establish three more missions in the north, but it was forbidden by the Viceroy until a presidio could be founded in that region.30

The President of the Missions, Father Cristóstomo Gomez, in a letter on April 29, 1791, states the following facts, regarding the foundation and the very early days or beginnings of the Mission:

I, Fray Juan Cristóstomo Gomez, Preacher-General of the Sacred Order of Preachers, Vicar Forane of the Province of Baja California, and President of the Missions, certify that on April 24, 1791, the Mission of Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded in the place formerly called San Solano. Conversions were made, as is confirmed by the baptisms of some parvulos of pagan parents, and twenty adult pagans, who persevered in the instructions, not counting many others, who have promised to receive the Catholic Faith later. I have appointed Padre Fray Jose Loriente for their direction and government, as I verify, with the most ardent and fervent zeal.31

Negrete, who wrote in 1853, said that the first Santo Tomás Mission was "on the skirt of the hills on the north of the arroyo, about a league to the west of where it is today."32 The first Santo Tomás Mission site was about twenty to twenty-five miles north of Mission San Vicente,33 and about twelve miles inland from the Pacific Ocean.34

Governor Arrillaga wrote the following report to the Viceroy, from
Loreto, on November 3, 1792, in respect to the early activities at the Mission:

The former Governor (Antonio Romeu), on account of sickness, could not comply with the order of October 11, about the conditions of the site of the new foundation, called San Solano. The opinions of (Governor) Fages and the President of the Dominicans differed with regard to the said site, so that ultimately the opinion of the President prevailed, and the Mission was located a league from Solano toward the Pacific Ocean. The Padre (Loriente) found it in the greatest abundance of water, provided with a marsh or lagoon, which is nearby. It is suitable for sowing maize, as it is more toward the lower end of the canyon.

The first year (1791) there was no sickness, neither among the soldiers, nor among the Christian and pagan Indians. But in the present year (1792), according to what the Padre (Loriente) said in a letter of September 15, from the beginning of August until the present date, there were only three men and two women who remained well. This might be because of the nearness of the tule marsh, the air of which is harmful, some years more than others. The heathens did not live where the mission is, but farther up the canyon, where the air is pure and there are no mosquitoes nor gnats, because of the clearer (climatic) conditions. Furthermore, at that place there are lands, more sufficient and good, permanent water which has not decreased in twenty years. Its products will be able to support the neighboring heathenism which is great. The difficulties necessitate the change to another site, which will result in enough improvement to justify the abandonment of the work already accomplished.

The Viceroy, Revilla Gigedo, on March 27, 1793, decreed the change of the mission to the upper plain in order "to avoid the complaints of the natives against the mosquitoes and bad climate." Father Engelhardt said that "in June, 1794, the mission was removed to another site." The new site, according to Francisco Castillo Negrete, was one league to the east of the first site. Regarding the second and final site of Mission Santo Tomás, Meigs wrote: "the place where the mission finally came to rest after years of exploration, argument, and trial was the very one which Crespi, twenty-five years before, had discovered and characterized as an excellent place for a mission."
Meigs says that at the first Santo Tomás Mission site "the usual quadrangle of buildings was never completed, though outlines of a 70 yard line of rooms are traceable, parallel with the valley."\textsuperscript{40} Engelhardt has this to say about the buildings at the first site: "According to the annual report of December 31, 1793, the church then was a small adobe structure. The roof consisted of poles and mats. The dimensions were five by twelve Spanish yards, or 14 by 34 feet. The dwelling of the missionaries consisted of the same material."\textsuperscript{41} The reconstruction of the floor plan of the second Santo Tomás Mission is now impossible for its ruins have been nearly plowed under.\textsuperscript{42}

The Informe of 1795, signed by Fray Miguel López, says that there was laid a 70 varas foundation of stone for the building of the mission.\textsuperscript{43} The 1796 Informe, signed by Fathers José Lorigente and Miguel López, stated that there was constructed a house with a large hall, two dressing or bed rooms, another room, and common places with sleeping mats made of rushes. The whole building was covered with a tule roof. There were also constructed a dispensary and houses for the unmarried men and women.\textsuperscript{44} The 1797 Informe, signed by the same fathers mentioned that a corral was built for the minor cattle.\textsuperscript{45}

The building program would lead one to believe that there was a steady flow of converts. President Crisóstomo Gómez, in his letter of April 29, 1791, mentioned above, spoke about the converts made during the first week of the mission's life. The first converts consisted of some children and twenty adults.\textsuperscript{46} The 1795 Informe says that there were 62 baptisms that year, 14 marriages and 9 burials. The 62 baptisms were among 57 adults, and 5 children.\textsuperscript{47} The 1796 Informe listed 14 baptisms, 13 children and one adult
in articulo mortis, one marriage, and 20 burials.\textsuperscript{48} The Informe for 1797 stated that there were 7 baptisms, 2 adults and 5 children, no marriages, and 14 burials.\textsuperscript{49} And the Informe for 1798 indicated 21 baptisms, 4 adults and 17 children, 3 marriages, and 17 burials.\textsuperscript{50} The following table shows the number of baptisms, marriages and burials for 1795 to 1798 inclusive, along with the total from the foundation of the mission.
MISSION SANTO TOMAS

PERIOD OF SPIRITUAL GROWTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BAPTISMS</th>
<th>BURIALS</th>
<th>MARRIAGES</th>
<th>SOURCE FOR THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1791-</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 90.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above table indicates that there were 234 baptisms from the foundation of the mission. Subtracting the 104 baptisms for the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive, leaves 130, or an average of 32 per year for the first four years, 1791 to 1794. Deducting the 60 burials from the total of 101, for the years 1795 to 1798, leaves 41, or an average of 10 per year for the first four years. Likewise, after subtracting the 18 marriages for the last four years from the total of 52, leaves 34, or an average of 8 per year for the first four years. As said above 130 were baptized in the first four years, 1791 to 1794. Since the population in 1791 was 96, it would seem that about 80 or so of the 130 were baptized in 1791. At the end of 1794 the population was 151, by which time the remaining 50 were baptized, making up the total of 130.

Meigs estimates that the aboriginal population was 1000 for 1050 square miles of territory subject to Santo Tomás Mission. This would make the original population density of about one person to the square mile or to be precise .95 per square mile. The population at the end of the first year, 1791, was 96. The average population to 1794 inclusive was about 150. The average rose to about 200 for the years 1795 to 1798. Belda's Noticia for 1799 shows a quick jump in population to 269, and from then to 1805 the average population was about 275. The following chart, as usual, not only shows the population year by year, for the most part, to 1812, but also gives a breakdown of the population, wherever possible.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>SPM, I, 76; NMS, I, 741.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1793</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>SPM, I, 129.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>SPM, II, 8; NMS, I, 741.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 142.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
<td>68 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lópe, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 308.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 359.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 391.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Santo Tomas Mission Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>6 SM</td>
<td>3 SW</td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 *</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>5 SM</td>
<td>3 SW</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 431.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801 *</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>4 SM</td>
<td>1 SW</td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>4 SM</td>
<td>1 SW</td>
<td>Arviña, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 186.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>4 SM</td>
<td>1 SW</td>
<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 213.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1806</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>2 SM</td>
<td>1 SW</td>
<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3½</td>
<td>Goycochea, Not., Cal., 61, fol. 430.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the explanation of symbols and abbreviations, cf. Chap. IV.
The total irrigable lands in mission days were over 200 acres, after the change in the mission site. 52 In the following chart there is set forth the amount of seed sown and the crop yield for the years 1795 to 1798 inclusive. The figures are in terms of the fanega, which is equal to 2.6 bushels. Twelve almudes make up one fanega.

Regarding the herding and raising of animals Meigs writes: "Though little of the plain was available for agriculture, it helped to support the great herds of the mission most of the year." 53 The best year for the largest herds seems to have been 1801, with 1200 head of cattle and 26 1/6 head of sheep. The following chart shows the statistics of crops and herds for years not given by Meigs.
### Chart of the Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat Seed</th>
<th>Wheat Crops</th>
<th>Barley Seed</th>
<th>Barley Crops</th>
<th>Corn Seed</th>
<th>Corn Crops</th>
<th>Beans Seed</th>
<th>Beans Crops</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 90-90v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>10 Al.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 57v.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart of the Herds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Mules</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
On October 10, 1792, Fray José Aivar left Baja California and thus a total of 22 missionaries of the first group had passed off the scene. At the end of another three years 26 of the original group had left. Only Father Gerónimo Soldevilla remained of the original group, and he died at Mission San Xavier, November 18, 1810. Twenty-six of his thirty-seven years were spent at Mission San Xavier. With most of the first group gone, and only thirteen missionaries in the second group, there was again pressing need for more recruits.

The Acta Capituli Provincialis of 1792 tells us that on December 22, 1791, sixteen Dominicans destined for Baja California arrived in Mexico from Spain. The names of the sixteen Dominicans of the third group are: Vicente Fernández, Mariano Apolinario, Juan Maria Salgado, Antonio Caballero, Rafael Caballero, Antonio Berraguero, Mariano Yoldi, Pablo Maria de Zárate, Vicente Belda, Melchior Ponz, Miguel López, Rafael Arviña, Domingo Timor, José Serrano, José Espín, and Tomás Valdellón.

Of these sixteen fathers, Fray Vicente Fernández, after arriving in Mexico, did not go to Baja California. Father José Vidaurreta, who came to Baja California about the same time as this group, more than likely was the substitute for Vicente Fernández. Bancroft wrote that "eighteen more friars arrived in 1792, twelve in August, and six in September. The latter had a narrow escape from drowning when their vessel was wrecked and most of the cargo lost some twenty miles from Loreto." Bancroft is in error about the number, which was sixteen, not eighteen.

It is useful to know a little about the missionaries who directed Santo
Tomás Mission in its formative years. Fray José Lorienté, who came to Baja California in 1788, was the first resident minister. He was born about 1758, a native of the Village of Almnia of San Juan, in the Kingdom of Aragon. He was professed in the Convent of San Ildefonso of Zaragosa in the year 1778. He was of regular stature, robust, round-faced, had brown eyes, and showed the beginnings of baldness. As of July 24, 1790, President O'mez' list of assignments showed him stationed at Mission San Vicente. His signature appeared in the Burial Register of the Mission, from December 3, 1790, to February 20, 1791, and in the Marriage Register on March 26, 1791. He was put in charge of Mission Santo Tomás from its foundation, April 24, 1791, to at least the end of 1797. He made trips now and then to San Vicente, for his signature appears in the Marriage Register on May 29, 1791, and in the Burial Register, from November 15, 1794, to May 3, 1795. Governor Borica issued him a passport on June 4, 1798, to return to Mexico. On September 1, 1798, the Governor wrote the following excellent testimonial of his work:

I certify that the Rev. Fr. Josef Lorienté of the Sacred Order of St. Dominic, has served in the missionary field nine years. During this time he has founded the missions of Santo Tomás and Santa Catalina, where he labored well for the natives. He has on various occasions surveyed different portions of the country in order to discover sites for other missions. Twice he was commissioned to examine the land as far as San Francisco Javier. He labored hard and attracted many neophytes, took care of the temporalities and increased them. Only his grave infirmities, which he suffered constantly, obliged him to solicit his retirement after he had given the best example by his most regular habits. Monterey, September 1, 1798. Diego de Borica.

Lorienté embarked November 8, 1798, and arrived at the Port of San Blas, on November 22, 1798. He reached the Imperial Convent of Santo Domingo on March 13, 1799.
The second Dominican in charge of Santo Tomás was Miguel López, who came to Baja California in 1792. First he was Loriente's assistant from at least September 30, 1793, to June 23, 1798, when the two of them sent a joint letter to Governor Borica. After the retirement of Loriente, Miguel López continued on in charge of the mission until his death, January 13, 1803. The various Nomina or assignment lists shows him at Mission Santo Tomás. President Rafael Arviña of the Dominicans wrote to the Franciscan President Lasuén that it was suspected Father López was a victim of the Indians.

A third father, Fray Rualdaldo Surroca, who came to Baja California in 1797, was López's assistant from at least May, 1802. He was born in Spain about 1769, and professed about 1786. He was at Mission San José del Cabo, 1797-1798. He was murdered May 17, 1803, at Mission Santo Tomás by the Indians. President Rafael Arviña sent the sad news to President Lasuén of the Franciscans, on June 18, 1803:

Most esteemed Brother and Señor:

Under date of May 19th last, I received the unhappy notice that Fr. Rualdaldo Surroca, missionary of Mission Santo Tomás was found dead in his bed. Although at first he was believed to have died a natural death, it is now known that it was a violent one, and that it was perpetrated by four Indian domestics. Three of them have been arrested, and one of them immediately acknowledged guilt of the parricide. The body was found beaten all over, full of bruises and bones fractured. From signs, which were observed about the room, it may be believed that the deceased must have made a strong defense to save his life. I communicate all this to Your Reverence in order that, according to our agreement, you may inform all my beloved Brethren and Fathers religious that they have the goodness to relieve the soul of this unfortunate religious by means of the customary suffrages; and that, at the same time, it may serve them as a useful lesson to guard themselves against the treachery of the Indians, and escape such a terrible catastrophe. Fray Rafael Arviña.

José Manuel Ruiz, from San Vicente, reported to Governor Arrilaga on
May 19, 1803, that Father Surroca had died at 2 A.M., on May 17, and that the death was violent. In the Californias Collection there is a document of 87 folios concerning the criminal trial and results over the death of Father Eduardo Surroca, Minister of the Mission of Santo Tomás in Baja California.

According to the long document, Francisco Alvarado wrote to Commander José Estanislao Ruiz of Santo Tomás, asking for an investigation of the murder of Father Surroca, committed during the night of May 17, 1803. Ruiz arrested Barbara Gandiaga, Lazaro Rosales, and Alessandro de la Cruz, and held them at Mission San Vicente. He gathered the depositions and signatures of the accused and the witnesses, which were duly certified. These he sent to Governor Arrillaga, who was residing at Loreto, in Baja California. November 2, 1803, Arrillaga sent the proceedings to the Viceroy, saying in effect that the depositions were not legal and that he would have new ones taken. He had brought the culprits to Loreto by ship and had them in the prison of the presidio. New depositions were taken during November and December. As late as June 5, 1804, Arrillaga was still trying to get the case off his hands.

About July, 1804, Ruiz had the prisoners back in San Vicente and he was trying to get a protector for Barbara Gandiaga, and a defense lawyer for the three accused persons. July 21, 1804, Arrillaga told the Auditor (Judge of the Audiencia) that he could not get a defender in the Californias, nor a judge. August 1, 1805, the Prosecutor and defense lawyer were appointed. The Prosecutor, Felipe de Castro Palomino, presented his case very well and demanded the death penalty for Barbara, Alessandro and Lazaro. The Defender,
Juan José Monroy, pleaded for leniency, saying that Barbara was a child and did not slay maliciously. The Procurator of the Audiencia, Pedro Montes de Oca, said in a document, signed December 28, 1805, that the three had the privileges of minors, not in age, but in mental development.

However, ten days earlier, December 18, 1805, at Jalapa, Viceroy José de Iturrigaray wrote his verdict, which was practically that of the Prosecutor and Auditor, that the guilt of the three "is fully and completely proved and there should be no exception in their case from the ordinary punishment" for murder (in the first degree). After a summary of the proofs he passed the sentence that the said Barbara, Lazaro and Alesandro were to be hanged at Santo Tomás. Her head and right hand were to be put in a public place, and a proclamation posted of her crime. Her two accomplices were to be treated in like manner. This verdict was sent to Arrillaga, December 31, 1805, with orders to carry out the sentence.

The Prosecutor, Palomino, wrote to the Viceroy on February 28 and March 6, 1806, saying that to this day nothing has been heard about the outcome of his case. Governor Arrillaga wrote from San Francisco to the Viceroy, on April 29, 1806, saying that he had received the order of December 31, 1805, that he "will carry it out and will notify you when the sentence has been concluded." The long document of 87 folios comes to an end without stating whether the orders were carried out or not. Bancroft wrote that "a woman confessed to the deed under torture, and was executed, together with two accomplices," citing references which are reproduced here in the footnote.78 Perhaps Bancroft permitted his bias or imagination to influence him, when he
stated that a woman confessed to the deed "under torture."

During the course of the trial evidence pointed to this same Barbara Gandiaga as the instigator of the death of Father Miguel López, minister of the Mission of Santo Tomás. He had died in January, 1803, six months before Surrocca was murdered. The witnesses averred that López's death was not natural and that he was slain by an Indian named Mariano Carillo. Carillo's trial apparently went on from February 14, 1806, until June 20, 1808. It was found that Barbara was the instigator and that Carillo had actually committed the crime, whereupon he was sentenced to six years of labor in the presidio of Loreto. In neither of these cases were the fathers called as witnesses nor as accusers.
1. *Libro de Difuntos*: 1770-1830, for the Convent of Santo Domingo de Mexico, p. 7.

2. Ibid., p. 8; cf. burial entry no. 607 in the Rosario Mission Burial Register; cf. Engelhardt, I, 617, for the English translation of the burial entry.


4. Ibid., Vol. 23, fols. 374-376.


7. For the biographical data and personal descriptions of the missionaries, cf. the *Acta* of 1788, pp. 7-8; Mis., Vol. 9, nine folios; Calif., Vol. 82, thirteen folios.

8. Stephens Collection, no. 82, fol. 3v.


11. Stephens Collection, no. 81, fol. 5.

12. Ibid., no. 82, fol. 3v.

13. Ibid., no. 81, fol. 5.


17. Cf. a typewritten summary of the fathers who signed in the Registers of Mission San José de Comondú, preserved at the Seminary Library in Tia Juana, Baja California.
18. Engelhardt, I, 593.


20. Sales, III, 83; Rudkin, p. 178.

21. Sales, III, 98-99; Rudkin, p. 188.


23. Sales, II, 15-16; Rudkin, pp. 77-78.


25. Stephens Collection, no. 81, fol. 5.

26. "Mas contemplando el Señor Gobernador la distancia que hay de esta Mision a la de San Vicente." Cf. Sales, III, 83; Rudkin, p. 178.

27. Sales, III, 79; Rudkin, p. 175.

28. Sales, III, 79-80; Rudkin, p. 175.

29. "Y teniendo muy presente lo sucedido en el anterior, quise en diferentes tiempos y ocasiones volver al registro, y aunque todo lo vimos bueno." Cf. Sales, III, 84; Rudkin, p. 178.


33. Meigs, p. 146, says twenty miles. Negrete, p. 351, says that there are ten leagues distance, about 26 miles, between San Vicente and the second Santo Tomás mission.

34. Meigs, pp. 89, 96, fig. 14.


38. ibid., p. 352.
40. Ibid., p. 90.
41. Engelhardt, I, 625.
42. Meigs, p. 91.
43. Mis., Vol. 2, fols. 65v-66.
44. Ibid., Vol. 2, fol. 90v.
47. Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 65.
48. Ibid., Vol. 2, fol. 90.
50. Ibid., Vol. 19, fol. 57.
51. Meigs, pp. 138, 140.
52. Ibid., p. 92.
53. Ibid.
54. Mis., Vol. 5, fols. 54, 56.
55. Engelhardt, I, 592; cf. Calif., Vol. 53, no. 8, for the date of his death, which was November 18, 1810.
57. Ibid., pp. 5-6; also cf. Mis., Vol. 9, toward the end of the volume, for their biographical data and personal descriptions.
58. Cf. Mis., Vol. 5, fols. 36-37, for his biographical data. His apostolic work in Baja California was cut short by his death, on March 22, 1793. Cf. Calif., Vol. 5, no. 8, last folio; also Engelhardt, I, 574, 588.
60. *Acta* of 1788, p. 8; *Mis.* Vol. 9, a nine folio reseña of the 1788 group of Dominicans, who came to Baja California.

61. Stephens Collection, no. 81, fol. 20-20v.

62. Cf. the Burial Register of San Vicente, and Engelhardt, I, 623.

63. Ibid., I, 574.

64. Cf. the Registers of San Vicente, and Engelhardt, I, 623.

65. Calif., Vol. 73, toward the end of the volume.


67. Calif., Vol. 73, toward the end of the volume.

68. Ibid.

69. Prov. Int., Vol. 5, fols. 325-328, for a report and list of assignments, dated September 30, 1793, by the Prior-Provincial, Fray Domingo de Gandarias, O. P.

70. Cf. Savage's copies and extracts, Vol. I, pp. 49-50, preserved at the Bancroft Library. These extracts are of the Archives of the Catholic Archbishop of San Francisco.

71. Engelhardt, I, 627.

72. Prov. Int., Vol. 16, fol. 55, for President Arvíná's assignment list of May, 1802-1803.

73. Cf. *Mis.* Vol. 5, toward the end of the volume, for an eleven folio reseña of the 1797 group of Dominican missionaries.

74. Engelhardt, I, 588.

75. Ibid., I, 626-627.

76. Ibid., I, 627, n. 2, citing document no. 246 in the Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco.

77. Calif., Vol. 59, has an expediente of 87 folios entitled: "Causa criminal seguida de resultas de haberse encontrado muerto en su cama al Pdo. Pe. Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, Mntro. de la Misión de Sto. Tomás en la Antigua California."
78. Bancroft, II, 706, citing the Provincial Records, VIII, 241; IX, 27-28, 33, 43; X, 1-2; State Papers, XIV, 75-76.

CHAPTER X

SAN PEDRO MARTIR AND SANTA CATALINA MISSIONS

It will be recalled that with the establishment of Mission Santo Tomás on April 24, 1791, the Dominicans had accomplished the main purpose assigned to them by the King and the five missions linked the Lower and Upper California coastal chains. Another chain in the sierras had long appealed to them. Hidalgo’s suggestion that links in a chain of missions toward the Colorado be fashioned so that the plan of Kino and Salvatierra would finally be fulfilled came very much to the fore. In 1779 a likely place for the foundation of the first of the mountain missions had been discovered near La Cieneguilla, but the fathers had been told to move along the coast. Over the years their contact with the wild Indians of the sierras convinced them that their task in La Frontera was only half finished as long as souls remained to be saved in the highlands.

Fray Juan Crisóstomo Gómez, the new President of the Baja California missions, soon after his appointment wrote to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo requesting permission and soldiers for the mountain missions. Revilla Gigedo relayed the request to Governor José Antonio Romeu, October 4, 1791, stating that Gómez had proposed three missions in the mountain plains to the east of the coastal chain: first, somewhere between the latitudes of Rosario and Santo Domingo; second, in one of the valleys nearest to Santo Domingo and San Vicente; third, in another valley east-northeast of San Miguel and Santo
Tomás. 1 Tomás was too ill prior to his death in March, 1792, to think on the matter, but his successor, Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga advised, on November 7, 1792, that permission should be granted to the Dominicans to build their sixth mission on the first-mentioned site with a garrison of twelve men, and that the other two places should be explored more carefully.2

The mountain and plateau area around the site of Mission San Pedro Mártir had been visited earlier. The first expedition was led by the Jesuit Father Wenzeslao Link, who between February 20 and March 27, 1766, examined the land for a possible mission site and explored the country to the Colorado River. On his way north through the rugged mountains Link mentioned a place which he named San Juan de Dios, as highly suitable for a mission. This was about 15 or 20 miles north of Velicatá and was about 45 miles south of the site of San Pedro Mártir Mission.3

The second expedition was that of José Velázquez made between November 17 and 26, 1775. José's instructions were to explore to the western and northern coast of the Gulf of California for a port more accessible to the northern missions than that of San Luis Gonzaga. He left us a four page report and a map of his hurried trip, whose terminus was the 10,000 foot Picacho de la Providencia from which he could see the Gulf and the eastern coast in Sonora.4 He too missed the actual site of San Pedro Mártir Mission by passing to the northwest from San Juan de Dios. He noted the several arroyos with running water, springs, fine grazing lands, willows and pines, and the snow in the higher valleys. Returning westward toward the coastal missions he marked several other suitable mission sites.
A Mission of San Fernando
B Road to the Colorado River
C Arroyo of San Juan de Dios
D Route of Father Link
E Sierra de Cieneguilla
F Valley followed as far as the Rio Colorado
G End of the journey from where José Velásquez saw the Rio Colorado
H Rio Colorado
I Arroyo of San Rafael
J Pozo of San Telmo
K Mission of Santo Domingo
L Sand dunes
N Running water

(Photostat from William B. Stephens Collection
Univ. of Texas, Document Number 117)
Eighteen years after the expedition Governor Arrillaga sent out a reconnaissance party to inspect the sites proposed by President Gómez, between May and October, 1793. He informed the Viceroy on January 15, 1794, that there were two possibilities for the mountain mission. The first was about thirty-five miles due east of Santo Domingo Mission and almost exactly one mile higher in altitude. This was to be called San Pedro Mártir. The other was Portezuelo "between Mission San Vicente and the Rio Colorado," about three leagues or eight miles from where Santa Catalina was to be founded. The usual preparations were made through the next three months for the move to San Pedro Mártir.

On April 23, 1794, the President of the Missions, Fray Caitano Pallas, recently appointed to succeed Gómez, was pleased to inform Arrillaga of the foundation of San Pedro Mártir at a place called Casilepe by the natives. Thus he reported:

In compliance with the order of the most excellent Lord Viceroy of New Spain, dated March 27th of last year [1793], to found a new mission in the Sierra between the missions of Rosario and Santo Domingo, we accomplished said founding yesterday, which was the 27th of the present month, by taking possession of a site in the Sierra mentioned and called by the natives Casilepe, but now San Pedro Mártir de Verona by the neophytes, east of the nearest mission which is twelve or fourteen leagues distant from it, and by planting the holy Cross and celebrating the first Mass on the same day. God keep you many years. San Pedro Mártir, April 28, 1794. Fr. Caitano Pallas.

Casilepe soon proved an unhappy choice. The winter months brought snows and freezing temperatures. Pallas was forced from the reports about the sad conditions to write to Governor Borica on July 18, 1794: "The new foundation has not continued with the happiness with which it began. The crops have frozen and I have determined to move it to work at another place, situated
on the western slope of the sierra about three leagues distant from the
other." The following day Pallas added: "The Reverend Father Fray Rafael
Caballero, minister at the Mission of San Pedro Mártil, says that he will move
the week that now ends, because of frosts and annoyances." Ten days later
Pallas thought about getting permission for the transfer and on July 29 made
the request to move from Casilepe to Adantequedo. In a note to Second
Lieutenant Juan Pablo Grijalva, dated on August 10, 1794, Poricha granted the
permission.

The "annoyances" so remarkably understated by Pallas and explained by
Dancoft were Indian thefts of cattle and Indian attacks, which kept the
military guard on the alert. Moreover, it was increasingly difficult to keep
the mission Indians in the mission confines. All of the missions were subject
to similar "annoyances" during this period. As at Santo Tomás, the living
quarters had to be moved a short distance for better natural protection.
Where Casilepe was situated is unknown. Meigs leans to the opinion that
Casilepe was the present Santa Rosa, about eight miles east of the ruins of
Adantequedo, which is undoubtedly San Pedro Mártil Mission. His other possible
site of Casilepe is present La Grulla, between Santa Rosa and Adantequedo.
Our added conjecture is that the first site of San Pedro Mártil was La Grulla
and before the end of the year the move was made to Santa Rosa, nearly 2,000
feet higher than the 5,450 foot altitude of the final mission site.

The hostility of the wild Indians continued for some time. In early 1796
some soldiers were wounded and some Indians were killed in the attacks.
The Governor sent Ensign Ildefonso Bernal to investigate the condition in May
and June of that year and Bernal wrote a brief Journal of his expedition under date of June 25, 1796. Besides the hostilities, the neophytes ran away at times, causing no end of trouble to the searchers. Thus Bancroft wrote: "Not only were the pagans hostile, but the neophytes of San Pedro had deserted in a body refusing to return unless a new padre were appointed." The problem of Indian desertions had been foreseen and a solution had been offered by Father Hidalgo in his 100 regulations of 1781. First, before Baptism, the fathers were to permit the Indians to return to the mountains, for cutting them off suddenly from this diversion meant that they often would not return to the mission. Second, after baptism, when the Indians wished to return to the mountains for a time, they were to be given leave of absence from their missions, but were to be accompanied by a good and intelligent Christian Indian, to pray the Rosary with them, to recite the Doctrine, and to counsel them in the best way. In time the Indians were supposed to get over their homesickness and moreover, the Indians of the mountains probably would be more inclined to come to the mission. The foreseen danger was that the neophytes and new Christians might lose the Faith. How the plan worked out is not clear, but the fickleness of the Indians was always a worry to the padres.

Although the Baptismal Register is not extant for Mission San Pedro Mártir, yet fortunately there are Informes for the first years of the Mission's spiritual life. The Mission was founded on April 27, 1791, as mentioned above. By December 31, 1791, there were 33 baptisms. The Informe of 1795, signed by Fathers Antonio and Rafael Cavallero, blood brothers, says that 46
were baptized during the year 1795, making a total number of 79 baptisms from the Mission's foundation. Of these 66 baptized persons in the banner year for conversions, 22 were adults and 24 were children.20

The two Fathers Caballero, Antonio and Rafael, were born at Tucco in Baetica, Spain. Antonio was born about 1755 and Rafael, about 1757. Both were professed about 1773.21 They were assigned to San Borja Mission, 1792-1794,22 and to Mission San Pedro Mártir, 1794-1797.23 They signed the annual Informes of 1794, 1795, and 1796. They returned to Mexico in 1798.24 About 1802 they requested permission to go to Spain to collect missionaries for Baja California.25 They collected some missionaries who formed the fifth group to go to Baja California in 1804.26 This group will be mentioned later in this Chapter. They were instituted Preachers-General in 1806.

The Informe of 1796, signed by the same two padres, indicates that during the year there were seven baptisms, six adults and one child, bringing the total of baptisms to 86.27 Fathers Juan Ribas and Mariano Apolinario, who signed the Informe of 1797, stated that there were 18 baptisms, 14 adults and 4 children, with a total number of 104 from the foundation.28 The Informe of December 31, 1798, signed by Fathers Apolinario and José Cañadas, listed only 5 baptisms during the year, an adult and 4 children, with a total of 109 from the establishment of the mission.29 There seems to be no further data on the total number of baptisms during the Mission's life, which was from April 27, 1794, to the winter of 1811, when the Mission was closed due to the heavy rains and snows.30 According to Heiges, the Mission's population was transferred to Mission Santo Domingo.31
There were no marriages in 1794 at the Mission, but there were 8 in 1795, another in 1796, and 7 in 1797, with 3 more in 1798. With regard to the deaths, there were three burials in 1794, 12 Indians and one soldier in 1795, six in 1796, five in 1797, and ten in 1798. By the end of 1798 there was a total of 37 burials. The accompanying table shows the spiritual growth for the first five years, from 1794 to 1798, inclusive.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>BAPTISMS</th>
<th>BURIALS</th>
<th>MARRIAGES</th>
<th>SOURCE FOR THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The approximate mission area of San Pedro Mártir was from 500 to 1000 square miles at most, 32 embracing at least six rancherias, three of which were along the eastern base of the Sierra San Pedro Mártir up from the Gulf of California. 33 The other three were to the west at Cieneguilla, San Isidoro, and San Antonio or Santa Cruz. 34 Meigs estimated 105 persons on the average to a rancheria, 35 which would make the original population of Mission San Pedro Mártir around 630, with a density of population of .63 persons per square mile, the least for any of the mission areas. 36

The accompanying table shows the population from 1794 down to 1808 inclusive, the last year for which there is a population figure. Three years later, as mentioned above, the Mission's population was transferred to Mission Santo Domingo.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>SPM, II, 8; NMS, I, 741.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 142.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
<td>57 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Antonio &amp; Rafael Caballero, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>55 minors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Antonio &amp; Rafael Caballero, Informe, Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 318.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallas, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 308.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2 SM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 359.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2 SM</td>
<td>2 SW</td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 391.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR</td>
<td>NO.</td>
<td>MEN</td>
<td>WOMEN</td>
<td>BOYS</td>
<td>GIRLS</td>
<td>SOURCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 410.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800 *</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801; NMS, I, 741.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1 SM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 131.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801 *</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arvina, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 186.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the explanation of symbols and abbreviations, cf. Chap. IV.
Although Meigs has statistics on crops for the years 1800 and 1801 only, he says that "there does not seem to have been scarcity of crops." He gives his data for 1800, saying it was the better year. "The crops were: corn, 780 bushels; beans, 208 bushels; wheat, 130 bushels."

The present cultivable land in the valley is fifty acres, which is about what it was in the mission days. The San Pedro Mártir Mission had a unique irrigation system. Meigs writes that "the site was a tiny, mountain-surrounded valley with a floor of only seventy-five acres. From marginal springs a pair of irrigating ditches conducted the water along both sides of the valley at the edges of the fields." While the mission seems to have been short on acreage for cultivation it had plenty of pasturage for the livestock. The accompanying chart shows the amount of seed planted, crops harvested, and numbers of animals for years, not indicated by Meigs.
### Chart of the Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Wheat Seed</th>
<th>Wheat Crops</th>
<th>Barley Seed</th>
<th>Barley Crops</th>
<th>Corn Seed</th>
<th>Corn Crops</th>
<th>Bean Seed</th>
<th>Bean Crops</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 67v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>AL</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart of the Herds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Goats</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Mules</th>
<th>Source for the Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Prov. Int., Vol. 19, fol. 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At the time of his visit to the coastal missions this writer found it impossible to travel from Santo Domingo to San Pedro Mártir, consequently he will have to accept the word of others for his description. The 1795 Informe said that there existed the same buildings mentioned in the last report. There was added in the year one house, completely of adobe, flat roof, with a sala, ten varas long and six and a half varas wide, four bedrooms, eight varas square, one kitchen, four varas square. The 1796 Informe stated that in the course of the year there was built a church, 20 varas long and 8½ varas wide. The church was not completed, lacking doors and adornments. The sacristy was five varas long and 8½ varas wide. The Baptistry was five varas square. There was also added a pozolera (soup kitchen) of stone and mud, seven varas long and five varas wide. The doors were added to the new house. The Informes of 1797 and 1798 indicated no further building during those years. Father Engelhardt wrote that "During the year 1801 the Fathers erected a new church, apparently of adobe, which measured six by twenty-five varas. At the same time they built a long structure which contained a sala, or reception-room, fourteen by seven varas, two rooms each seven by eight varas, and a dispensary or store-room for the eatables, seven by twelve varas."

Meigs, writing about the ruins of the mission, says:

Enough of the walls remain to make possibly a fairly complete reconstruction of the plan (fig. 22). Two or three acres of land adjoining the quadrangle on the east and south are enclosed by a strong stone-and-adobe wall, the one which has been breached by the gully as previously noted. Other niceties observed at this sierra mission were floors partly tiled, for remains of 9 by 9 by 1½ inch red bricks are found. Pieces of red roof tiles are fairly abundant.

The administration of the Frontera missions after Hildalgo's retirement
was in the hands of Father Crisóstomo Cómex, who retired in 1793 and succeeded Hidalgo as Procurator of the Missions, until at least May 18, 1797, on which day he signed a document as Procurator. The next President of the Missions was Caietano Pallas, who was a member of the group of missionaries arriving in Baja California in 1788. He became President before April 10, 1793, for on that date he reported to the Franciscans the death of Fray José Vidaurreta at Mission San José del Cabo on March 22, 1793. He personally founded San Pedro Márír Mission, April 27, 1794, and authorized Fray José Lorierte to found Mission Santa Catalina on November 12, 1797. At the end of Chapter VIII there is given a full page biographical sketch of Pallas' life. He labored until early in 1799 when he retired from Baja California, along with Fathers Juan María Salgado of the 1792 group, and José Lortente of the 1788 group. In one of the rare instances where anyone praised the missionaries Governor Borica gave Father Pallas an excellent testimonial letter with respect to his service in Baja California. The Governor wrote:

I certify that the Very Rev. Fr. Caietano Pallas of the Sacred Order of St. Dominic, ex-lector of theology, has served ten years as local missionary, and six years he has exercised the duties of Presidente and Vicar Forane. During this period he made three extensive journeys to the frontier. On the third journey he made a general visitation to all the missions over roads the most arduous and steep that are known. He personally founded Mission San Pedro Márír. He has continually exercised the greatest zeal in giving catechetical instructions to the pagans, preaching the Word of God and administering the holy Sacraments to the Indians as well as to the Spaniards. He has by his most exemplary conduct and the correct administration of justice given the best example. He has maintained in order what was in his charge, without having, during the period of four years of my command over the province, had the least discord with the government. In order that he who is concerned may solicit the favors conceded to those who have deserved such distinguished merits, I issue this in quadruple at Monterey, September 1, 1798.
The Acta of the Provincial Chapter states that Father Vicente Belda was constituted Vicar Provincial of the Missions, but does not give the date of the appointment, which seems to have been the last half of 1798, since he signed the annual Noticia of 1798, giving the status of all the Dominican missions in Baja California, and as President of the Missions, also signed the Nomina or assignment list, dated October 26, 1798. Belda, who was a member of the third group to Baja California in 1792, was born at Lucchento about 1761, in the Archdiocese of Valencia, and was professed about 1778. He was tall of stature, white color, brown hair and eyes, a small beard, and a scar above the left eyebrow. Upon arrival in Baja California, he was assigned as resident minister at Rosario Mission, from 1792 to 1798. His first baptism was December 23, 1792, his last, August 9, 1798. His first marriage was February 10, 1793, his last, August 8, 1797. His first burial was January 16, 1793, his last, July 8, 1798. He signed the Informes of 1795, 1796, 1797 for Mission Rosario. He became President between August 9, 1798, the date of his last baptism as minister of Rosario, and October 26, the date of his Nomina or assignment list. He was President of the Missions from 1798 to 1802. Then he was assigned to Santa Rosalía de Mulegé. June 12, 1805 he made the request to leave Baja California. As President he, perhaps ill-advised, imposed formal precepts upon the missionaries in the Frontera, and then recognizing his error, he dispensed one missionary after another from carrying them out.

His successor was Fray Rafael Arvíña, who came to Baja California in the third group of 1792. He was born about 1766-1767 in the Village of Alcoi, in
the Kingdom of Valencia. He was of medium height, had fair skin and rosy cheeks, blue eyes, brown hair, and a small beard. He arrived in Mexico from Spain on December 22, 1791, and in Baja California in August or September of 1792. His first assignment was to Mission Guadalupe, from 1792 to 1794. He was assigned to Mission San José del Cabo, from 1795 to 1796. Then he was at Mission Santa Rosalía Mulegé from about October 8, 1796, to about mid-year of 1797. Arrillaga's Nomina list of December 5, 1797, shows him assigned to Mission San Fernando, and he was there until at least January 2, 1799. Then he was at Mission San Ignacio certainly until January 1, 1802, according to President Belda's Nomina list.

On April 28, 1802 Arviña became President of the Missions, with his headquarters at Loreto Mission. He was President until 1804. Bancroft correctly wrote that he "so aroused the friars by his scandalous conduct that he was removed by general request." On January 12, 1803, at least nine Dominican missionaries in the northern district sent to Father Arviña a strong remonstrance. He renewed the formal precepts of former President Belda. The missionaries' letter closes with these words:

Finally, seeing how little Your Very Rev. Paternity conforms to our sacred Constitutions, we supplicate that, in place of studying the laws of the Indies, passing so much time jesting with Estefana, Martina and other Spanish females, and assisting so much at the fandango, you occupy yourself with reading a little more the Dominican Constitutions. Then you will not commit so many absurdities, not be the scorn of the province, nor blacken our honor, as you do now, by communicating to seculars what would be more just to conceal. In witness whereof we sign this in these frontiers on January 12, 1803.

He was succeeded by Fray Miguel Gallego in early 1804, for President Gallego's nomina list of May 17, 1804, shows Arviña again at San Ignacio.
Mission, and Gallego's Nomina list of May 16, 1805, no longer indicates Arviña in Baja California.

Between deaths and retirements the number of missionaries was again diminishing and there was need for a fourth group to come to the aid of the missionaries. The Acta of 1800 records the arrival from Spain of twenty Dominicans in Mexico on July 30, 1796, eight of whom were destined for Baja California. The latter were: Fathers Jaime Codina, Antonio Lázaro, Raimundo Escola, Sigismundo Fontcubierta, Juan Ribaas, Eduardo Surroca, José Cañas, and Plácido Sanz. They arrived at Loreto in August, 1797. A Father Ramón López must have come to Baja California earlier in 1797, for he had a baptism at Mission Rosario on February 26, 1797. He also began to make entries in the Burial Register of Mission San Vicente on April 6, 1797, until at least April 18, 1806. For all practical purposes we may associate him with the group of 1797.

As a concluding thought about Mission San Pedro Mártir, it is well to remember that its most distinctive feature is that it had been founded for purely religious motives, namely for the conversion of the souls of the natives of the Sierra and on the shores of the Gulf of California. The Dominican Prior Provincial of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, Fray Ignacio Gentil, writing to the Viceroy on September 8, 1800, after speaking about the completion of the coastal chain of five missions, said that "The founding of Mission San Pedro Mártir was proceeded with for the purpose of reducing the heathens who remained wild in the Sierra and on the shores of the Gulf of California." So Meigs concludes: "From all points of view San Pedro Mártir
seems to have been a highly developed, picturesque, and unique mission in spite of its isolation."

The story of the explorations preceding the foundations of the Mission of Santa Catalina, Virgen y Márta, has been so well told by Meigs from the geographical viewpoint that it need only be summarized here. As stated above, two places seemed suitable for missions after Arrillaga's exploring expedition of 1793. San Pedro Márta was founded on April 27 of the following year. The other possible site was El Portezuelo, the pass through the mountains of northern Baja California, which, at its 3,000 foot altitude, was along the best route to Sonora. Father Pallas busy with the "annoyances" of San Pedro was, nevertheless, as anxious to put up the new mission of the mountain pass as was the Viceroy and the Governor. But, each wanted a thorough examination of the region. Thus El Portezuelo and the site eight miles away, which became Santa Catalina Mission, came in for the most careful scrutiny in the California annals. The documents on the expeditions rejoiced the heart of Meigs and other geographers.

First, Sergeant José Manuel Ruiz and Fray Tomás Valdellón looked over the water supply. Ruiz suspected that the supply in October of 1794 might be a residue from the plentiful rains of the summer rather than permanent. Pallas on January 22, 1795, recommended the erection of a mission at Portezuelo, but wished first to have a missionary and soldiers pacify the natives for a year. Governor Borica shared Ruiz's distrust about the permanency of the water supply and on March 10 and 11 gave detailed orders to Arrillaga to scout the whole area around El Portezuelo and Santa Catalina before the rains for
suitable sites. 79 Arrillaga delegated Ensign Ildefonso Bernal who took the
list of prime essentials for a site and left San Vicente with Ruiz and a party
on October 18, 1795. 30 He traveled up the arroyo directly to Santa Catalina
and wrote a diary of all he saw in the nine days inspection, which diary was
the first description of the area. He judged that Santa Catalina, Sangre de
Cristo, and San Rafael had a sufficiency of water, fire and building wood,
level land and pasture, but Santa Catalina was the best site. 31 It had a large
plain around which were five rancherias of Indians numbering a total of five
or six hundred, and Indians from five other rancherias who stayed parts of the
year. 32 There was snow from November to April and not much rain during the
other months.

Arrillaga caught the travel fever and during the last half of 1796
practically lived in the saddle while making four explorations. Heins says:
"In 1796 he personally conducted a series of expeditions that for area covered
and detail of observation are without parallel in the early history of the
northern part of the Peninsula." 33 He traveled an estimated five hundred
leagues. His last ride out of San Vicente from October 15 to November 21
took him eastward to Santa Catalina and through El Portesuelo and the mountains
to the Colorado River. He returned westward over the mountains to San Diego,
then southward to San Vicente. He found that no place was more suitable for
a mission than Santa Catalina and he could verify from three visits that the
water was permanent. 34 If, as has been stated, Arrillaga had in mind the
establishment of a mission as a communicating link with Sonora, the Ruíz,
Bernal and Arrillaga explorations show that the main object was simply to
find a place which could support itself. 35 Hidalgo's plan had included both
purposes; to find a suitable place with a great number of souls to harvest, which might become a link in the mission chain to Sonora.

There was evidently the customary correspondence over the foundation between Governor Borica, the Commander General, the Mission Procurator, the President, and Fray José Lorieute, all of which seems to be lost, except a letter of Governor Borica to the Commander General, dated June 7, 1797. Borica quotes Lorieute as saying there were great difficulties holding up the establishment, a lack of tools, seed, and pasture, but that the soldiers from the other missions and the Indians ought to begin building the presidio, the church, and the priest's house.

Apparently, the suggestion was followed, for Borica wrote to the Commander General on September 1, 1797, that the building began on August 6. Lorieute reported that on November 12, 1797, the mission was officially established under the patronage of Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir. The founding fathers were Lorieute and Tomás Valdellón. Lorieute returned to the Mission of Santo Tomás which he had founded earlier and at which he continued as minister until December, 1797. Bancroft stated that "of the mission's early annals in addition to the founding nothing is known." Fortunately, however, there are documents, Noticias and two important Informes, that give a continuous picture of the mission down to and including 1812. The Informes give invaluable statistics on baptisms, marriages, deaths, crops, animals, and buildings.

The mission buildings were erected on a platform of one of the lava hills overlooking the valley and stream. The Informe of December 31, 1797, signed by Valdellón, states that the church was 12 by 6 varas, or 33 by 16.5 feet,
made of adobe and covered with a flat roof. It gives a detailed listing of the furnishings, pictures, vestments, vessels, and describes the statue or carving of Santa Catalina, which was fifty six inches tall. The adobe dwelling of the fathers was 6 by 6 varas, that is, 16\frac{1}{2} feet square. A granary had the same dimensions as the church. There were three workshops 6 by 6 varas and a house of the same size for a women's dormitory. According to the 1798 Informe two more buildings were constructed, each 6 by 5 varas. Engelhardt says that in 1799 two adobe structures were built, measuring 7 by 5 varas, and 6 by 6 varas, and in 1802 another having two rooms each 5 varas square. The whole was surrounded by a rectangular wall about 85 by 65 yards. The only entrance was a gate on the south corner, and the lookout tower was in the northwest corner. Meigs could make no reconstruction of the buildings and walls because of the complete disintegration of the ruins.

The 1797 Informe said that "from November 12, 1797, the date of the foundation of the mission till today, December 31, there were baptized seven pagans, namely, one male adult, 3 women, one boy of pagan parents, 2 girls of pagan parents." However, the population of the Indians registered at the mission was 31 of whom 13 were minors. Why is the number of registered Indians at the mission higher than the number of Indians baptized? Bancroft says that "a number of families were sent from other missions to Santa Catalina," to get the mission started. By the end of 1797 one marriage had been celebrated and one woman had died.

The 1798 Informe stated that "from January 1 to the end of the year there have been baptized seventy-two, namely, 7 men, 11 women, 8 boys of
pagan parents, 45 girls of pagan parents, and one girl of a neophyte. The total number of baptisms from the foundation is 79.\textsuperscript{99} The existing population had grown to 100, of which 66 were minors. During 1798 three marriages had been celebrated, bringing the total to four. There died during the year four persons, namely, one soldier, one boy of the mission, 2 girls, making a grand total of five.

It will be recalled that Arrillaga in July, 1796, had estimated the Indian population at about 500 in five rancherias.\textsuperscript{100} Why were there not more baptisms and a greater population? One good reason might be that the Indians were far too warlike to accept Christianity in such a short time. We remember that Fallas feared their hostility when he suggested on January 22, 1795, that the Dominican padre and the guards should go among the Indians to pacify them and prepare them spiritually. Governor Borica, on December 6, 1797, wrote that on the preceding November 12, with great care and precautions against attack by the Indians, the "mission of Santa Catalina was founded.\textsuperscript{101}

Unfortunately the Informes for the next years are missing, but we do have Noticias, which give the population figures from the foundation down to 1812 inclusive. Note the breakdown of population into men, women, boys, and girls, wherever possible. For the year 1798 there were also listed 2 Spanish men. For the other years, more than likely, the couple of Spaniards were listed among the native population. Meigs in his table of population has only three figures, 133 for 1800, 223 for 1801, and 200 to 300 for 1805. Actually the 1800 population was 193. Bandini, after giving the 1800 breakdown of population, incorrectly added the figures up to 133, instead of 193. There was a
sudden increase of population in 1800 of 193 over the 111 of the year preceding. The accompanying chart indicates the population figures from 1797 to 1812.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2 SM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Borica, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 359.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2 SM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 391.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 410.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Belda, Not., Cal., Vol. 29, fol. 431.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrillaga, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arriña, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 186.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Santa Catalina Mission Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>BOYS</th>
<th>GIRLS</th>
<th>SOURCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gallego, Not., Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 213.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Goycochea, Not., Cal., Vol. 61, fol. 130.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the explanation of symbols and abbreviations, cf. Chap. IV.
Since the mission was founded so late in the year, November 12, 1797, there had been no planting that year. The 1798 Informe says that "there had been sown for the present year six fanegas of wheat, four fanegas and six almudes of barley, and seven almudes of kidney beans." The same Informe says that "there had been harvested fourteen fanegas and eight almudes of wheat, eleven fanegas and eleven almudes of barley, and three almudes of beans."

Relative to the native foods of the Santa Catalina Indians Meigs wrote about the Indians of 1927:

Many important native foods of the area were not found near the coast. These, according to present Indians, include the highly prized, date-like fruit of the "datil"; mesquite bean; the boiled flower-bud of the biznaga; tuna seeds, and various other seeds which were ground into pinole. The delicious roasted head of the mescal was a staple food, as on the coast. The high Sierra Juárez, although not permanently inhabited, was the autumn goal not only of the Santa Catalina Indians, but also of the Cocopa, for the eastern margins of the Sierra abound in pinon groves, yielding another major food.

The following chart gives the statistical tabulation of the numbers of various animals, and indicates the source for the information.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CATTLE</th>
<th>SHEEP</th>
<th>GOATS</th>
<th>HORSES</th>
<th>MULES</th>
<th>SOURCE FOR THE DATA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Bandini MS., May 21, 1801.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Bandini MS., June 29, 1802.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Mission had 146 acres of irrigable lands, composed of three fields, a twenty-five acre strip, the six acre strip, noticed by Ruiz on his original exploration of 1795, and 115 acres in the San Miguel Valley, identified with the ten fanegas of land with which Ruiz had expected to form the chief mission field.105

Besides the mission lands proper there were at least ten, if not twelve, rancherias around the Santa Catalina plain, according to Meigs.106 The names and sites of the squalid villages are duly listed and described by Meigs and are a worthy study for the geographer.107

There was a constant change of missionaries, due to death, sickness, and old age. And so a fifth group of Dominicans from Spain arrived in Mexico on October 28, 1803,108 eleven of whom in turn reached Loreto, July 31, 1804.109 Their names were: José Portela, Ramón de Santos, Bonifacio Gómez de la Pena, Manuel Saiz, Jacinto Fiol, José Miguel de Pineda, Pedro González, Antonio Fernandez, Roque Varela, Tomás Ahumada, and Manuel del Aguil.110

In 1806 two more Dominican fathers came, namely, Fray José Duro, and Fray Bernardo Sola. They sailed from Cádiz, June 16, 1804, and arrived at Vera Cruz, August 13.111 They arrived at Loreto in April or May, 1806.112 The Acta Capitulí Provincialis of 1813 announced that in 1813 five more Dominicans arrived in Mexico, destined for Baja California.113 Their names were: Antonio Menéndez, José Martínez, José Vieytes, Felix Caballero, and Cristóbal de León. It does not seem that the last father went to Baja California, although the Acta of 1813 showed him assigned to Mission Santo Rosalía de Mulegé. The Nomina or assignment list of May 16, 1815—January 1, 1816, does
not show him assigned to any mission in Baja California. The Acta of May 10, 1817, shows him assigned to the Imperial convent of Santo Domingo, in Mexico City. The following list of fathers assigned to Santa Catalina is determined by the Nomina lists of the President of the Missions, and by Informes of the mission, signed by the minister. They were: Tomás Valdellón, 1797-1804; Jacinto Fiol, 1804 to about 1807, Manuel de Aguila, 1807 to February 21, 1809, when he died at the age of thirty, while on a visit to San Miguel. The successors were Antonio Fernández, 1809-1810, José Duro, 1810-1811, Manuel Saiz, 1811-1812. The Nomina lists for May 1812-1815 are missing, but according to Governor Goycoochea's 1812 Noticia, signed May 15, 1813, Mission Santa Catalina was without its own minister, but was administered from San Vicente. According to the Nomina lists Antonio Fernández from San Vicente serviced Santa Catalina, 1815-1817. There are no Nomina lists for May 1817-1819. Felix Caballero was in charge of Mission Catalina from 1819-1839, along with San Miguel, and much later also the last two Missions, Descanso and Guadalupe. From 1840 to 1850 Tomás Mansilla was in charge of the whole Frontera.

Mission Santa Catalina had a distinctive character. Its history was especially marked by the unruliness of the Indians and its isolation as an outpost of an outpost.
2. Provincial State Papers, XXI, 84.
3. Meigs, pp. 8-9; Lake and Gray, Clavigero's History of (Lower) California, pp. 358-360.
4. His four page report or diary is in the Historia Collection, Vol. 52, at the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City. A transcript of it is at Bancroft Library. The map or pencil drawing is in Stephens Collection, no. 117, and shows the same route as indicated in the report.
6. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Provincial Records, VI, 139.
17. Bancroft, I, 731.
18. Rule 55 of Hidalgo's One Hundred Regulations, discussed in Chapter VII.

23. Cf. Pallas's Nomina list of May 15, 1794 to October 15, 1795, Mis., Vol. 10, fol. 1; Pallas's Nomina list of January 1-October 8, 1796, Mis., Vol. 10, fol. 21. They are not named in Arrillaga's Nomina list of December 5, 1797, in the Provincial Records, VIII, 215.

24. Engelhardt, I, 580, 739; cf. the Calif., Vol. 73, for an expediente of about ten folios on their retirement.


27. Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 93.


29. Ibid., Vol. 19, fol. 61.


31. Meigs, pp. 73, 148, 154.

32. Ibid., pp. 129, 140.

33. Ibid., pp. 127, 133, 139.

34. Ibid., p. 139.

35. Ibid., p. 133.

36. Ibid., pp. 139-140.

37. Ibid., p. 129.

38. Ibid., p. 130.

39. Ibid., p. 148.

40. Mis., Vol. 2, fol. 68.

41. Ibid., Vol. 2, fol. 94.

42. Engelhardt, I, 628.

43. Meigs, p. 131.
44. Mis., Vol. 10, fol. 25.
45. Engelhardt, I, 580.
46. Ibid., I, 580-581.
47. Acta of 1800, p. 49; Calif., Vol. 29, fol. 391; cf. his Nomina list of October 26, 1798, in the Calif., Vol. 73.
49. Mis., Vol. 9, about two-thirds way through the volume.
50. Engelhardt, I, 714.
52. Calif., Vol. 59, for a 24 folio expediente on the retirement of Fathers Belda, Arviña, and Timon.
53. Engelhardt, I, 714.
55. Mis., Vol. 9, about two-thirds way through the volume.
56. Prov., Int., Vol. 5, fols. 325-328 for the report and Nomina list, dated September 30, 1793, by the Prior-Provincial, Domingo de Gandarias; also the Prov. Int., Vol. 1, fol. 8, for another Nomina list.
57. Mis., Vol. 10, fols. 2 and 4, for Pallas’s Nomina lists of October 5, 1795, and January 1, 1796.
58. Mis., Vol. 10, fols. 21 and 23, for Pallas’s Nomina lists of October 8, 1796 and January 20, 1797.
60. Calif., Vol. 73, toward the end of the volume, for Belda’s Nomina list of January 2, 1799.
61. Calif., Vol. 53, which has an eleven folio expediente on sinodos and alms for 1801, including Belda’s Nomina list of January 1, 1802.
62. Engelhardt, I, 582. Arviña informed Father Lasuén of Belda’s resignation, and that he then had taken possession of the office of President on April 28, 1802.

64. Engelhardt, I, 741-743, citing the Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco, document no. 230.

65. Engelhardt, I, 743.

66. Calif., Vol. 59, for Calleoo's Nomina list of May 17, 1804.


68. Ibid., p. 5.

69. Bancroft, I, 734, citing the Provincial Records, VIII, 212-213.

70. Rosario Baptism Register, baptism no. 1315.

71. San Vicente Burial Register, and Engelhardt, I, 623.

72. Meigs, p. 29.


74. Meigs, p. 131.

75. Ibid., pp. 31-37, 119-125.

76. Provincial State Papers, XIII, 117; Bancroft, I, 731.

77. Provincial State Papers, XII, 117.

78. Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco, I, 112; Savage's Extract, I, 43. The Bancroft Library has some copies and extracts of the Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco, entitled: "Copias y extractos hechos por Savage, Pina Corina y Martinez para la Bancroft Library, 1876."


80. Meigs, p. 32; We know that Ruiz accompanied Bernal from Ruiz' report of December 1, 1795, contained in the Provincial State Papers, XIII, 249-251. Governor Borica set forth instructions to guide Bernal in the selection of the best site, contained in the Provincial State Papers, XIII, 251-256.

82. Meigs, pp. 33-34; Bancroft, I, 731.

83. Ibid., p. 34; cf. Bancroft, I, 731-732, for his version of Arrillaga's explorations.


85. Ibid., I, 732; Meigs, pp. 35-36.


87. Ibid., V, 370.

88. State Papers, Missions, II, 115. Bancroft, I, 732, says that Santa Catalina was founded some twenty leagues north-east of San Vicente. Meigs, p. 147, writes that Santa Catalina was thirty miles northeast of San Vicente.

89. Bancroft, I, 732.

90. Engelhardt, I, 563, 574.


93. The Informe of 1797 says the statue's height was seven cuartas. A cuarta is a span of the hand, one-fourth of a vara or about eight inches.


95. Engelhardt, I, 630.

96. Meigs, p. 122, for the so-called reconstructed floor plan of the mission.


98. Bancroft, I, 735.


100. Bancroft, I, 731.
103. Ibid.
104. Meigs, p. 121.
105. Ibid., pp. 123-125.
106. Ibid., pp. 33-34, 120.
107. Ibid., p. 120.
110. Acta of 1804, pp. 6-7; Mis., Vol. 4, fols. 298v-300.
111. Ibid., Vol. 4, fol. 312-312v.
112. Engelhardt, I, 593.
113. Acta of 1813, p. 8. Their names and biographical data are given on p. 9.
114. Calif., Vol. 45, fol. 96, has President Ramón López's Nomina list.
117. Calif., Vol. 61, fol. 147.
118. Meigs, pp. 125, 147.
CHAPTER XI

DESCANSO AND GUADALUPE MISSIONS, AND THE MISSIONS CHASE

During the momentous events taking place over the world in the first half of the nineteenth century there is little wonder that the secluded missions of Lower California became forgotten details of history. It is generally supposed that the Dominicans faded away and that records of the dissolution of the Frontera chain are lacking. Quite the contrary is true. There are enough materials for writing another dissertation on the missions beyond the period covered in this study. Moreover, the process of dissolution of the Dominicans and their missions extended over a period of fifty years under highly complex circumstances. To describe the process would require a very long chapter, but some interesting phases should be pointed out. The modification of the mission and of the status of the missionary was gradual. The peninsular missions which survived became first quasi-parishes and included in their services whites as well as Indians, then parishes under diocesan control. Mission lands were gradually allotted to Indians and sold or allotted to whites. At least one mission was essentially a garrison, to whose church soldiers and settlers could come and Indians were invited. Most of the missions became small settlements or villages and the people were attended occasionally by visiting priests. The Dominican fathers' status likewise changed to that of quasi-pastor, chaplain, pastor, and visiting priest.
In these changes international and colonial events were factors. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 opened up far more abundant lands and mines than anything Lower California had to offer. Yankees streamed into Texas and Upper California but Lower California was off the beaten path. Napoleon's occupation of Spain and Portugal in 1807 and 1808, cut lines of communication with Spain and with Rome so that officials and churchmen acted without higher direction. In New Spain the governments were in constant crises from the times of Hidalgo's revolt in 1810 until 1876. Iturbide's Empire after the emancipation of Mexico soon gave way to military dictators, especially Santa Anna, under whom Texas became independent and the war with the United States occurred. Even though the United States fleet captured Lower California, it was quite willing to give the peninsula back to Mexico, so useless was the land.

In particular, the neglect and decline of Lower California began, according to Bancroft, in 1804 when the two Californias were separated.1 Captain Felipe de Goycochea was made Governor of the peninsula and all of the Frontera missions were below the boundary line set at the Rio Rosario. Ships with badly needed supplies from the mainland became less and less frequent, and the materials they brought were fewer in quantity and poorer in quality.2 As stated previously, the British, Russian and American ships were putting in more frequently with better supplies to barter for meat, hides, sea otter pelts, fruits and vegetables. The governor forbade trade of any sort with the foreigners, and in fact ordered settlers, soldiers and missionaries to destroy any surplus products rather than have them get into the hands of the foreigners.3
As no pay was forthcoming to the soldiers and no sínodos to the friars and as the foreigners could loot the missions, secret traffic with foreigners went on at first, then was condoned by the governor, and when the officials' pay did not arrive even the governors engaged in the trade. Bancroft lists ten American ships that traded with Lower California and says others did not leave records. Captain Wilcox of the Traveller finding the people of Loreto in hunger, made a special trip to Alta California to bring back supplies.

The chief resort of the vessels was San Quentin (sic) Bay, within range of several missions, where otters were plentiful and salt could be had in abundance. Many a fête champêtre was held upon this far-away beach, and the strange company that assembled there made a striking picture, black-robed (sic) friars, sailors, and swarthy natives, with occasionally a sprinkling of Aleuts from Alaska, forming a heterogeneous crowd of festive traders.¹

The lack of supplies and pay, and of course money for travel expenses of the missionaries and foundation money for missions, contributed to a decline in the number of missionaries. According to Lieutenant Governor Arrillaga's report to Governor Borica on December 5, 1797, there were 29 Dominicans operating 18 missions in Lower California. Twelve fathers were caring for the seven Dominican founded missions of the Frontera.⁵ According to the Nomina list, certified by the President, Fray Ramón López, for 1811-1812, there were 17 padres serving 17 missions including 6 missionaries in the 6 missions of the Frontera.⁶ San Pedro Mártir had been closed in early 1811. A comparison of the names reveals that none of the missionaries of 1797 remained in 1812, as can be seen on the accompanying table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Missionaries: 1797</th>
<th>Missionaries: 1812</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rosario</td>
<td>Vicente Belda</td>
<td>José Caulas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>Miguel Abad, Jaime Codina</td>
<td>José Duro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>Ramón López, Sigismundo Fontcubierta</td>
<td>Antonio Fernández</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Miguel</td>
<td>Mariano Yoldi, Raymundo Escola</td>
<td>Tomás Ahumada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Tomás</td>
<td>José Leriente, Miguel López</td>
<td>José Miguel de Pineda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pedro Martir</td>
<td>Mariano Apolinario, Juan Ribas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catalina</td>
<td>Tomás Valdellón</td>
<td>Manuel Sais</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is reason to believe that in 1812 Mission San Miguel no longer had a resident missionary and that Father Ahumada by that time had moved the Indians and cattle north to Descanso. This leads us to the question of the date of the foundation of Mission Descanso. Meigs estimated the date as approximately 1817. Engelhardt was not certain of the time since he was not sure of the date of arrival and departure of Ahumada from San Miguel. With the following documents it is possible now to make out a reasonably accurate date. Ahumada tells us the following:

This mission (San Miguel) lost its irrigable lands in some floods, when I had just recently come to it, and I moved the mission to Descanso, which is eight leagues to the north where there are some moist lands. This ground was located beside the Arroyo del Mogano, where wheat and barley are grown by dry farming with some abundance. I discovered a valley which I named Santo Domingo, where there is more than sufficient land for any kind of cultivation at any time of the year. A beautiful lagoon provides the moisture throughout the whole year, offering abundant soil suitable for growing corn and frijoles. There are a church and living quarters for all seasons of the year.

In San Marcos (to the east of San Miguel) one can direct at small cost a river of water which descends a nearby sierra and is lost in a sandy arroyo. It is the one that brought the above-mentioned flood to the ruined mission. Fr. Ahumada.

When did Ahumada arrive at San Miguel? He first set foot on Baja California soil at Loreto on July 31, 1804. From the Nomina lists and the Burial Book of San Borja Mission we find that he was stationed at San Borja from 1805 to 1809, making his last entry in the book on June 19, 1809. He is listed at San Miguel from 1809 through May, 1812. The lists for May 1812, 1813, and 1814 are missing, but the Nomina list for May, 1815, dated January 1, 1816, shows him at Mission Santa Rosalía de Mulegé. He most probably left the Frontera missions a year previously, since his last baptisms took place.
at San Fernando between February 5 and February 10, 1815. Ahumada's stay at San Miguel and Descanso was between June 19, 1809 and February 5, 1815, the extreme dates. He had been assigned to San Miguel in May, 1809, and reached the mission after June 19, and very soon after his arrival saw its land washed away. He transferred his headquarters to Descanso most probably between the middle of 1809 and the following year.

The word headquarters is used advisedly, since the name of San Miguel persists in the records. There were buildings at both sites, though it is not known when the adobe structures at Descanso were built. It seems clear that Ahumada was actually writing from San Miguel, for he writes as though Descanso were eight leagues away, and in his second paragraph he refers to San Marcos, which was east of San Miguel, and describes the river that washed away the lands of San Miguel. This in no wise fits in with Descanso. He and his successor, Fray Felix Caballero, most likely were using either of the missions as headquarters. Caballero transferred his residence to San Miguel at an unknown time, but in 1830 refounded Descanso.

Father Felix Caballero looms as a notable figure in the history of the frontier missions, in fact, he was at one time the only Dominican priest in all the Frontera. Young Caballero, a deacon, along with Fathers Antonio Menéndez and José Martínez arrived at Vera Cruz on December 19, 1812, while Fray José Vieytes arrived the preceding June 2 at Vera Cruz. José Martínez, Antonio Menéndez and Felix Caballero, now ordained, left for Baja California in July of 1814. José Vieytes arrived in Baja California on December 25, 1815. The first notice of Caballero's presence in the Frontera is his
record of a burial at Mission San Vicente on December 15, 1814. He had left the mainland in July of that year. Apparently, he soon went to San Miguel to take Ahumada's place, since he had been assigned to San Miguel in May, 1815. Caballero remained in the northern Frontera for the next twenty-four years until late 1839, when he was forced by the Guadalupe Indian insurrection to go south to Loreto. In 1840 he was at Mission San Ignacio and there died on July 11 of that year.

When Caballero took up his abode at San Miguel about May, 1815, there were five missionaries in the Frontera serving the seven missions and all told seventeen fathers were in Lower California. Antonio Menéndez at Rosario had also to take care of San Fernando. José Duro was at Santo Domingo; Antonio Fernández at San Vicente also had care of Santa Catalina. José Miguel de Pineda was at Santo Tomás, and Felix Caballero was at San Miguel, as mentioned above.

On May 21, 1819, two more Dominican arrived in Baja California, namely, Francisco Troncoso and Domingo Luna. The Nomina lists of May, 1819-1822, show the following six Dominicans in the Frontera, namely, Francisco Troncoso at Rosario and tending to San Fernando, Domingo Luna at Santo Domingo, Antonio Menéndez at San Vicente, José Miguel de Pineda at Santo Tomás, José Martínez at San Miguel, and Felix Caballero at Santa Catalina. After 1822 the missionaries were laboring night and day to take care of the Christian Indians in two or several missions. Caballero was for a while busy restoring Santa Catalina. In general the tendency was to center attention on the coastal chain of missions, in view of the presence of foreigners, and to
let the mountain chain get along as best it could. Thus San Fernando, abandoned San Pedro Mártir, and Santa Catalina became practically visitas or missions of a mission.

A great change came over the mission scene in 1822. The first great episode occurred on February 17 when Admiral Thomas Cochrane, of the fleet aiding in the liberation of Peru from Spain, sent two of his ships disguised as whalers to explore Lower California. On February 17, 1822, the Independencia entered the harbor of San José del Cabo, at the lower tip of the peninsula, not knowing that Mexico was then independent. The mission and church of San José del Cabo were sacked, and the brig Alción, laden with tallow, was seized. Two days later, February 19, nine of the soldiers were sent to Mission Todos Santos to loot the mission, imprison the missionary-pastor, and burn a ship. The helpless people watched the orders being carried out until the soldiers captured some women. In a fury they slew three soldiers on the beach and attacked six desecrating their church. Two were killed and four captured, three of whom were badly wounded. Another commander of the Araucano had gone to Loreto, the seat of the government of the peninsula, and had looted the town and mission, taking all of Governor Argüello's possessions.20

The fright of the invasion had hardly worn off before news of the emancipation of New Spain from old Spain reached the peninsula. Canon Agustín Fernández de San Vicente and his retinue arrived at Loreto in June, 1822, to announce that Agustín Iturbide was Emperor Agustín I of the Empire of Mexico.21 As imperial commissioner Fernández was to ask allegiance of
the people of Lower California and to request the resignations of the former officials appointed by the viceroy and the king. He was to make appointments and introduce "reforms" which were chiefly concerned with the missions. How the Dominicans subscribed to the new government, to Independencia, and to the Plan of Iguala is told in a series of official letters dating from February 19 to July 7, 1822. 22

The Secretary of State wrote a report and instructions, dated February 19, 1822, stating that at the end of the preceding year an order was sent to the Bishop of Sonora to secularize the California missions, that is, to have them transferred to diocesan priests. The Franciscans of Upper California were willing to make the change. An order was given to make an inventory of all goods and properties in both Californias, so that both the Church and the State would get what was just for each, and an account was to be submitted to the Real Hacienda. A final decision was to be made by the Imperial Cortes. 23

Evidently the Provincial of the Dominicans in Mexico, Fray Luis Carrasco, received the order and made his report on March 18, 1822. Carrasco listed the missions, the missionaries, and the lack of supplies, and adds that a total of 15,650 pesos in back pay was owing to the missionaries. He added that two years previously the Spanish Cortes had suppressed the missions and that the missionaries were isolated from the Bishop of Sonora by decree, but at this time he did not know what the conditions were. In the preceding September they had taken the case to the Governor, who told the fathers to continue the system as it had been. Carrasco said that he did not know
whether the missionaries had sworn to Independence or not, but he felt sure they would. He had named Fray Antonio Sánchez as prelate, with Fray Pedro González as alternate, and both were seniors with great influence over the rest. He had sent them a eulogy on "our glorious independence" and had no doubt about their obedience.

José Manuel Ruiz, the Lieutenant in charge at Loreto, wrote on May 17, 1822, to Governor Argüello, that the missionaries of the Frontera were awaiting the orders of their Provincial to take the oath, but he adds, "who knows if afterward some will refuse to do so." There is a series of official letters and testimonials of the appointments of the city officials and of the oaths taken by officials, soldiers, and people. The occasions generally began solemnly with Mass in the morning and ending with salutes and celebrations. The interesting document, for this study, is one signed by the city council on July 7, 1822, describing the oaths taken by the Dominicans at Loreto. Bells were rung, artillery salutes were fired, and the officials and people gathered in the church for solemn Mass. Fray Tomás Ahumada preached an eloquent sermon, energetically exhorting all to take the oath of allegiance to the Empire. After the Mass a portable altar was set up, on which was placed a crucifix and a bible. There the three missionaries swore obedience to the Sovereign Congress before the Commissioner, Dr. Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, Prebend of the Cathedral of Durango. Then Governor Argüello made his oath and was followed by the city council, the captains, the troops, and the citizens. San Vicente then addressed the new citizens of the Empire and jubilation reigned. In like manner the questions were asked and the
oaths administered in other towns or missions.

The reforms were practically a death blow to mission life. The mission Indians were to be under the general supervision of the Dominicans, but they were to be freed of labor controls. They were to elect their own supervisor or majordomo instead of the one appointed by the fathers. The missionaries were ordered to make inventories and check the majordomo's allotments and financial returns. Instead of considering the hardships, the charity, the hunger, and the self-sacrifice of the missionaries, Bancroft says of them:

Great was their indignation at this encroachment upon their time-honored paternal rights - that is, to compel the Indians to work for a scanty allowance of poor food and poorer clothing; to submit to any chastisement the padres saw fit to inflict, and to have no thought of anything in life except the repetition of a few prayers parrotwise, and the enrichment of the mission. They predicted disaster both to the mission establishments and to the Indians from such extension of liberty to beings unfit for its enjoyment, and events justified the assertion, moderate and just as were the privileges granted. The neophytes surrendered themselves to dissipation and idleness, allowed themselves to be guided by interested schemers, and declined rapidly in condition and number. Their decadence would probably have been more rapid but for the united efforts of padres and settlers, for their own advantage, to maintain the former domination, and to ignore the regalamento.

These general remarks are made in a footnote by Bancroft or his writers without a citation of authorities.

Of record on May 15, 1822, there were 16 Dominicans in the 17 missions of Lower California. The Nomina lists of May, 1819, through May 1822, which were the last until 1830, show the following six fathers in the Frontera, as mentioned above: Francisco Troncoso, who arrived in May, 1819, was at Rosario and served San Fernando; Domingo Luna, who came with Troncoso, was at Santo Domingo; Antonio Menéndez was at San Vicente, José Miguel de
Pineda at Santo Tomás, José Martínez at San Miguel, and Caballero at Santa Catalina.

In the course of the eventful year of 1822 this number was cut in half. Troncoso became very ill, and left before August 29 for Mexico, the last resident missionary of Rosario. Luna, the last resident missionary of Santo Domingo, left the Frontera after August 29, and before October 3, 1822. The Acta Capituli Provincialis of April 29, 1826, showed him assigned to Mission Purísima Concepción Cadegomo. José Martínez of San Miguel Mission, the last full-time resident missionary there, left the Frontera before October 3, 1822, and went to the southern area of the peninsula, where he served as many as seven missions until his death on June 18, 1836. On October 3, 1822, Father Pineda wrote:

In the whole frontier district we are no more than three Fathers. Fr. Felix Caballero administers San Miguel and Santa Catalina. I attend my Santo Tomás, and the Father of San Vicente (Antonio Menéndez) administers what is impossible, San Vicente, Santo Domingo, Rosario and San Fernando.

The more "impossible" soon happened for Father Menéndez left San Vicente to become a military chaplain in Upper California in 1825, and Pineda died, according to the Acta of April 29, 1826. Father Caballero was alone on the Frontera. There were only eight Dominicans in the whole peninsula, seven in the south, and Caballero on the Frontera, and as mentioned, Fray Antonio Menéndez was in Upper California, first at San Diego, then at Santa Barbara.

In Mexico City Emperor Iturbide did not last long. Santa Anna and the republicans banished Iturbide in 1823 and established the federation of states with the new constitution of 1824. Lieutenant-Colonel José María de Echeandia
arrived at Loreto in June, 1825, as civil and military commander of both Californias. He called an assembly which included the military leaders and the nine Dominicans.38 By July 10 the governmental reorganization had been made. Lower California was divided into four districts, each with a seat of government: Cabo de San Lucas, whose head town was first Todos Santos and then La Paz in 1830; Loreto, headed by the town of Loreto; Santa Gertrudis, with the old mission was made head of the area; and San Pedro Martir, with San Vicente as the seat of government. Each of the "county seats" was to have a town council, composed of an alcalde, two aldermen, a treasurer, and secretary, and two aldermen were to be at each of the seventeen recognized missions. All were appointed by the Political Chief of the peninsula. The first of these deputies, Lieutenant José M. Padres, was installed at Loreto in October, 1825, just before Echeandia began his tour northward to Upper California, where he was to establish his capital.39 He took with him Father Antonio Menéndez of San Vicente Mission to be the military chaplain at San Diego.40

Before Echeandia left he issued orders which further secularized most of the peninsular missions. His Regalamento of August 19, 1825, stated that enough of the mission lands to support the Indians was to be given them as community property and this was to be administered by two majordomos elected by the Indians at each mission. Grain was to be given to the Indians for starting farms, and implements for cultivation. They were to get half of the major and minor animals at each mission, while the missionaries were to use the other half to support themselves and the churches. Although no
diocese was designated the friars were to act as parish priests, serving both settlers and Indians of two or more missions and were under the surveillance of alcaldes and majordomos.\textsuperscript{42}\textsuperscript{1} The lands around the missions formerly administered by the missionaries gradually got out of the hands of the Indians and missionaries. Some acres were declared to be national property which could be set aside for homes of officials, official buildings, or could be sold, rented or granted to private individuals. Apparently, this process of spoliation did not progress very far before 1830, since settlers were not being attracted to the land and the left-over places were clearly of no value.

In 1825 two Dominicans, Tomás Mansilla and Gabriel González, came to the missions in Baja California.\textsuperscript{42}\textsuperscript{2} Rojo says that Félix Caballero and Tomás Mansilla accompanied Echeandía on his 1825 tour of Baja California, and that he then left both the fathers in charge of the Frontera missions.\textsuperscript{43}\textsuperscript{3} Actually Caballero was already in the Frontera, as early as December 15, 1819, since he had a burial at San Vicente on that date and certainly was assigned to Mission San Miguel, by May of 1815, as indicated above. If Mansilla accompanied Echeandia to the Frontera in 1825 then he returned immediately to Mission San José de Comondú, because his signature appears in the Burial Register of that mission from November 27, 1825 to October 21, 1826. We know that Mansilla was stationed at Mission Santo Tomás in 1829.\textsuperscript{44}\textsuperscript{4} Since Antonio Menéndez was no longer at San Vicente and there were no resident ministers at Rosario and Santo Domingo, Mansilla served those missions also.\textsuperscript{45}\textsuperscript{5} On December 31, 1829, Mansilla drew up a census of Mission San Vicente, showing
the population figure of 11,2 souls. By the end of 1829 there were only two padres in the Frontera, namely, Mansilla at Santo Tomás and Caballero at San Miguel. The Acta of 1830 showed eight Dominicans in the Californias, five in the south, two in the Frontera, and one in Alta California.

After 1828 when the first presidential term of four years in Mexico was completed, the country was, as it continued to be, poverty stricken. Revolutions followed almost annually until 1876. In 1830 a new series of secularization decrees were issued covering the old mission lands of the country and particularly Alta and Baja California. The plan seems to have been to pay the soldiers and officials of Baja California in kind, since the national and state treasuries were empty and the missions were not able to produce sufficient commodities for trade with foreigners. By these decrees of 1830 all but three of the missions were secularized. This system aimed to elevate the Indians almost to the dignity of independent citizenship. Bancroft wrote that:

The unhappy natives gradually deserted the now inhospitable missions, wandering about the hills and beaches looking for food. Occasionally they would work for the recommense of a little watered atole twice a day, and a breech-clout and blanket every two years, being withal badly treated everywhere. Epidemics and local diseases, moreover, combined to ravage their enfeebled ranks.

The seven Dominican Fathers were forced to support themselves, as some of their letters indicate.

Outstanding among those who did make something of a livelihood for the faithful Indians and the soldiers was Caballero. He reorganized first around Descanso, getting the Indians to work the fields and tend the herds. He thus built up a surplus of products for trade. He made annual trips down the coast to get pay for the soldiers. He organized annual hunts for the sea otters
and provided the equipment, which produced some revenue from pelts.\textsuperscript{49}

Descanso, which he refounded in 1830, has been called the eighth mission founded by the Dominicans, but from the preceding it could not be called a mission in the earlier sense of the word.

As we said above, Father Ahumada was the first to found Mission Descanso about 1810, which became known as New San Miguel, while Old San Miguel still retained its identity and was often called Mision Vieja. At an unknown date Caballero moved the headquarters from Descanso back to San Miguel, and then in 1830 refounded Descanso. The Rojo manuscript states that:

In the year of 1830 he (Padre Caballero) founded the Mission of Descanso, four leagues to the north of Mission San Miguel, which from then on was called Mision Vieja, which name has remained, almost leaving forgotten the name of San Miguel, given at the time of its foundation. Descanso had much more and better agricultural lands than the Mission of San Miguel.\textsuperscript{50}

Some miles south of Descanso was San Miguel.\textsuperscript{51} East of San Miguel about twelve miles the Guadalupe Valley began.\textsuperscript{52} The end of the valley nearest to San Miguel was called San Marcos Valley, which was fertile and especially suitable for grazing. Caballero was anxious to continue his organization of the Frontera and to adjust to the new conditions of life. The care of the souls and the bodily welfare of the white settlers were his concern. Therefore, in 1834 he established the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the San Marcos Valley --- for whites! According to the manuscript of Manuel C. Rojo, Caballero built a church large enough to have a choir loft.\textsuperscript{53} This was evidently meant to be the center of an agricultural and grazing population, like so many churches built in our mid-western lands. While some of the writers have called Guadalupe a mission, it was that only in its physical
appearance. It might be called a mission church, or an incipient parish.

As such it was a novelty in La Frontera. Caballero chose a patriotic name and the most well-known patroness of Mexico for his new project.

Another interesting change was introduced. Rojo says:

In the month of June of 1834, he began to found the Mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. . . . Father Caballero employed in the workshops of this new mission the pagan Indians of the tribe of Chief Jatínil, who came down from the Sierra de Neji, where they were located, and mingled with the whites, without causing the least harm. Rather, they always helped the soldiers of the garrison very well to pursue and punish the Indians of the other tribes who rose against them.

Little wonder is it then that the valley became secure and prosperous.

Guadalupe became, as Meigs surmised, the headquarters of the Frontera escolta, protected by seventeen soldiers in 1840. Caballero, "very active, intelligent, and enterprising," according to Rojo, brought energy and work to the whole area, and seems to have been the chief support of the missionaries of the rest of the peninsula. Rojo says that in 1840 Caballero's cattle numbered by count 1915. In the midst of such travels and work, Caballero wrote his sermons, notes or diaries of his voyages, letters to his superiors, to the Supreme Government, to various authorities, besides statistics and reports on the Lower California missions.

By 1834 three of the seven Dominicans in the peninsula were either dead or had returned to Mexico. There were four padres in the peninsula, two in the south and two in the north. With Caballero in the Frontera was Mansilla, who was stationed at Santo Tomás since 1829, and traveled from his station to San Vicente, Santo Domingo, Rosario, and San Fernando. For all the southern missions there were only two fathers, but early in 1835 Fray Ignacio Ramírez
and Fray José Morquecho arrived to join Gabriel González and José Martínez. 

About 1832 Caballero was appointed Vicar-Provincial and President of the Lower California missions, succeeding Domingo Luna, whose term of office was from 1828 to 1832. In March of 1836 Caballero obtained the services of three Mercedarians to help in the south, and also the Dominican Fray Juan Martínez. The coming of Martínez did not increase the number of Dominicans for long, since another Dominican, José Martínez, died June 18, 1836. According to Caballero's list of the padres, certified on December 20, 1836, there were in the south four Dominicans and the three Mercedarians, and two Dominicans in the Frontera, namely, Mansilla and Caballero. Apparently to organize better, Caballero was in Loreto in 1838 and back on the frontier in 1839.

A considerable amount of misinformation has been printed about the turmoil in Lower California between 1839 and 1843. It would require pages to correct the statements made by Bancroft and liberal Mexican historians and to offer new documentation. Caballero, for example, was accused by Bancroft of abducting the wives of Indians. No date was given. No names, places, nor circumstances were mentioned. Caballero was said by Rojo to have been forced to flee from the Frontera by an Indian uprising, without having time to collect his belongings, but the reason given by Rojo was that Chief Jataníl was angered because Caballero had baptized by force some of his Indians. Rojo gives the date of the flight as 1840. But it seems to have been in October of 1839, when his mission of Guadalupe was sacked by the Indians. Caballero died at Mission San Ignacio on July 11, 1840. Fray Gabriel González was appointed President and Vicar-Provincial. On December
10, 1840, González notified Señor Jefe Politico, Don Luis del Castillo Negrete, at la Paz, that he had been appointed President and Vicar-Provincial of the Baja California missions on October 10, 1840, by the Prior-Provincial, Fray Francisco López Cancelada. On December 3, 1840, González informed the missionary fathers of Lower California that he was appointed President and Vicar Provincial, and that Ignacio Ramírez replaced Antonio Morquecho as Vice-President of the Missions.

There is a block of documentation on González, who guided the missionaries of the peninsula for the next fifteen years. Since his activities pertained chiefly to the south there can be only a brief review of the nature of the turmoil there. After a disastrous flood at Loreto in 1829, the government seat of Lower California was moved first to Todos Santos and then to La Paz. The Jefe Politico, Don Luis del Castillo Negrete, had plans for building up the port, and among other improvements had started a school for the children of settlers. Apparently a real estate boom was in progress. The only land in any way suitable for farms and ranches and thus far untaken was that set aside to support the churches. This acreage was now to be secularized because Negrete needed money.

Under this threat Caballero had arrived from the north. Within a year he was dead. Negrete decided that Caballero's property and goods should go to the government, since Caballero had died intestate. Vicar-Provincial González, knowing that Caballero had nothing in his own name and was merely administering for his Order and the Church, began a campaign of protest. Rojo quotes the whole story, but according to a follower of Negrete. This
witness said that González and Father Juan Martínez went to every ranch and settlement proclaiming that Negrete was a dictator and tyrant, confiscating properties without regard to law. He accused the Padres of fomenting what became known as the "Rebellion of 1842." Settlers and citizens to the number of fifty armed themselves. Negrete called out the troops. There was an eventful night. Then González took his case to Mexico and returned vindicated. Negrete was recalled and the confiscated properties were ordered to be restored, and moreover in 1843 Governor Micheltorena of Upper California ordered all lands not duly bought or deeded to be restored to their owners.

Bancroft says of Negrete: "He ruled with great energy and prudence till 1842, and introduced most commendable land reforms and colonization measures."

On January 15, 1841, Gabriel González sent a report to Negrete that there were three Dominicans and two Mercedarians in the south, and one Dominican in the North. Ramirez was still at San José del Cabo, González, at Todos Santos, and Morquecho at San Antonio. Sotomayor, the Mercedarian, was at Loreto, and Torres, the Mercedarian, was at Santa Rosalía, and attending San Ignacio. Tomás Mansilla, the Dominican, had jurisdiction over the whole northern frontier. Apparently Amada Aldana, the third Mercedarian, had left the peninsula.

The invasion of the United States troops in 1846 and the American occupation for three years left Lower California in a disturbed condition. The history of this is narrated by Bancroft. One striking point was the declaration of the American commander that all the people of Lower California were to be regarded as citizens of the United States. That Father González,
the Dominicans and the Mercedarians did not accept the new honor is clear from Bancroft's remark that the padres, particularly Gabriel González and Sotomayor, the Mercedarian, went about exhorting the Californians to resist the Americans. 77

After the departure of Caballero in 1839, Fray Tomás Mansilla was left alone to care for all the churches and people of La Frontera. On February 22, 1841, Fray José de Santa Cruz, the last Dominican appointed to Lower California, began his journey to Baja California. 78 He arrived in June of 1841 and was assigned to San José del Cabo. 79 His arrival did not help the situation very much because on October 6, 1841, José Morquecho, in charge of the mining town of San Antonio, died. Ramírez replaced Morquecho at San Antonio. 80 There were still in the south the two Mercedarians and the three Dominicans, Ramírez, González, and José de Santa Cruz, while Mansilla continued on alone in the Frontera. In 1842, the Mercedarian, Father Ausencio Torres, went to La Frontera to help Mansilla. 81 On April 29, 1844, José de Santa Cruz, who spent his three years in Baja California at Mission San José del Cabo, left for Mazatlán and returned to Mexico. 82 The Mercedarian, Father Torres, who had been granted permission to return to Mexico on account of poor health, October 17, 1843, finally embarked from La Paz for Mexico, June 14, 1845. 83

In 1843 Gabriel González was named Vicar Forane by the Right Reverend García Diego y Moreno, the Franciscan who had become Bishop of both Californias in 1840. 84 Just about the time the war came to the peninsula Bishop Diego died, April 30, 1846, and for the next four years the see of the Californias
was vacant, obviously because of the war. The next Bishop was the Dominican, Right Reverend José Sadoc Alemany, who ruled the vast Diocese of Monterey from June 30, 1850, until July 29, 1853, when he was promoted to the newly erected metropolitan see of San Francisco. 85

During the United States-Mexican war there were three Dominicans and one Mercedarian for the whole peninsula, all under the diocesan regulations. González was at San José del Cabo, Ignacio Ramírez at San Antonio, Mansilla at Santo Tomás, and the Mercedarian, Vicente Sotomayor was at Comondú. The gold rush of 1849 helped toward depopulating Lower California, although miners were searching the mountains for precious metals. Among the 49ers was Father Ramírez who was sent from the San Antonio mining area to become parish priest at Monterey in Upper California in February, 1849. Engelhardt tells us that his faculties for the whole diocese were dated March 27, 1849. 86 In the northern part of La Frontera a colonization project had been started, and this was followed by the William Walker filibustering expeditions. How Father Mansilla fared during these times is not known in detail. The last evidence of Mansilla's operations in the Frontera is August 6, 1850, when he officiated at the last three marriages at Santo Domingo Mission. 87 Apparently after this date Bishop Alemany sent him to San Antonio far south. Engelhardt says that Mansilla spent his last days in charge of the mining town of San Antonio. 88

González remained in the south, and more than likely used Todos Santos as his base of operations, judging from most of his letters, dated Todos Santos, 1850-1855. In one of his letters, dated October 28, 1851, he gave
a summary of Father Vicente Sotomayor's years of service, from May of 1836, when he arrived in the peninsula, till February of 1841, when he retired to Mexico. González said that Sotomayor was in charge of the northern missions from the beginning of 1849 to February of 1851. More than likely, at first he helped Mansilla, who left the Frontera in August of 1850 for San Antonio.

On April 17, 1853, Apostolic Letters were received by Bishop Alemany, which detached Lower California from the Diocese of Monterey and placed it under the administration of the Archbishop of Mexico. Don Juan Francisco Escalante was appointed Vicar-General for Lower California, and he entered the territory on June 13, 1854. Fathers González and Mansilla, the last two Dominicans in Baja California, having surrendered to Escalante their jurisdiction over the missions which the Dominicans had administered for 82 years, wrote a request to the Jefe Político, Don José María Blancarteque, for their passports, on February 5, 1855.

The Vicar-General, Escalante, completed the story by writing in Gabriel González's Journal or "Libro de las Determinaciones," the following notation:

On February 23, 1855, I began the march for points in the southern portion of the territory, accompanied by Fathers López and Cortez (sic), having left Father Carlon at La Paz in charge of the parish. After travelling eighteen leagues, we arrived at the mining town of San Antonio. This had been in charge of the Very Rev. Dominican, Fr. Tomás Mansilla, who with the Very Rev. Fr. Gabriel González, the only Dominican Fathers in the territory, had embarked at the port of La Paz in the beginning of this month for their convent in Mexico.

Thus far political, economic, and ecclesiastical reasons for the passing of the mission system have been indicated. There were international events which changed the colonial mercantile system to one of independent republican-
ism, but which did not change the condition of dependence of Mexico on other foreign nations. Neither the government of Spain nor the various governments of Mexico contributed money or supplies to support the missions and the Church in the benighted land. After independence the crop of greedy politicians multiplied in Mexico and despoiled the missions to gain a few dollars. Indians were freed from mission control, but also from the government's responsibility to care for their needs. Floods, droughts, unfertile soil, and Indian raids contributed to the decline of the mission system. Constant changes of governments, officials, and regulations left the people of the peninsula irresponsible and insecure. It is difficult to see how H. H. Bancroft in the face of these facts could have attributed the failure of the missions to the laxity of the Dominicans and their desire for a more comfortable life in Mexico. Thus Bancroft wrote that "their zeal soon slackened, however, before the intractable nature of the Indians and the soil, and the discouraging effect of poverty and discord in their immediate surroundings." In the footnote he continued to write: "The poverty of the province did not tend to strengthen their zeal; as a rule they only longed to return to the more comfortable cloisters of the mainland, and obtained leave of absence so frequently that orders came to restrict this privilege."92 In the footnote he continued to write: "The poverty of the province did not tend to strengthen their zeal; as a rule they only longed to return to the more comfortable cloisters of the mainland, and obtained leave of absence so frequently that orders came to restrict this privilege."93

Besides these factors we must glance briefly at the social cause of the decline of the missions, the decline of the Indian population, which population of course was essential for a mission. The statistics on population for Lower California after 1812 are tormenting. From several sources the numbers seem reliable for certain places or for certain years. Some figures include
Indians, whites, soldiers, and officials, while some exclude one or the other group. After 1824 the Indians could be numbered among the people of a settlement or mission area, but no one went to the mountains to count the former mission Indians. Perhaps the general statement in the Encyclopedia Americana is as correct as can be made: "The missions fell into disuse after they were secularized in 1833, and the original population died off. The present Indian or part Indian population of the peninsula is descended largely from immigrants from Central Mexico." Hence one may say that the Indians, the missions and the padres passed away together.

Understanding the preceding remarks about the statistics, the following table indicates the decline of mission populations. The figure for the first date of each mission indicates the number of mission Indians, and the figure for the last date indicates people in the named center of population.

The 1808 population figures of Missions San Pedro Martir and San Miguel Descanso are based upon the Noticia of President Ramón López, while the population figures of the other missions for 1812 are drawn from the Noticia of Governor Goycochea. For the 1824 population figures we are indebted to the Dominican Procurator of Missions, Fray Francisco Troncoso, whose mission report seems to reflect a population which is still composed mostly of Indians. The 1853 figures of Francisco Castillo Negrete include both Indians and people of reason, as is indicated in the second table. Likewise, the population figures of Ulises Urbano Lassepas include both the Indians and the whites.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rosario</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>130-150</td>
<td>Troncoso, p. 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Negrete, p. 349.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>300+</td>
<td>Troncoso, p. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Negrete, p. 350.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Troncoso, p. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>Negrete, p. 351.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Miguel-Descanso</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>478</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>350-400</td>
<td>Troncoso, p. 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Lassepas, p. 106.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Tomas</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>Troncoso, p. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>35+</td>
<td>Negrete, p. 352.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pedro Martir</td>
<td>1808</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catalina</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Troncoso, p. 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>Lassepas, p. 104.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Lassepas, p. 104.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following table shows the distribution of Indians and whites, living at the following missions in 1853, according to Negrete:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
<th>Distribution of whites and Indians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rosario</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5 people of reason, 7 Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9 people of reason, 30 Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>15 people of reason, some Indians.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Tomás</td>
<td>35+</td>
<td>35 people of reason, officials, and troops.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A sergeant on July 28, 1851, made a census of the military colony at Santo Tomás. His figure of population was 191, including 73 Indians, according to Meigs, and 42 Indians, according to Bancroft.100

The fundamental cause of high Indian mortality rate was disease, especially syphilis and severe plagues of smallpox, and to a lesser degree, measles and tuberculosis. Syphilis does not seem to have affected isolated Lower California until near the end of the period of the Jesuit missions.101 The first alarming condition appeared in 1768 at the southern end of the peninsula and José de Gálvez ordered that all contaminated natives of Todos Santos Mission be brought to Santiago de los Coras for medical treatment. The removal took place in October of 1768. Likewise Mission Santiago de los Coras had few Indians but nearly all were afflicted with the galico or syphilis.102 During the Dominican period, 1773-1855, it moved up the peninsula "with giant strides," according to Engelhardt.103 "The Mal Galico dominates both sexes and to such a degree that already mothers do not conceive, and if they do conceive, the child is born with but little hope of life...." 104
However, on the Frontier Lieutenant-Governor Arrillaga reported on August 27, 1795, that the galico had caused much ruin in the southern missions, but not in La Frontera. Father Troncoso had a far more tragic report thirty years later. In his Report of 1824 Troncoso wrote of Mission Rosario: "...the frightful death rate which the sons have unfortunately suffered from the most active galico which prevails there, has brought about almost its total ruin." Regarding Mission Santo Domingo, he wrote: "This mission was one of the best of the Frontera, but the galico contagion has ruined it." He made no reference to the effects of syphilis upon the peoples of the other Frontera missions.

Smallpox also took its toll, as well as measles and tuberculosis. Eight epidemics are recorded for the Frontera missions, namely, 1777, 1780-1782, 1791, 1789-1791, 1800, 1805, 1808, and 1818. Descriptions of some of the plagues have been given in other chapters. Before the syphilis appeared in La Frontera smallpox had done away with a large portion of the population. In Mission Rosario, for instance, there were 8½ burials in 1777, 67 in 1778, and 63 in 1779, 77 in 1782, and 47 in 1789. Approximately thirty percent of the population was carried off in each case, while the birth and baptismal rates declined proportionately. After these ravages syphilis appeared and there is no way to find how many of the natives were carried off by it, by smallpox, by measles, or by consumption, especially after they were free to wander in the mountains and after white settlers began to inhabit the old mission areas. The missionaries who continued risking their lives in such conditions and who gave their lives on the barren peninsula certainly were heroic in the cause
of Christianity. Indeed the galico was a fundamental cause for the decline and ruin of the missions.

Another basic cause for the decline of the missions was the Mexican Revolution, headed by the padre, Miguel Hidalgo in 1810. Engelhardt says that this move caused irreparable damage to the Indian missions in both Californias, as well as to Religion in Mexico. California, indeed, escaped the horrors of war, but the missions could obtain no supplies from across the Gulf of California because the insurgents blocked the roads. The missionaries were in consequence deprived of their annual allowance, and the soldiers could not receive their wages. This move caused irreparable damage to the Indian missions in both Californias, as well as to Religion in Mexico. California, indeed, escaped the horrors of war, but the missions could obtain no supplies from across the Gulf of California because the insurgents blocked the roads. The missionaries were in consequence deprived of their annual allowance, and the soldiers could not receive their wages. The insurgent bands also did not let the mail pass into the Californias.

Another factor, a most important cause, was secularization. As pointed out above, the partial secularizations of the missions in 1825 and 1830 only served to make the Indians responsible to nobody, shiftless, lazy, wandering about the mountains and beaches looking for food. Their spirit of industry was killed. The final secularization took place in 1833.

Some 78 self-sacrificing Dominican fathers, not counting the unknown number of laybrothers, came to the peninsula during the first thirty years, from 1773 to 1804, the period of foundation and growth of the Dominican missions. And only 14 more Dominican padres came during the long fifty year period of decline after 1804. Why did the number of Dominican missionaries fall off so sharply after 1804? Briefly, Lower California no longer had much strategic and military value in the defense system of Spain. What little interest Spain still had in the Californias was directed toward Upper California. The separation of the two Californias in 1804 caused Lower California to slowly die, as if it were a branch cut off from the tree. Bancroft wrote that "the separation from California resulted in an ever-growing
neglect for the peninsula, and the upper sister province henceforth absorbed the greater proportion of the slight attention bestowed by the government. Hence Spain was not too interested in financing more missionaries for the missions of Lower California. And after Independence was won and the Liberals were in control in Mexico from about 1822 on, the missions were gradually and finally secularized by 1833.

What were the results of the Dominican missionaries' great efforts? On the material side there was no profit if one considers the costs in labor and money. For the time being there was more prosperity than the Indians had ever known. Fields were planted and harvested, sluices, canals and dams were built, cattle, sheep, horses, mules, hogs, chickens and goats were bred, grazing lands were cared for, churches and dwellings were erected. Forges, workshops for the carpenters and masons, spinning and weaving rooms were built and put into operation, hornos or kilns for the burning of lime were constructed, as well as tanning pits for the tanning of leather. Moreover, each mission had its own wine press, and tile was made for some of the floors of the missions. The Dominican fathers introduced ceramics and pottery-making into northern Baja California. The whole physical appearance of the lands chosen for a mission underwent a vast change. Valleys and plateaus became the sites of settlements. Primitive peoples were brought together into communities, were clothed, fed, and taught some of the amenities of civilization.

After the passing of the mission system, the mission ruins were sold between 1845 and 1859, according to Meigs, who cites the authorities and the approximate date of sale. Missions Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and Santa
Catalina came to sad fates in 1839 and 1840, respectively. Thus Bancroft wrote that "in October 1839, the mission of Guadalupe was sacked, three of the defenders being killed; and in 1840 Santa Catalina mission was burned, and 16 of its neophytes were slain." According to José Domingo Castro, a Pappai or Akwa'ala Indian, the Kiliwa Indians came and burned Santa Catalina Mission.

From the spiritual viewpoint the harvest of souls was great considering the fewness of the people and their wide dispersion in the mountains, caves and arroyos, and their barbarous tendencies. Some revealing statistics are available from the Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, of the Frontera missions, but unfortunately too many Registers are missing for a complete picture. Rosario Registers are the most complete. There the total number of baptisms was 1,420 by 1812, and 1,452 by 1844. This means there were only thirty-two baptisms in the last thirty-two years of its life. The marriages totalled 400 by 1812 and 424 in 1844. The burials went from 1,139 by 1812 and 1,217 by 1844. The Santo Domingo Mission Registers are also fairly complete. The total baptisms by 1812 were 832, and at the end of the Register in 1839 there were 938. The marriages totally 170 in 1812, 223 by 1839, and 230 by the year 1850. Burials went from 602 in 1812 to about 736 by 1839.

The Baptism Register for San Vicente is missing, but an Informe of December 31, 1798, puts the total baptisms at 542 for the end of that year. The Marriage Register ends with September 10, 1800, and lists 122 marriages. The marriages numbered 115 by end of 1798. The second book is lost. The
Burial Register gives 260 by 1798, 508 by end of 1812, and a final total of 598 in 1828. There are no Registers for the San Miguel - Descanso areas, and the only available figures are in an Informe at the end of 1798, which gives 373 baptisms, about 69 marriages, 117 burials. So too, Santo Tomás lacks Registers, and the Informe of 1798 has the totals: 234 baptisms, 52 marriages, 101 burials. The Informe of 1798 on San Pedro Mártil says that there were 109 baptisms, 19 marriages, and 37 burials. From a similar source in 1798, Santa Catalina had had 79 baptisms, 4 marriages, and 5 burials. The grand totals will probably never be known, but taking only the figures given above to 1812 inclusive, for Rosario and Santo Domingo, and to 1798 inclusive, in the others, there were 3589 baptisms, 829 marriages, and 2261 Christian burials performed in the Frontera missions. The accompanying table shows the tabulation for ready reference.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MISSION</th>
<th>BAPTISMS</th>
<th>MARRIAGES</th>
<th>BURIALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rosario</td>
<td>1420 (1812)</td>
<td>400 (1812)</td>
<td>1139 (1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Domingo</td>
<td>832 (1812)</td>
<td>170 (1812)</td>
<td>602 (1812)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Vicente</td>
<td>542 (1798)</td>
<td>115 (1798)</td>
<td>260 (1798)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Miguel</td>
<td>373 (1798)</td>
<td>69 (1798)</td>
<td>117 (1798)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santo Tomás</td>
<td>234 (1798)</td>
<td>52 (1798)</td>
<td>101 (1798)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Pedro M.</td>
<td>109 (1798)</td>
<td>19 (1798)</td>
<td>37 (1798)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Catalina</td>
<td>79 (1798)</td>
<td>4 (1798)</td>
<td>5 (1798)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3589</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>2261</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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There is no human way of evaluating the spiritual results of the Dominican efforts in their large area of paganism. Indians were lifted out of beastial conditions, were instructed in Christian beliefs and practices. Souls were saved. Confessions were heard and the Eucharist was distributed. There is no record of confirmations administered, since no bishop went to the Frontera. In the marriages performed the assumption is that the natives received the sacrament of matrimony and in the burials registered undoubtedly many were preceded by the final anointing. The Sacraments had been brought to the people and in this respect the missions were highly successful.

The missionaries themselves from the spiritual viewpoint were also successful in achieving the only goal for which they had set out - the salvation of souls. With heroic love of their neighbor, they cared for body and soul. They had fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, clothed the naked, sheltered the shelterless, consoled the afflicted, cared for the sick, and buried the dead. And true to their ideals for the salvation of souls the Dominicans in the Baja California missions instructed the ignorant, counselled the doubtful, comforted the sorrowful, bore wrongs patiently, forgave all injuries, reproved when necessary, and prayed for the living and the dead.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., II, 707.
4. Ibid., II, 707, n. 5.
8. This document is in a footnote of the printed edition of the mission procurator, Fray Francisco Troncoso's Report to the Prior-Provincial, Fray Luis Carrasco y Enciso. This report, with its own pagination, is in the back part of J. A. Escudero's Noticias Estadísticas de Sonora y Cíviloa (Mexico, 1849). There is a handwritten copy of this report in the Stephens Collection, document no. 26, entitled: "Descripción anónima de California, Mexico, September 18, 1824."
12. Cf. Mis., Vol. 4, fol. 142v for his biographical data, which is stated thus, under date of October 12, 1812: "Deacon, Fray Felix Cavallero, native of Xeres of the Frontier, Archbishopric of Seville, 23 years old, 7 years de habitación, which he received in the same Convent of Xerez; regular stature, dark color, dark brown hair, dark gray eyes."
13. Mis., Vol. 4, fols. 141-149. The Acta of May 2, 1813, p. 8, says they arrived in Mexico in 1813.
16. Burial Register of San Vicente, and Engelhardt, I, 624.
17. Calif., Vol. 45, fol. 96, for the Nomina list of President Ramón López, dated January 1, 1816.
18. Ibid., Vol. 45, fols. 90-90v, 94.
19. Ibid., Vol. 45, fol. 90; Vol. 44, fols. 85-86.
21. Engelhardt, I, 643; Bancroft, II, 708, says he arrived "in the early part of 1822."
23. Ibid., Vol. 45, fol. 219v.
24. Engelhardt, I, 71h, listed Antonio Sánchez as the Vicar-Provincial and President. He died July 5, 1822, according to Engelhardt, I, 640.
27. Ibid., Vol. 45, fols. 2h3-2lh.
29. Ibid.
31. Troncoso's last baptism was August 26, 1821. The Calif., Vol. 44, fols. 235, 238, have letters, dated August 29, 1822, signed by the other five missionaries of the Frontera, but not by Troncoso.
32. Acta of 1826, p. 62. Luna's last burial at Santo Domingo Mission was on August 22, 1822. Luna was Vicar-Provincial and President from 1828 to 1832. The Mission Registers show that he made the canonical visitation in May of 1828 at San Fernando, Rosario, Santo Domingo, and San Vicente. The Clero y Secular, Vol. 36, fol. 70-70v, has a Nomina list, showing him the President. Folios 66 and 68 refer to the date of the Nomina list as March 27, 1832. The Acta of 1830, p. 18, has him residing at Loreto, and names him the Vicar-Provincial and President.
34. Engelhardt, I, 626.
Engelhardt, I, 667, says that in 1824 Menéndez accepted the post of presidio chaplain at San Diego, and subsequently removed to Santa Barbara to fill a like position for the garrison of that port. He was still in the Frontera in 1825, since he officiated at two marriages at Rosario Mission on August 18, 1825, and made the entry in the Register on September 15, 1825.

36. Acta of 1826, p. 64.

37. Ibid., pp. 62-63.


39. Ibid., II, 709-710.

40. Manuel C. Rojo, Apuntes Historicos de la Baja California con algunos relativos á la Alta California, manuscript, fols. 72, 73. This manuscript of 248 folios is preserved at the Bancroft Library.


42. Calif., Vol. IV, fols. 313-323; Engelhardt, I, 683. Engelhardt on pages 738 and 739 says that González arrived in 1826, which is a mistake.

43. Rojo, fols. 71-72, 76.

44. State Papers, Missions, VI, 9.

45. The Registers of Mission Santo Domingo record his first burial there April 22, 1831, his first marriage, May 24, 1831, and his first baptisms, July 16, 1833.

46. State Papers, Missions, VI, 9.

47. Acta of 1830, pp. 18-19.


49. Rojo, fol. 33.

50. Ibid., fols. 78-79.

51. Negrete, p. 354, and Rojo, fols. 78-79 say that the distance between San Miguel and Descanso is four leagues or about ten miles, while Ahumada said that the distance was eight leagues. Four leagues is closer to the truth.
52. Meigs, p. 115.
53. Rojo, fol. 37.
54. Ibid., fol. 79.
55. Ibid., fol. 35.
56. Ibid., fol. 76.
57. Ibid., fol. 53.
58. The Acta of 1834, p. 18, typewritten copy, states the death of Fathers Domingo Luna and Bernard Sola. The same Acta, p. 11, shows Ahumada assigned to the National Convent of Santo Domingo de Mexico. Engelhardt, I, 667, says that Father Antonio Menéndez at Santa Barbara, Upper California, died April 13, 1832.
59. Engelhardt, I, 683. The Calif., Vol. 44, fols. 324-326, show that in 1825 there was discussion of José Morquecho's going to Baja California. The Acta of 1830 and 1834 indicate him assigned to the convent in Zacatecas. The Temp., Vol. 19, nine folios have correspondence regarding Ignacio Ramírez's viaticos to Baja California. The Acta of 1834 has him assigned to the National Convent of Santo Domingo de Mexico.
60. Cf. Prov. Int., Vol. 220, expediente no. 9, for the names of the three Mercedarians, namely, Vicente Sotomayor, Ascencio Torres, and Amado Aldana.
64. Rojo, fols. 33-53.
65. Meigs, p. 117.
66. Bancroft, II, 711, n. 10. There is a document in the La Paz Library, Lower California, dated at Loreto, December, 1839, and signed by Caballero.
67. Engelhardt, I, 668.
68. Ibid., I, 680.
69. Ibid., I, 678-680.

70. At the La Paz Library, Lower California, there are thirteen letters, signed by Gabriel González, and dated from 1850 to 1855, mostly from Todos Santos.


72. But this witness must be wrong about Father Juan Martínez accompanying González to the ranches and settlements, after the death of Caballero. Juan Martínez had left Baja California, January 21, 1840, six months before Caballero died. Cf. the Prov. Int., Vol. 220, expediente no. 6.

73. Rojo, fols. 174-183; Bancroft, II, 709-710, n. 8.

74. Ibid., II, 711.

75. Engelhardt, I, 683.


77. Ibid., II, 713-714, n. 14.


80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., I, 685, González wrote to an unnamed padre, who had gone from Mission San Ignacio to the Frontera, giving him authority to attend the Missions of San Miguel and Guadalupe, closed since about 1840. According to Engelhardt, I, 683, Father Torres was attending Mission San Ignacio on January 15, 1841.

82. Ibid., I, 685.

83. Ibid., I, 685-686.

84. Ibid.


86. Engelhardt, IV, 616; cf. 690.

87. Marriage Register of Santo Domingo, nos. 228-230.
88. Engelhardt, I, 693.

89. Ibid., I, 690-691.

90. The original letter, preserved at La Paz Library, was signed by González and Mansilla, at the Port of La Paz, February 5, 1855.

91. Engelhardt, I, 693.


93. Ibid., II, 706, n. 3.


96. Calif., Vol. 61, fol. 430.

97. The Troncoso printed report, with its own pagination, is found in the back part of J. A. Escudero's Noticias Estadísticas de Sonora y Cinaloa (Mexico, 1849).


99. Ulises Urbano Lassepas, Historia de la Colonización de la Baja California (Mexico, 1859).

100. Documentos Originales para la Historia de la Baja California, 1849-1852, II, fols. 157-163. These are preserved at the Bancroft Library. Cf. Meigs, PP. 154-155; Bancroft, II, 720, n. 4.


103. Ibid., I, 571.

104. Ibid., I, 571-572.

105. Provincial State Papers, XIII, 146-147.


107. Ibid., p. 20.


110. Ibid., I, 634.


113. Ibid., II, 711, n. 10.

114. Meigs, pp. 122-123.

115. More than likely there were some confirmations in Baja California. The various Vicar-Provincials and Presidents were also Vicar Foranes of the Bishop. Engelhardt, I, 682, says that Gabriel González was reappointed Vicar Forane by Bishop Garcia Diego, who furthermore granted him permission to exercise his faculties to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES

Section I: ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

The author visited and consulted the historical materials in the following archives and libraries:

Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City
General Archives of the Dominican Order, Rome, Italy
Library at the Domus of Santo Domingo, Mexico City
Banroft Library, University of California, Berkeley
Biblioteca del Museo Nacional, Mexico City
Library of the University of Texas, Austin
Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois
Library at La Paz, Baja California
Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Provincial Archives of the Dominican Province of
Saint Joseph, Washington, D.C.
Archivum Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Rome
Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Santa Barbara, California
Library of Saint Albert the Great Convent, Oakland, California
Vatican Library, Rome, Italy
Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City
Cuevas Library of the Jesuits, Mexico City

Palafox Library, Puebla, Mexico.
Section II: MANUSCRIPTS

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACION, MEXICO CITY

The most pertinent collection of manuscripts in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, was the "Misiones," composed of twenty-seven volumes, all of which the author examined folio by folio. Thirteen of the volumes contained material regarding the Dominican missions in Baja California. Volume two has the Informes or reports of 1795 and 1796 for all the Dominican missions of Baja California, as well as the bi-annual Noticias or statistical tables of the missions for the years 1802, 1804, and 1806. Volumes four, five, seven, eight, and nine have the resenas or personal descriptions and biographical data of the Dominicans who came to Baja California, except for the twenty-seven of the first group of 1773, and the last six Dominicans who came between 1825 and 1841. Volume five also has some twenty folios regarding problems during President Miguel Hidalgo's administration of the missions. Volume ten has forty folios of material respecting the sinodos for the years 1795-1798. Volume twelve has a fifteen folio expediente signed by fourteen Dominicans in 1772 regarding the policy and administration. There is also a six folio expediente signed in 1772 by Fathers Francisco Galisteo and Miguel Hidalgo on the same problems. Volume fourteen has some twelve folios, dated August 15, 1785, of Bishop Reyes' plans for the reorganisation of the missions in Mexico and Baja California. Volume twenty-three has material on the retirement of some padres of the first group of 1773. The documents are dated 1789 and 1790.
Volume twenty-four has a six folio expediente by Fray José Alfaro, Dominican Procurator of the Baja California Missions, on the failure of the government to pay the 1828–1829 sínodos. Volume eleven contains material on Fray Valero Vale, 1818, who ultimately did not go to Baja California. Volume nineteen has some letters of Fray Juan Crisóstomo Gómez, for the year 1794 to 1797, during which time he was Procurator of the Missions of Baja California.

Another equally pertinent collection is the "Californias" which is made up of eighty-nine volumes, as of the year 1950. There are really eighty-two volumes, with volumes one, two, three, six, forty-eight, forty-nine, and sixty having a part two, forming seven separate volumes. Of these eighty-nine volumes the author found Dominican material on Baja California scattered throughout thirty-four of the volumes.

With regard to the explorations of the sites of the missions, the "Californias" has valuable material. Volume thirty-six, folios fourteen to twenty-nine, has a copy by Melchor Peramas of the documents regarding the discovery and exploration of Viñadaco, the site for Rosario mission. The original documents are in the "Provincias Internas" collection, volume 166, folios 189–200. Volume thirty-six of the "Californias" collection, folios 382–390, has a copy of the original documents for the discovery and exploration of the Santo Domingo mission site. The original documents are in volume seventy-two, folios fifty-three to fifty-eight. Volume seventy-one, folios 18–25, has the "Cieneguilla expediente" regarding the explorations for the proposed mountain site for the third mission of San Vicente. These documents are original. The same volume, folios eight to twenty-two, different pagination, has the original "Santa Rosalía expediente" respecting the explorations and
actual founding of mission San Vicente at Santa Rosalía site. Folio fifteen has José Velásquez's original sketch of the actual site.

Volume sixteen Californias, folios 277-356, has a representation, dated at San Miguel de Horeasitas, November 21, 1778, of Fray Nicolás Muñoz, consisting of forty-five points regarding what is necessary and convenient for the subsistence of the existing Baja California missions and the foundation of the remaining three coastal missions. The same volume, folios 155-221, contains providencias or measures in consequence of Muñoz's forty-five points. Volume twenty-nine reveals the bi-annual Noticias or statistical tables of the governors and the mission presidents for the years 1794, 1796, 1798, and 1800, while volume sixty-one has the bi-annual Noticia of Governor Felipe de Goycoochea for the year 1812. Volume thirty-five, folios 57-64, has an estado of the Baja California missions, ending June 30, 1775, and signed February 25, 1776. Volume fourteen, folios 391-398, contains documents on the method of making inventories, and is dated February 19, 1776. Volume sixty-six, folios 41-56, presents correspondence of Fray Vicente Mora, mission president. Folios fifty-two and fifty-four reveal Mora's letter of October 10, 1773, to the viceroy, enclosing a plan or chart, showing the missions, their direction, one to another, altitude, longitude, names of the twenty-six fathers assigned to each mission, the number of families and souls, as of May 15, 1773.

Volume forty-five, folios 14-15, 236-244, indicate that the Dominicans cooperated with the spirit of independence and took the oaths of loyalty to the new government of 1822. Volume forty-four, folios 230-239, reflects the protests of the Dominican mission President, Pedro González, to the order of Canon Agustín Fernández to surrender some missions to the Franciscans of the
College of San Fernando.

The following volumes have material regarding the padres: six, eighteen, forty-four, forty-eight, seventy-three, and eighty-two.

A third collection of much more general scope is the "Provincias Internas," which in 1950 contained 265 volumes. Of the seventeen pertinent volumes examined by the author thirteen had material on the Dominican Baja California missions. The following pertain to the sínodos: volume one, for 1790-1795, volume nine, for 1783-1784, and volume sixteen, for 1802-1803. Volume nine, folio sixty, has Mora's license or permission to leave Baja California, which document is dated February 20, 1782. Volume sixteen also contains the requests, dated 1801, of some fathers to return to Spain.

Volume five, folios 325-328, has a report by the Prior-Provincial, Domingo de Candlerias, and is dated September 30, 1793. Volume nineteen, folios one to sixty-three, reveals the 1797 and 1798 Informes and inventories for the seven Dominican founded missions, the one Franciscan mission, and the ten former Jesuit missions of Baja California, administered by the Dominicans. The same volume also has the Noticias for the years 1799 and 1808. Volume 166, folios one to 108, contains the padrones and censuses of the Dominican missions of Baja California, dated from May to September, 1774. The same volume, 189 to 200, has the original documents for the exploration of the Viñadaco site and the founding of Rosario mission.

Volume 169 reveals fifty-one folios about Governor Barri's complaints against the Dominican friars. The correspondence between Barri and the Viceroy cover from August 8, 1773, to May 12, 1774. The same volume, folios sixty-one to 155, deals with the division of the Californias between the Dominicans and
the Franciscans. Folios sixty-nine to seventy-two have the names, biographical
data, and personal descriptions of twenty-four fathers and two laybrothers,
most of whom formed the first group of 1773, which went to Baja California.
Volume 211, folios seventy-four to seventy-eight, contains a request, dated
September 17, 1773, of Vicente Mora, that the boxes sent to the missions of
San Diego and Monterey be examined. Finally, Volume 217, folios twenty-nine
and thirty, reveals a document in which Mora was authorized by the Viceroy to
be the President of the Dominican missions in Baja California. The same volume
also has thirty-eight folios on the division of the Californias between the
Dominicans and the Franciscans.

The most general collection in scope is called the "Historias," which in
1950 had 573 volumes. Volume forty-one, folios fifteen to seventy, and 382 to
462 deal with the division of the Californias between the Dominicans and the
Franciscans. Finally, nearly all of Volume 123 contains documents related to
Mora's administration of the Dominican missions.

A fifth collection is the Clero y Secular, which has 217 volumes. The
author checked through seven pertinent volumes completely, and located
Dominican material in volumes thirty-six, forty-five, 139, and 180. Volume
thirty-six has twenty-two folios on the political conduct of the Dominican,
Gabriel González, the minister of the Mission of Todos Santos, and the
documents pertain to 1830. The same volume also has forty-four folios about
the payment of sínodos and viáticos to the Dominican missionaries of Baja
California for the year 1831. Volume forty-five contains twenty-six folios on
Fray José Veytes, who arrived at Loreto, Baja California, December 25, 1815.
Volume 139 has nine folios on Fray José Estéves, who was a member of the 1773
group of Dominican missionaries. Volume 180 possesses material on the
Dominican missionaries. Volume 180 possesses material on the Dominican ad-
ministered missions of southern Baja California.

A sixth collection is entitled the "Temporalidades," and is composed of
247 volumes. The author checked through five pertinent volumes, making the
selection according to the title of the volume and the brief description in the
typewritten index at the Archivo. Dominican material was located in volumes
eleven, nineteen, and forty-nine, while volumes forty and 118 netted nothing.
Volume eleven has a copy of documents pertaining to the payment of the sínodos
for the years 1773–1782, and volume forty-nine has the original documents.
Volume nineteen contains fifteen folios on the payment of the sínodos for 1831,
and thirteen folios on the partial secularization of 1830.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF THE DOMINICAN ORDER, ROME, ITALY

Bundle 322 of Series XIII is entitled: "Prov. S. Iacobi de Mexico.
Epist. foliisque advers. s. 16–3. 19". The letters range in dates from 1613
to 1656, then 1723–1724, and finally, 1840–1850, which contained nothing on
the Baja California missions. A very valuable bundle was 321 of Series XIII,
entitled: "Prov. S. Iacobi de Mexico. Acta Capitolorum Provincialis". This
bundle contained, among many Acta, those for the years 1796, 1800, 1804, 1809,
1813, and 1817, all of which had scattered material on the Dominican missions
of Baja California. The Acta are the official proceedings of the legislative
body, the Provincial Chapter, which convenes usually every four years, e.g.,
1800, 1804, and 1808. There was also held a Chapter the following year, in
1809. The Acta contain, among other things, announcements, appointments,
petitions or postulations, and legislation. There are also two typewritten writings by Father Clodoald Mercier, O. P. The first is entitled: "Les 18 Missions dominicaines de la Basse-Californie (18ème-19ème siècles)," in which he gave the dates for the founding of the missions, and a partial list of the padres assigned to them, according to some of the Acta Capitolorum Provincialium. The second writing is entitled: "Notices biographiques sur la plupart des Missionnaires Dominicains de la Basse-Californie (18ème-19ème siècles)," in which he gives very brief biographical sketches of the Baja California missionaries, based upon materials in some of the Acta.

LIBRARY AT THE DOMUS OF SANTO DOMINGO, MEXICO CITY

At Santo Domingo, Mexico City, there are a few letters pertaining to Baja California, for 1788, 1808, 1826 and 1827. There are the printed Acta for the years 1773, 1782, 1788, 1792, 1800, and 1808. Among the typewritten Acta there are those for 1784 and 1834. There is also in the library a Libro de Difuntos for the years 1770 to 1830, in which are recorded a great many deaths of the Baja California missionaries.

BANCROFT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The Bancroft Library has the printed Acta for the years 1813, 1822, 1826, 1838, and 1850. Thus putting together all the Acta, from different sources, for the years 1773 to 1854, the author acquired a near complete set of the Acta, as regards the Baja California missions, except for the years 1778, 1842, 1846, and 1854. Besides the Acta mentioned above, the author used at Bancroft Library the sixty-nine volumes of the Archivo de California, which were helpful.
These volumes are extracts or complete copies of the mission material, made by Bancroft's scribes of the original 300 volumes burned in the 1906 San Francisco fire, as Engelhardt, tells us in his *Missions and Missionaries of California*, second edition, volume I, page 587. Among the volumes of extracts some scattered material was used especially in the Provincial Records, and the Provincial State Papers. Also more information was used in the State Papers, Missions, and State Papers, Sacramento. Likewise, of use to the author were many of the California Transcripts of original documents in the Mexican and Spanish archives. Moreover, of considerable help, in the writing of Chapter XI, was a 248 folio manuscript entitled "Apuntes Históricos de la Baja California con algunos relativos á la Alta California. Suministrados por Manuel C. Rojo, á la Bancroft Library, 1879." Another helpful collection was entitled: "Copias y extractos hechos por Savage, Piñá Corona y Martínez para la Bancroft Library, 1876." These are extracts of the original documents, preserved at the Chancery of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. Likewise, of great value was Fray Miguel Hidalgo's "Informe sobre la condición actual de las Misiones de Baja California." It is dated March 20, 1786. There is also Hidalgo's One Hundred Regulations for the missionaries and neophytes. The document is entitled: "Ordenes y Instrucciones generales que en consecuencia de la visita hecha por el R. P. Fr. Miguel Hidalgo." There is a copy of the One Hundred Regulations in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the document is clearly dated 1781 in writing.
Pertaining to the missions were scattered folios in the Lancaster-Jones Collection, which is a small folio series of four volumes of original documents, entitled: "Documentos relativos a las misiones de California." Also folios thirty to forty-eight on Father Iriarte and new mission methods were noted in a volume in the Fischer Collection, entitled: "Coleccion y Trasuntos de Varios Escritos, Alegatos, Informes, Memoriales, y Cartas, que el R. P. Fr. Rafael Verger .... Guardian Actual de este Apo Colegio de el Sn Ferndo de Mexico, hizo en su defensa....." Cf. Bolton's Guide, pp. 194-202.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, AUSTIN

At the University of Texas there is the William B. Stephens Collection, the documents of which are briefly described by Carlos E. Castañeda and Jack Autrey Dabbs, Guide to the Latin American Manuscripts in the University of Texas Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939). In this collection there are about twenty letters, either to or from Vicente Mora. Document number 117 is a map of the routes followed by Fatherlink, S. J., and Jose Velásquez, in their explorations in the neighboring area of San Pedro Mártir mission. Document number 136 is the plan of the new mission of our Lady of the Rosary, founded in 1774. Number 147 is a three page letter, dated September 10, 1775, from Fathers Manuel Pérez and Francisco Calistecio, reporting to Mora the progress and conversions made at the new mission of the Most Holy Rosary of Viñadaco. Document number 148 is a padrón or list of the souls which had been baptized at Mission Rosario from July 30, 1775, to November 23, 1775. The number of
baptisms in this time was 307, numbers 205 to 511 inclusive, in the Baptismal Register. Document number 149, among other things, has a padrón of the first 131 baptisms at Mission Rosario, from its foundation, July 24, 1774, to March 25, 1775. Documents numbers thirty-eight, eighty-one, and eighty-two have considerable correspondence respecting the payment of the sinodos.

AYER COLLECTION, NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Ayer collection has the sixteenth and seventeenth century chronicles for the Province of Santiago de Mexico. For example, it has the first and second editions of the Dominican, Agustín Dávila Padilla's Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico de la Orden de Predicadores (Madrid, 1596; Brussels, 1625).

LIBRARY AT LA PAZ, BAJA CALIFORNIA

There are preserved there about a dozen letters signed by the last President and Vicar-Provincial of the Dominican missions, Fray Gabriel González. The letters are dated between 1850 and 1855, mostly from Todos Santos. Likewise preserved there, is the one page document, dated February 5, 1855, of the request for money to return to Mexico. The document is signed by the last two Dominicans in the Peninsula, namely, Tomás Mansilla and Gabriel González. There are also four short letters or notices of the death and murder of Father Surroca of Mission Santo Tomás.
The material in Chapman's Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias, regarding Dominican missions in Baja California, was microfilmed. For the most part this material was utilized in Chapters two and three, respecting the Dominicans planning and actually going to Baja California. Document C-1039 gives the resúmenes of the ten missionaries who originally were destined to go to Nayarit and Topia, but actually went to Baja California. C-1069 is Iriarte's September 2, 1768 petition to go to Baja California, and C-1035 is Iriarte's petition of July 24, 1768, to go there. C-2424 is Mora's Diary of his visitation of the north and exploration of the Víndasco site. C-2501 is his six regulations for the guidance of the missionaries. There is a ninety-one folio expediente, unlisted in Chapman, Guadalajara 574 (105-1-12), about Fray Luis Sales, Dominican, covering his efforts from 1794 to 1800 to obtain mastership. However, his request was turned down since he had not worked the designated number of twenty years in Baja California, and especially because he published his Noticias de la Provincia de Californias in 1794, without the permission of the government. Other documents on this topic, listed in Chapman, are C-5922, 5931, 5939, and 5940. There is also a fifty-two page expediente on Fray Francisco Galisteo, not listed in Chapman's Catalogue. The document is dated 1804. There are petitions for the mastership for Father José Estévez, Juan Chrisóstomo Gómez, Gerónimo Soldevilla, José Lafuente, José Armesto, and Joaquín Valero. These documents are not listed in Chapman, but they are mentioned in passing on page fifty-three.
The Library of Congress has the printed chronicles for the early history of the Dominicans in Mexico, especially the chronicles of Padilla, Franco, and Ojea for the Province of Santiago de Mexico, as well as Fray Francisco Burgos's *Geográfica Descripción* and *Palastra Histórial* for the Province of San Hipólito, Martir, de Oaxaca, which are treated briefly a few pages farther on. Likewise the library has the chronicles for the Province of San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, by Antonio de Remesal and Francisco Ximénez. There is also preserved there a copy of Sales' *Noticias*. In the Manuscript Room, Annex, third floor, are card files with several drawers devoted to the collection of documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. The cards are grouped under broad topics, e.g. "Arriaga, Julian de" (1774-1776), "Bucareli y Ursua, Antonio" (1766-1779), and the "Californias." There are also five drawers of cards on documents in the Archivo de Simancas, Spain.

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF THE DOMINICAN PROVINCE
OF SAINT JOSEPH, WASHINGTON, D.C.

In these archives are also the same chronicles mentioned just above. Moreover, it has a photostat of a sixteenth century manuscript by Fray Juan Bautista Méndez, Dominican. The manuscript is entitled: "Cronica de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico del Orden de Predicadores." It was written or finished in 1585 and brings the story of the Province of Santiago de Mexico down to 1564. It is composed of four books with the fourth book ending with Chapter fifty-two.
There are very few indexing devices there. It is a matter of searching through hundreds of volumes under such general topics as America Centrals, Acta, Memorialia, Scriptura Rerum, etc. The Franciscans in Bethesda, Maryland, have made an index of documents in the Propaganda Fide, down to about 1854. This index is limited to the documents pertaining to the United States and Canada. Father Angelus Walz, O. P., in his Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum, (Rome, 1946), p. 492, wrote that "in California missionariorum in saeculo XVII reperientur. Ad Californiam inferiora anno 1772 Dominici adscissi sunt, qui varias missiones novas fundarunt." He cites documents in the Propaganda Fide, namely, Memorialia, 1642, volume 40, folio 336, and Atti, 1642-43, volume fifteen, folio 211. These documents refer to a petition of the Dominicans to send twelve of their fathers to California in 1642.

SANTA BARBARA MISSION ARCHIVES

Some documents respecting the Dominican missions in Baja California are listed in Maynard J. Geiger's Calendar of Documents in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives (Washington, D.C., 1947). In Section I, among many documents, is number 308, on Hidalgo's appointment as President of the Dominican Baja California missions. Among the documents in Section II, are document number forty, on the transfer of the missions, number forty-three, on the suffrage agreement, number fifty-one, on the detainment of chests of mission goods at Velicata, and number 100, on Dominican and Franciscan relations. Number 338 pertains to the appointment of Belda as President, number 402, to Arviña's
appointment, and number 448, to Gallego's appointment. There are many death notices by the Presidents of the missions.

LIBRARY OF SAINT ALBERT THE GREAT CONVENT, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

The original Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers for Missions Rosario, Santo Domingo, and San Vicente are preserved there.

Finally, nothing particularly pertinent to Dominican missions in Baja California, was located by the author at the Vatican Library, Rome, Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, Cueva Library, Mexico City, and the Palafox Library, Puebla, Mexico.

Section III: PRINTED SOURCES

The following chronicles were helpful for the general survey in Chapter One. The most renowned and most important of the Dominican chroniclers, relative to the Dominicans of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, is the first one, Fray Agustin Davila Padilla, born in Mexico City in 1562 of Pedro Davila and Isabel de Padilla. He was commanded by the Provincial Chapter of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, in 1589, to collect the historical documents and to write a history of the Dominicans in Mexico. He fulfilled the task, and produced an invaluable work entitled: Historia de la Fundacion y discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores, por las vides de sus varones insignes, y casos notables de Nueva Espana. The first edition was published at Madrid in 1596; the second edition appeared at Brussels in 1625, and the third edition, an "off-set" printing of the second edition, was produced in Mexico in 1955. Padilla treats the history of the Dominicans in
the Provincia de Santiago de Mexico from 1526 to 1591.

Fray Hernando Ojea was the first continuator of Padilla's Historia. In 1608 his continuation was completed and entitled "Libro Tercero de la Historia Religiosa de la Provincia de Mexico de la Orden de Santo Domingo." Padilla's Historia was composed of two Libros and so Ojea just numbered his chronicle Libro Tercero. However, the manuscript, although completed in 1608, was not published until 1897 by the Museo Nacional de Mexico. Ojea's scope of treatment covered from 1590 to 1608.

Fray Alonso Franco y Ortega was the second continuator of Padilla's Historia. He was commissioned by the Provincial Chapter of May 16, 1637, to continue the history of the Province of Santiago de Mexico, and he presented the completed work to the Provincial Chapter, held in the Imperial Convent of Santo Domingo, Mexico City, May 5, 1645. The history was entitled: "Segunda Parte de la Historia de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico Orden de Predicadores en la Nueva Espana." His history covered a period of fifty-four years, from 1591 to 1645. Although completed in 1645, it was not published until 1900 by the Museo Nacional de Mexico.

Fray Juan Bautista Méndez was appointed the chronicler by the Provincial Chapter of May 6, 1679, to continue the history and the annals of the Province of Santiago de Mexico. The following Provincial Chapter of May 22, 1683, repeated the commission. In virtue of this Méndez wrote the history, but unfortunately did not continue the history where Alonso Franco left off. Instead of beginning with 1645, he went back to 1526, and brought the story down to only 1564. It is still in manuscript form, and a copy of it is at the Royal University of Mexico. The manuscript is divided into four books. The first
book has fourteen chapters, the second, sixteen chapters, the third, thirty
four chapters, and the fourth book, unfinished, ends with Chapter fifty-two.
The manuscript has three unnumbered folios and one hundred and forty-one
numbered ones.

Next, Fray Juan José de la Cruz y Moya, although not incorporated into the
Province, nor named its chronicler, wrote by 1757 his "Historia de la Santa y
Apostólica Provincia de Santiago de Predicadores de Mexico en la Nueva España."
He also goes back to the beginnings in 1526 and brings the account down to the
death of Fray Domingo Eltansos in 1549. Part One has three books. Book One
contains forty chapters, covering to the year 1534. The Second Book has thirty-
six chapters, and goes down to the year 1545. The Third Book has thirty-one
chapters. Book One was published in Mexico in 1954, and Book II in 1955.

In passing should be mentioned the following works, regarding the Province
of San Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala. The Dominican, Antonio de Remesal, at
Madrid, 1619, brought out the first edition of his work, entitled: Historia de
la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala. A second edition appeared in
Guatemala in 1932 in two volumes. Another Historia de la Provincia de San
Vicente de Chiapa y Guatemala, by Francisco Ximénez, Dominican (1666-c.1722),
appeared in Guatemala City, 1929-1931. And in 1935 in Guatemala, there was
published a one volume history entitled: Isagoge Historica Apologetica de las
Indias Occidentales y Especial de la Provincia de San Vicente de Chiapa y
Guatemala de la Orden de Predicadores. The author is anonymous, and the
prologue was written by J. Fernando Juárez Muñoz.

The renowned chronicler, Fray Francisco de Burgos, produced two works,
relative to the Province of Saint Hippolytus de Oaxaca. His Palestra Historia.
de Virtudes y Exemplares Apostólicos was published in Mexico in 1670. And another edition appeared in Mexico City in 1934, as Volume XXIV of the Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación. And in Mexico, 1674, appeared his Geográfica Descripción. Another edition was brought out in Mexico City in 1934, as Volumes XXV and XXVI of the Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación.

Worthy of mention is the English translation of Sales' Noticias. The translator and editor was Charles M. Rudkin. Glen Dawson, Los Angeles, 1956, published the work, under the title: Observations on California, 1772-1790. Sales' Noticias of three letters played an important part, along with the manuscripts, in telling the history of the founding of the first five missions. The 1824 mission report by Francisco Troncoso, the Dominican Procurator of the Missions of Baja California, was valuable for population figures, data on social diseases, causes for decline of the missions, and the failure to pay sinodos from 1818 to 1824. In passing should be mentioned a printed work by Martín de Aramburo, who lived about 1759. His work appeared in Mexico, 1771, and is 119 pages. It is entitled: Por la Provincia de S. Hipólito, Martir, del Sagrado Orden de Predicadores de Caxaca.

Among the printed sources must be mentioned the Constitutiones Fratrum S. Ordinis Praedicatorum. The latest edition was published in 1954 in Rome. Also worthy of mention is the Registrum Litterarum Fr. Thomas de Vio Caetani, O. P. Magistri Ordinis, 1508-1513, which is edited by Reverend Albertus de Meyer, O.P., and published in Rome, in 1935. The volume forms volume XVII of the Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica.
Section IV: SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS


——. North Mexican States and Texas. 2 vols. San Francisco, 1884-1889.


——. The Spanish Borderlands. New Haven, 1921.


Carreño, Alberto María. Fray Domingo de Betanzos, O. P. Mexico, 1924.


Mesanza, Andrés, O. P., and Carrocera, Cajetan de, O. M. C. *Principios de la Orden Dominicana - Primicios Religiosos de Venezuela.* Caracas, 1925.


Section IV: SECONDARY SOURCES

B. ARTICLES


Approval Sheet

The dissertation submitted by Reverend Albert Mieser, O. P.
has been read and approved by a board of five members of the Department of
History

The final copies have been examined by the director of the
dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that
any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is
now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical
accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dec. 15, 1963
Date

Signature of Adviser