THE
JESUIT MISSIONS OF LOWER CALIFORNIA

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INTRODUCTION

It is useless to begin the discussion of any historical question by laying down hard and fast rules and endeavoring to explain history according to them. Nothing is gained by forcing facts to fit the rule, instead of explaining the existence of the rule by the presence of the facts. An accurate view accepts facts as they are, and deduces rules, if any, from the logical consequences of the facts. From this it follows naturally that the precise truth of consequences can not be determined before all the facts are known. To propose an arbitrary explanation for an historical question, without considering all the factors which influenced the appearance and development of that question, would be equivalent to trying to solve a problem in quadratics with a part of the equation missing. From the premises there could be no earthly hope of a correct conclusion. It may be said that if this view be true, then we can never have certainity about any historical conclusion since today the more scientific study of history is continually bringing to light new facts, which facts are constantly producing revisions of opinion. We will never have metaphysical certainty but we do have moral certainty and, in the vast majority of cases in history, that is all we ever have.

From an exposition which brings to light the facts of a case definite conclusions may justifiably be drawn, and accepted as certain. It is plain that errors must arise from one of two causes. Either all the facts do not come to light, or if they do, some, or all of them are not estimated at their exact value. If they are not all brought to

light, that is due either to deliberate suppression, or lack of sufficient vigor and acuteness in research, or to the impossibility of some facts being discovered. If facts are once unearthed and put before the scrutiny of the entire world, there is no room to doubt that eventually they will be gauged at their true worth. Every historical problem has its correct solution if that solution can be reached. Every result has had its proportionate cause or causal factors. This is the point to be borne in mind. An exposition of an historical situation is not a narration of facts and dates. It must to some extent explain the situations including these facts and dates. A definite cause begins every situation, a definite cause concludes it, and definites causes prompt every change that occurs in it. Why do these causes affect the situation? Why do these causes exist in the first place. These are questions that must be answered before history is fully understood. Past all question the task of answering these queries is always gigantic and often impossible.

The Missions of California convey a very vague significance. Few beyond historians are aware that different orders were engaged in the missionary work of that country. Few are aware that such work was carried on in the original country of California, or as we call it today, Lower California. But it is no secret that the Jesuits were the first missioners in the field. Nor is it a secret that after many years of effort the Compania was expelled from California Baja by the King of Spain, without having accomplished anything proportionate to the time and labor expended. It had poured out gold and blood upon the barren sands of the peninsula, and the sands had swallowed up both leaving hardly a trace. The situation in Lower California seems to have been an odd

paradox. But there are no paradoxes in history. The paradox exists only where the conclusion has not been found. The Jesuits accomplished little or nothing in the peninsula as compared with the exertions made. Many reasons are given. The climatic conditions of the peninsula are subject to violent changes, the land is forbiddingly barren, the Indians were of the lowest type, and the number of men that the Compania could spare for this disheartening work was very small. These factors affected the work of the missioners and each in its place shall be given due attention, but some cause there must have been, more far reaching and less evident, for the existence of this apparent failure. It may be possible to point out such a reason. That the peninsula was never completely Christianized and settled, that when the Jesuits left it relapsed into its present ruin and desolate barenness, was not the fault of the Jesuits. There was a factor, by reason of which, it was not their fault. In discussing the ill-starred missions we shall endeavor to trace the appearance of this factor and the nature of its workings. at the outset it is evident that this subject is one which cannot be treated exhaustively within the present limited scope. Many points can be merely indicated, or dealt with in the briefest manner. Some of the facts here treated could alone be made subjects for research lasting over years. Under these circumstances, a balanced outline of the career of the Jesuit Missioners and an indication of the policies that rose and fell about them must constitute the scheme of the present paper.

I.

DISCOVERY AND EARLY EXPLORATIONS

A number of unimportant inroads were made into California before anything permanent was attempted. These tentative expeditions can be given only brief mention. "Before entering upon the history of the Spanish discoveries on the North Pacific side of America it should be observed that the account of these and other expeditions by sea, made at that period, which have descended to us, are very obscure and inexact, especially as regards geographical positions, so that it is generally difficult, and often impossible, to identify places by means of the descriptions given in them." (X). Cortez made an expedition to California, in 1535. It is certain that he made efforts at great expense to have the territories beyond Mexico proper fully explored and civilized. (XX). It is thought that the bay in which he landed and which he called Santa Cruz is the same now called Port La Paz, in 24° Lat. Cortez consumed over a year in voyaging and fighting with the natives, and returned to Mexico without any very definite results. The Spaniards were slow to seize a footing on the peninsula. Violent storms and frequent troubles with the natives deterred many. "Two vessels under Cabrillo sailed together from Navidad, a small port in Xalisco in June 1542 and having in a few days doubled Cape St. Louis, the survey of the west coast of California was begun from that point. It would be needless to endeavor to trace the progress of Cabrillo along this coast or to enumerate the many capes and bays mentioned in the account of his voyage nearly all of which places,

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(X). History of Oregon and California.. E. Greenhow, p. 53.
(XX). Despatches of Hernando Cortez. Edit. by G. Folsom., Sec. of N.Y. Hist. Soc., 1843, p. 405

so far as they can be identified, are now distinguished by names entirely different from those bestowed on them by him." (X). Although this voyage brought to the Spaniards no direct acquisition, still they gained a knowledge of these new countries and the desire to spread the true faith drove some of them to further efforts. Increase of the Catholic faith was always a great object with the Spaniards. In chapter six of his last dispatch to Charles V. Cortez writes, "Every time I have written to your Majesty I have mentioned to your Highness the disposition that exists in some of these natives of these parts to embrace our holy Catholic faith and become Christians, and I have begged your imperial Majesty to direct that religious persons of good life and example be provided." (XX)

From this time forward a series of Spanish officers and governors sent parties along the Pacific coast exploring the country and gathering information about the natives, their manners, religion, and civilization. None of these expeditions accomplished anything of note, except that that they almost invariably had trouble with the wild and intractable savages, and the Christianizing of the Indians appeared a very remote possibility. In sixteen sixty four Bernal dePinadero essayed the reduction of the inhospitable peninsula, having an order from Philip the Fourth to urge him on. He found some pearls but aroused great hostility among the Indians, and could found no colonies. A Captain Luzenilla followed him, appearing off Cape St. Lucas in sixteen sixty eight, and exploring the coast as far as La Paz. Whatever chance the Spaniards had previously had of fraternizing with the Indians had been destroyed by Pinadero and finding that the natives were sullen and unfriendly, Luzenilla came home.

(X). History of Oregon and California. N. Greenhow, p. 64
(XX). Cf. also, Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana. Bernal Dial, Madrid, 1632, Edit. by Garcia, p. 297

The whole history of the Lower Peninsula is one of suffering. The land is sterile and stony and the climate subject to violent changes of heat and cold. It is much like the desert country of southern New Mexico and Arizona from Lordsburg to Nogales. In such soil, it was an impossibility for the Spanish to raise the rations needed for a colony, and in consequence it was evident that when the land was settled, all provisions for a time at least would have to brought over from the Sinaloa side of the bay. The state in Mexico which is now called Sonora, was then called Sinaloa. The land in Sinaloa is fertile and was early put under cultivation. It is still one of the most productive states of old Mexico. But the peninsula was never capable of supporting itself and it is still as barren and unattractive as when Fr. de Vega first set foot upon it.

On Dec. 29th, 1679, a royal decree entrusted the spiritual affairs of the missions that might be founded in the peninsula to the Society of Jesus, and in 1683 a first systematic effort was made by Admiral Isidro Otondo y Antillon (X) to get a permanent post started. He was well seconded by the Jesuit missioners of Sinaloa, and under the direction of the provincial Rev. Bernardo Prato, three zealous missionaries prepared to accompany the expedition. They were Frs. Juan Copart, Eusebio Kino and Pedro Gogni, (or according to some chroniclers, Goni). Kino was a German and his name before the Spanish writers assailed it, seems to have been Kuhn. (XX)

(X). Some authors spell this name Atondo.
(XX). cf. Jesuiten Missionaire des Siebenzehn Jahrhunderts, by Anton Huonder, S.J.

II.

FIRST EFFORTS OF THE JESUITS

On March 30th, 1683, Admiral Otondo landed in the bay of La Paz, and set up a temporary station. He called the place Nuestra Senora de la Paz. The missioners set to work at once and efforts were made to fraternize with the Indians. Expeditions went out through the country, to get the geography accurately, to visit the surrounding tribes and to find places fit for cultivation. The colonists progressed veryslowly. They made friends with their immediate neighbors among the tribesmen but those Indians who lived further awy were less impressed with the necessity of becoming Christianized. Perhaps they were still smarting under the memory of outrages committed by Pinadero. A fight occurred between the Spanish soldiery and some of the tribesmen from among the high hills and several natives were killed. The Spanish troops however behaved with unwonted cowardice, which is the more to be wondered at as ordinarily they made a good showing. Their weakness caused the Governor some grave fears. Provisions were running low and he decided to return to Sinaloa for more. On Oct. 20th a boat came from the Yaqui River in Sinaloa with a load of horses, goats, and mules, and more supplies. The Fathers began to make progress with their savage charges and began to teach them a catechism. The work was difficult but they rose to the emergency. (X)

(x). Cf La Compania de Jesus. J.M.S. Baurignac. Part 2, p. 57/ff.

In less than two years the Jesuits had a straggling mission of over four hundred native converts and, better still, they had taken a long step toward the establishment of permanent peace and prosperity in the country. It is true, the land,did not become more fertile, however hard the good Fathers toiled at it, nor did there seem good prospects of a crop, and in consequence all the rations and other supplies continued to be brought over from Sinaloa.

Fr. Kino was now called away to the Yaqui missions on the Sinaloa side of the bay and Frs. Gogni and Copart continued the labor by themselves. But the adventurers and soldiers were becoming disgusted with the prospect. The governor did not have the same interes in saving souls that the Fathers had. He wanted results in terms of gold or pearls. The pearl fisheries had not continued to produce according to expectations and the land was unutterably barren. The soldiers had seen this at first and had said nothing, but now it was seized upon as an additional argument against the continuance of the Jesuit missions and the military wanted to abandon the country. The priests objected strenuously on the ground that the mission was just beginning to bring results and that perseverance would doubtless better conditions. But the adventurers after the fashion of their kind, were not much interested either in hard work or perseverance, and the heroic courage of the missioners was not in their plane of comprehension. A long argument ensued and Admiral Otondo with true Spanish executive ability transmitted the whole debate to his superiors in Mexico and stood by for orders. The Viceroy considered and informed Otondo that no more settlements should be made but that the one at San Bruno should be continued if it seemed possible. Admiral Otondo did not consider it possible, and so the mission was broken up after two and a half years of hard work.

Thus ended the first effort of the Jesuits to colonize and civilize this forbidding country. The situation did not seem to warrant any further exertions, and if the Missionems had let California severely alone no one would have felt surprise.

-III-

ATTEMPTS TO REESTABLISH THE MISSIONS.

The Jesuits did not forget their neophytes in the abandoned missions and Fr.Kino began a movement to resume work among them. The Society had achieved more with the scanty means at its disposal than had any person or persons that had visited the peninsula. After studying the case the Viceroy decided upon a move which proved that he could recognize men of real ability. On April IIth.I686,he resolved to entrust the entire affairs of the peninsula,both temporal as well as spiritual to the Compania de Jesus,provided that its members could see their way clearly to assuming such responsibilities. There is no question that the peninsula would have been vastly the gainer. The governor was taking a very politic move as well as a humane and progressive one,for there was no organization that served the cause of civilization and humanity more faithfully or unceasingly,with the wretchedly inadequate means put at their disposal,by the government. Besides, he knew well that nowhere could he find men more faithful to their country as well as to their principles. But the roll that they could muster at the time was quite small,and a number of very able persons would have been required. The other missions were loudly calling for more missionaries. Under these circumstances the Society was constrained to reject the offer,while expressing deepest regret at its inability to conduct the work along the lines indicated by the governor. No one recognized better than the missioners the distinction between spiritual and temporal powers. It was impossible as matters then stood that the Company should take up the plan. The Jesuits pledged themselves to

furnish what missionaries were needed for purely spiritual work, however even though the task should call for their last man. Repeated urging failed to alter this decision.

Fr, Kino made efforts to get a mission started, and tried to interest his superiors in another attempt independant of the Government but the Compania wisely resolved to await action by the temporal authorities. The Society was properly convinced of the necessity of Church and State aiding each other, though each keeping in its own sphere. Fr. Juan Salvatierra was interested in Fr. Kino's efforts, and carried the matter to three successive provincials, and finally to the King, but received no encouragement. In the meanwhile labors were continued among the savages in the missions already established upon the mainland.

In 1697 a new Superior General took command of the Compania, one Fr. Tyrso Gonzales de Santa Ella. He had been a missionary among the Moors and like Frs. Kino and Salvatierra he understood the zeal of the true apostle. He gave Salvatierra the needed permission and removed such obstacles as lay in his power. Salvatierra solicited alms from various quarters and with these slender means resolved to begin the work which many years of effort by the Spanish government and the expenditure of huge sums of money had failed to accomplish.(x)

(x) Cortez makes repeated mention of the great expenses incurred by expeditions to the then undiscovered parts of Mexico. cf. The Dispatches of Hernando Cortez. G. Folsom.

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THE MISSION WORK RESUMED.

The royal license to enter California was granted on Feb.6th, 1697, and at last it was possible for the heroic missionaries to embark upon their project, so much wished for and so long deferred. Fr. Salvatierra departed for Sinaloa on Feb.7th, to notify Fr.Kino while Fr.Juan Ugarte took care of the financial end of the work and solicited more funds. Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe promised to contribute a launch to the missionaries, and got it ready at the Yaqui River. Trouble among the Indian missions kept Fr.Kino from joining the expedition at once and on Oct.10th fearing further delay, Fr.Salvatierra sailed with Captain Luis de Tortolero, four soldiers and three Indian guides. Upon a study of topography around San Bruno, they decided to abandon the station which had been used twelve years before, and to set up a new one in San Dionisio Bay, some leagues further south. There was a slight growth of timber here and some evidences of vegetation. They called the first mission Loretto, which name it has borne ever since.

During the previous attempt twelve years earlier, Fr.Copart had compiled a dictionary of the natives' words and a rudimentary catechism in their unformed speech. Fr.Copart's works proved of great value to the struggling colony, and conversation with the Indians was early made possible. Fr Salvatierra began to teach them the fundamental ideas of religion and of civilization, and progressed very favorably. The Indians responded quickly but it is to be feared that they were as much influenced by the hope of obtaining rations as by desire for the Gospel. Fr.Salvatierra distributed food from time to time among the barbarians who were continually in need of it.

The uniform good fortune of the dealings with the natives was interrupted at this point by a short outbreak of hostilities. The savages apparently lost patience with their studies in civilization and attacked the fort. After repeated efforts by Fr.Salvatierra had failed to pacify them,and they began an assault in determined fashion, a volley from the garrison killed several and dispersed the rest. There was no more trouble for a long time. The following day another boat arrived from the mainland bringing Fr.Francisco Piccolo with more supplies. The interest taken by the Jesuits in the physical and spiritual welfare of their charges,and the lack of interest that they manifested toward the will o' the wisp pearl fisheries,made an impressive effect upon the minds of the savages who had come to regard all Spaniards as possible pearl hunters.

On the 2Ist of June a new ship the "San Jose" arrived from Sinaloa with more equipment and rations dispatched by Fr.Ugarte. The vessel was purchased by the Fathers of the Mission of Loreto but was shipwrecked shortly after,and a whole cargo of supplies lost. Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe again helped out with a contribution of supplies and another boat. One Don Augustin de Encinas added gifts of cattle, horses and other livestock. After two years the mission was progressing and the two intrepid missioners had acquired the uncouth and ill formed native gibberish,so well that they could not only converse with their savage parishioners,but could preach to them and instruct them in the religion and the duties that it imposed upon them. In the beginning of I699 Fr.Salvatierra went on his first tour of the peninsula. He visited the more northerly settlements of the tribesmen and met with the wildest of them,but succeeded in every case in gaining their confidence

A location that the natives called Vigge-Biaundo was sel ted by Fr.Salvatierra for a second mission. With the assistance of some of the more friendly of the Indians and some soldiers from the fort,Fr.Piccolo constructed a road thither from Loreto,and on Nov.Ist I699,the chapel for the new mission was completed and blessed by Fr. Salvatierra. The natives of this section were more docile and well disposed toward Christianity than any that the Fathers had yet met , and the brightest hopes were indulged in for the future of the new mission. Another chapel was begun at Loreto and was completed in I700. The process of civilizing was one that was sadly needed,for the desert country was not suited to easy cultivation. The Indians were not naturally disposed to hard work,any more than the Spaniards, though as they had been in the habit of living from hand to mouth,the were always next door to starvation. Some systematic attempts were made by the Jesuits to get the tribesmen to cultivate the land and the Indians gradually began to come over to a civilized view of such life. Spaniards,Mestizos and Indians from the mainland began to cor over to Loreto and in the year I700 there were seventy colonists . As the land produced comparatively nothing,almost the entire force de pended upon supplies brought from the mainland. This state of affai could not go on forever,and some means of bettering conditions becam necessary. In the spring of I700 Fr.Salvatierra crossed to the Son coast to effect better means of transporting supplies and to make a appeal to the council in Mexico for more vigorous help.

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THE INCREASING DIFFICULTIES OF THE MISSIONERS.

During the years 1698-99 .Fr.Salvatierra had in vain appealed to the royal council in Mexico for help. In March 1700 he drew up a memorial signed by himself and all the garrison in which the conditions of the colony were set forth and the difficulties under which they were laboring as well as the remarkable results that they had effected with practically no resources. He asked then for some action in assistance on the part of the council. This urgent and reasonable petition failed to produce any effect. Other petitions following it had no better fate. The Viceroy offered personal loans but that kind of remedy was not to the point. A large and growing colony required regular supervision and assistance from the government.

King Phillip the Fifth took very flattering notice of the Society but unfortunately his words never materialized. On July 17th. he decreed that the missions should not be abandoned and after thanking the Jesuits for their magnificent work, he ordered that an annual stipend be paid the missions.His orders were not very well carried out. No actual aid was given to the struggling Jesuits and it became evident that the missionaries,having asked for bread were receiving a cold politeness in lieu of the stone mentioned in Scripture. The Mexicans were not overly disposed to friendship either. Mexico was filled with adventurers and inroads by these wild characters were distinctly discouraged by the missionaries. Moreover the pearl fisheries were an incentive and Mexian soldiers of fortune would have liked an opportunity to establish a carnival of lawlessness along the Peninsula Coast,

but the Jesuits,having the royal decree of 1697 to back their actions, were sternly bent upon enforcing law and order,and compelling this rabble of buccaneers to respect the rights of the inhabitants. The adventurers had not been aware that the natives possessed rights,and were supremely disgusted at the missionaries' attitude. To make sure that the pearl fisheries were not a source of difficulties,the Fathers after much trouble procured an ordinance from the Mexican authorities,prohibiting any of the men in the settlement from diving for pearls and even from trafficking in them. The Mexicans had been in the habit of compelling captured Indians to dive for pearls and had caused death to many by forcing them to dive in inclement weather,or when in ill health or in extremely rough and dangerous waters. The abuses that grew up around the pearl fishing were legion,and to check them an iron hand was required. As no other means sufficed,the fisheries,as we have seen, had to be discontinued,and in consequence the adventurers did not feel any great affection for the Compania.

Nothing shows with more absolute clearness the complete impartiality of the Jesuits and their disinterested desire to save the unfortunate Indians,than their conduct in this matter. They had an opportunity to grow wealthy at the expense of the natives and of the Spanish colonists. They would have been strictly within the letter of Spanish law,too,and the only sufferers would have been the Indians whom no one knew or cared for,if the missioners be excepted. But the Jesuits proved conclusively why they had gone to the peninsula in the first place.

From the time of the heroic Las Casas many of the adventurers invading the Central and South American countries,felt the presence of missionaries as a drag and a hindrance upon themselves.

The missionaries constituted a restraint. A restraint was intolerable. Therefore they would have no restraint. After they were settled in the country and had their government definitely established, they were not inclined to change their ways of living and ruling, merely to agree with the desires of the missioners. Hence numbers of Mexican officials felt a dislike to the efforts of the Jesuits, and in many of the following events, this dislike bears the appearance of having rapidly developed into definite action.

Under such situations calumnies began to spring up apace. A new commander for the garrison came out, and not liking the situation, he complained about it, not to Jesuits in charge, nor to officials supposed to look after such matters, but in a private capacity, to friends in Mexico. This caused gossip and many of the faithful who had been contributing to the support of the missions gradually withdrew their aid. The officer in question, one Garcia de Mendoza found fault mainly with the provisions of the Jesuits against pearl fishing, and in his letters home stated his dislikes in no uncertain terms, while maintaining an air of friendliness toward the priests. In consequence, poverty grew upon the missions and as a more rigid economy was then needed, it became necessar y to cut down the guard to twelve men, and the Indians of the interior recognizing the weakened state of the post became insolent and troublesome. Fr. Salvatierra found himself beset by all kinds of difficulties. He crossed to Sonora toward the end of 1700 to obtain further help for his missions and had the good fortune to fall in with Fr. Kino who was still laboring among the Apache missions of Pimerias. Fr. Kino while unable to give any money which was an unknown quantity in his lonely territory, gave numbers of horses and cattle

as well as other varieties of live stock and some rude furniture. His efforts put the colony upon its feet again, and while it was difficult to pay the soldiers, it was possible at any rate, to eat, and Spanish soldiers of those days got along just as Napoleon said his armies did.

Kino was deeply interested in the geography of the Californ country, believing that it was a section of the mainland and not an island as was commonly supposed. At one time he had been a professor o mathematics at Ingolstadt and was well informed on the sciences known that day. He made a trip in the latter part of the yaar along the Me ican side of the Gulf of California toward the mouth of the Colorado River. He hoped to find a point at which the waters of the Gulf woul end. Lack of provisions compelled his return, but he assured himself that his supposition was correct. In Feb. 1701 Salvatierra came back to Fr. Kino's mission of Dolores and the two began a last exploring tri to the mouth of the Colorado. They arrived at a point from which the could see the entry of the Colorado into the Gulf, and the nature of th California peninsula was definitely established.

Fr. Salvatierra returned to his mission toward the end of Ap in 1701. Fr. Juan Ugarte was there before him. The work of the miss went on apace but the difficulties were not to be shaken off. More trouble occurred with the commandant Mendoza. Finding that his queru lous complaints and accusations did not produce the effect that he wished, he threatened to resign. In this he settled the whole difficu ty neatly, for Fr. Salvatierra at once told him that his resignation was accepted, and without delay appointed one Isidro de Figueroa as his suc cessor. Figueroa proved incompetent and by direction of the missione the soldiers elected a man to supersede Figueroa. They chose one Estevan Lorenzo, Portuguese by birth and a tried soldier.

From that time the Fathers had no more trouble with the garrison. Lorenzo was not only a good soldier but a good man, and the troops became a source of comfort and assistance instead of a handicap.

The mission at San Xavier continued to grow, but very slowly. The country was a trifle more fertile than at Loreto and under the unceasing efforts of Fr.Ugarte it produced enough th ration a few persons. Fr.Ugarte labored under tremendous difficulties, for the natives were brutish and savage to a degree almost incomprehensible among civilized peoples, responding but very slowly to the missioners' efforts. (x) They had the savage's inborn love of idleness and the extreme barrenness of the soil which made such unusual demands upon their strength and perseverance, disgusted them completely. The climate was not so inclement that rude shelters would not suffice, and they lived more like wild beasts than human beings. It was only by the most persistent efforts that Fr.Ugarte persuaded them to assist him and even then he found it necessary to perform the greater as well as the harder part of the tasks. The priest labored with unceasing kindness, however and gradually got his post in order. If it were not for the efforts of Fr.Ugarte the rest of the California missioners would have been compelled to leave. He even so far overcame the ruggedness of the ground as to raise a few grapes and a small quantity of wheat. A great drought over New Spain produced much distress about this time, but in his little mission far off among the savages Fr.Ugarte's labors were rewarded by prosperity.

(x). The idea of mission life among California Indians which commonly prevails is that fostered by such books as "Ramona" and others of like stamp. The ideal conditions pictured by this "laudator temporis acti" have no foundation in Lower California. There, existence was unpleasantly hard and the surroundings not at all Arcadian. The natives too, were of a grade distinctly inferior to those of Upper California and in consequence were less amenable to civilizing influences.

In I702 the drought and scarcity of provisions upon the mainland produced such want that no supplies could be sent from Sinaloa,and in consequence the missioners of Loreto had to be economical to a degree. As many of the Indians would have starved to death without the help of the Fathers much provisions had to be given away . Some of the savages revolted and in the course oftheir depredations destroyed much of the mission property,as well as some live stock recently sent over from Sinaloa for breeding purposes. The trouble was ended with much difficulty.

In March of I702 Fr.Piccolo went to the City of Mexico and endeavored to further the affairs of the mission. He was fortunate enough to get a portion of the money ordered by the King to be paid to the missions. It amounted to some six thousand dollars. With this and some gifts from the charitably inclined in Mexico,he hastened back and the situation was somewhat cleared. Trouble still occurred from time to time with hostile Indians and some who did not appear to recognize the advantages of civilization massacred a few of the converts. This was the occasion for another insurrection. Finally Captain Lorenzo killed several of the more stubborn enemies and having captured the chief had him executed. This put a stop to insurrections for a time.

-VI-

TROUBLES WITH MEXICO.

Commands about the missions now began to come out from Spain. The king directed that further governmental assistance be given the missions and that the stipend allowed them should be increased. Certain allowances were made for living expenees, religious ceremonies, and other sources of outlay, and a guard was to be furnished for the missions and the Philippine trade. Settlers were to be encouraged to land on the peninsula, and finally, every help in the power of the Viceroy was to be given the missioners. The King's orders were apparently treated with reverential attention and the dust grew deep upon them, but no money was paid the Jesuits. It is evidence of the extreme order among the Jesuit missioners, as well as their extreme devotion to law and discipline, that they never caused the slightest political trouble on account of this treatment. They never failed to give the Viceroy strict support in their missions, teaching their neophytes with strictest scrupulousness, to respect and obey his authority. Discussions in the City of Mexico gave the missioners no help. (x).

Most natural of all the features of this case is the vagueness that has surrounded it. This note is the repression that one might expect from a wrong doer, not fearing much for the results of his action, because a position as Viceroy was nearly impregnable, but naturally ashamed of the part he was playing. That the Viceroy should feel shame for not exerting himself to help the missions is a speculative point. Perhaps he did. But Justice worked in those days, although slowly, and even a Viceroy might finally be made to account for his ac-

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(x).cf.Los Tres Siglos de Mexico durante el Gobierno Espanol.p.104.T.2 Carlos de Bustamente.

tions, if death did not outstrip the tardy minions of the blind goddess. Now every word that the monarch laid down on the subject of missions in California breathed a spirit of care for their welfare. For the king to deliberately and repeatedly prevaricate over his own signature with not a thing to be gained which could not be attained without falsehood, would have been absurd and irrational. Men do not lie gratis. Facts are unanimous in showing the king's good will for the missions. His decrees and letters could not have cloaked an y motives other than those expressed. Admitting this, several interesting things might be inferred. The Viceroy might have reasoned thus; the king has the welfare of the missions at heart. His favor is prompted by his judgement swayed by the services that the missions are rendering him and the Church whose welfare he has also at heart. Advantage to the missions implied advantage to him. An injury to them would be an injury to him. Hostility to the king in one who was sworn to obey and uphold his authority was nothing else than treason. An open neglect of the royal decrees might be a downright invitation for arrest and punishment. A fanatic will invite consequences for whose nature he cares little, but at no time in the Viceroy's life does he appear a fanatic. Therefore when he neglected the King's decrees and enabled difficulties to multiply in the way of the missions, he took care not to invite the logical consequences of his deeds.

A second point was worthy of consideration. The missions had great numbers of influential and wealthy friends. It was no secret that they subsisted largely upon the charity of these friends. Suppression of the royal aid to the missions would bring these friends down in a body upon the Viceroy. In this case also the Governor was no fanatic. He was rational. He did not care to invite the bloody end which cut

off the conqueror ofPeru. If circumspection were needed to protect himself against the King ,it was doubly necessary against the hot headed and hawk eyed adventurers in Mexico. Their nearness to the Viceroy gave them an added advantage in studying his actions. They might not quarrel with him from purely disinterested love of the missions,but very few people do things from purely disinterested motives.

There was still another fruitful source of danger. The Philippine galleons and their Mexican ports were an endless trouble.(x) A seaport upon the California coast was much desired by all who were interested in the overseas trade . The missionaries were trying hard to find such a port. If it were known that they were being hampered by lack of official aid,which aid was being held back by the Viceroy,the trading population would have identified the grievance of the missions with their own. Again there was a necessity for diplomacy. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that caution directed Albuquerque's course and that climatic difficulties,and native insurrections are so commonly thought the chief reasons for the missioners' numerous troubles.

A point which is purely speculative and yet absolutely consistent with the whole story,is that among the many friends of the Jesuits in Mexico no record was left to show that they ever suspected the Viceroy of not exerting himself in behalf of the Missions. Whatever they may have thought,they wrote nothing. Now a few persons may go astray in their political views quite by accident. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility for even a very great number to do so. But with increasing numbers,the improbability steadily increases.

(x).cf. Tres Siglos de Mexico durante el Gobierno Espanol. T.2.p.129. Carlos de Bustamente.

The law of averages governs such a situation pretty closely. Under the circumstances, since apparently no violent suspicions of Albuquerq ever arose, and many friends of the Jesuits were connected with his actions, they must have been more or less unaware that he was neglecti the royal orders. It is improbable in the last degree that this "unawareness" arose in the case of all these people quite naturally. Rather it seems the result of a scheme designed to produce the very condition that actually prevailed. Such a point, while it may never be proved, is quite in keeping with the rest of the matter. Albuquerq policy certainly continued to produce results for years after his departure, and he was not illy remembered in Mexico. "Al fin del ano el Duque de Albuquerque que por ocho anos continuos habia gobernado la Nueva Espana con la mayor moderacion y prudencia y que habia sabid preservarla de turbulencias y partidos se volvio a Espana-- "(x).

"While these matters were going on in the City of Mexico and the Missionaries were waiting for the help that would not come, the drought continued and starvation became wide spread among the Indians. More and more came to the Missions to be fed and the strai upon the missionaries became greater, day by day. The situation was nearly intolerable, and the Fathers called a council to discuss the advisability of abandoning the Missions or at least of allowing any who wished to escape, to depart upon the ship which the missionaries provided for the purpose. The priests themselves resolved to stay and brave all difficulties to the end. Touched by their hardihood the entire garrison resolved to do likewise, and all the colonists decided to remain. The Indians helped out to the best of their ability by bringing roots and other wild foods of whatever sort could be found,

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(x) Los Tres Siglos de Mexico durante el Gobierno Espanol. T.2.p.106. Carlos de Bustamente.

and the soldiers and settlers fished and hunted for the scanty wild game of the country. In such suffering and troubles the winter of another year went by and still the missions were not well settled, still no help came from the Viceroy and still the sturdy Fathers struggled on. In 1704 it was decided to found another mission and the country was explored for that purpose. A site was found and the missioners made advances to the Indians who behaved in a friendly fashion. A number of the natives were baptized and a post was started in a rather informal fashion.

Albuquerque left shortly after the spring of 1708 and a successor was soon on the road to Mexico. This man, Linares, assumed office with every mark of friendship toward the missionaries. But he passed his term, nevertheless without doing a single definite thing for the California situation. He died in 1717 and left matters practically as they had been before. He bequeathed the missions some five thousand dollars from his own property but the governmental aid at the rate of seven thousand dollars a year for three years and thirteen thousand a year for twelve years had not been paid them on the ground that the money could not be spared from other Mexican demands. This had been a long standing excuse with Albuquerque. Fr. Salvatierra became provincial about this time and succeeded in getting part of a year's stipend but could obtain no more. In the following year a formal opening was made at the new mission and it was called San Juan Bautista.

Storms in the Gulf wrecked the Missioners' ship about this time and another which they immediately constructed shared a like fate. One of the younger missioners was drowned with several companions among the laity. Small pox made its appearance and swept off great numbers of Indians who were quite unaccustomed to it and knew no remedy.

Fr.Salvatierra died late in the year 1717,and the missions lost their best friend as well as their most zealous worker. A new Viceroy, one Valero,appeared in the spring however,and there were some hopes that matters in California would be improved. The expenses of conducting the missions had been very great and the missioners had paid them all themselves. They had to transport their goods a great distance and frequently upon pack mules and over mountainous country. The provincial Fr.Salvatierra,shortly before his death had decided that the money given to the missions by pious contributors ought to be so invested that it could not be lost in commercial transactions,and after submitting his plan to his superiors,he had invested much of it in real estate in the mission country. This gave the missions added strength.

The Indians were now taught the rudiments of schooling and were instructed in rude trades,were enabled to settle and farm the country where the nature of the land permitted it,and to put up houses and construct buildings for their live stock and implements. In short they began to take on the appearance of a semi civilized people. Efforts were made to teach them music and other arts of civilization,and some times these attempts had a fairly good effect. Absolute unanimity among the missionaries was another factor in their perfect work. No other power could have been sent into the country by the government which would have worked so well and done so much with so little friction. Guards were absolutely necessary of course,for many of the Indians were brutal and degraded to a degree,and some of the missionaries who went forth to preach without a guard of soldiers paid for their zeal with their lives. The entire work was voluntary. No one of the natives was compelled to assist or to adopt the faith. Preaching and teaching were the only arguments ever employed.

The soldiers had nothing to do with the Indians and appeared only to protect the priests. It is highly significant of the love and respect with which the soldiery regarded the missionaries that after the Spanish government began to pay the troops, the military still continued voluntarily under the authority of the missionaries.

Prompted to a great extent by his able minister, Cardinal Alberoni, the King made new efforts now to help out the missions. Under instructions, the Viceroy Valero called a council of the ministers directly after his arrival in Mexico and the Provincial of the Jesuits, Fr. Gaspar Rodero was invited to attend. Fr. Romano S.J. the procurator of California also came and the council was unanimous in its approval of the Viceroy's expressed determination to help the California situation. But his secondary plans, which were for founding a colony of Spaniards upon the peninsula did not meet with universal approval. Fr. Romero who was well acquainted with the situation and conditions, did not think such a plan feasible. He explained the situation at length to the Viceroy, and suggested that it be studied carefully. The outcome of the negotiations was disheartening. The Council and the Viceroy expressed themselves as determined to improve Californian affairs but they refused the Fathers a school among the natives, a request earnestly prayed for and sorely needed, they refused a military post at La Paz which was a downright necessity to restrain the hostile Indians of the mountains, and finally they refused the priests the right to open up salt works on Carmen Island opposite Loreto. This was one of the few really prosperous features of the new country and one that might have been made to yield a great revenue to the crown. The Viceroy and his council hampered the missionaries very badly. They did decree, it is true, that the back debts of Fr. Salvatierra should be

paid and that the missionaries should be reimbursed for what they had spent out of their own funds, and that the boat which they used for connections with Sinaloa should be kept in good repair. But all these were only secondary reliefs and merely left the colony where it was before. Finally the council decreed that the yearly stipend which had hitherto been kept back should be paid. We shall see how well they kept this decision.

In the fall of 1717 a terrific hurricane swept the peninsula and destroyed almost the entire mission of Loreto. Other missions suffered almost as badly. The determined Fr.Ugarte would not wait for the tardy governmental aid and a small boat was at once constructed upon the rocky California coast. He proceeded to collect supplies with this vessel and to rebuild the missions. At last the priests were beginning to get results at La Paz. This place had long been a thorn in the sides of the missions, for the Indians were wild and untameable and were not only vicious savages, but they had been continually and unjustifiably irritated by the adventurers and plunderers who came coasting up from Panama and who had worked the pearl fisheries for some years to the great detriment of the native population. The loss of the pearls probably affected the natives very little, but the deaths of so many of their best tribesmen, in the course of fishing in rough waters, must have had an irritating effect upon the popular conception of Spaniards. Very likely it influenced the natives in their views and opinions of the missionaries. In 1721 Frs.Guillen and Bravo made a permanent station on the La Paz bay and from this time on the trouble with the natives of this region slightly diminished.

-VII-

EXPLORATIONS ALONG THE COAST.

In 1727 Fr.Helen built a mission called Guadloupe at a point in twenty seven degrees north latitude and some seventy leagues north of Loreto. The Indians were quiet and of a peaceful nature so that the prospects for a settlement were fair enough from a spiritual standpoint, although rather under a cloud from a material view, as the site was so wet and cold as to be very unhealthful. Repeated plagues tormented the inhabitants and the locusts devoured their crops. Yet in 1726 Fr.Juan Gandulain counted no less than seven hundred and odd Indians living at the missions, taught by the Fathers and in a state of civilization which if not complete, was at any rate an immeasurable improvemert over their former modes of living.

At this time there came an increasing demand for a port upon the ocean side of California in which the galleons from the Philippines could halt. Merchantmen had been in the habit of sailing not directly across the Pacific, but rather of following the trade winds, which blew in a great half circle bringing them up close to the coast of California. The long voyage frequently brought on scurvy, and most of the ships needed repairs, supplies, or fresh water when they first made land. If they could have found a good port upon the California coast Philippine trade would have been greatly improved. The King had issued some orders much earlier upon this subject but like many of the orders that he sent to Mexico, they were not well obeyed. Fr. Ugarte although he had no boats constructed for ocean going and was of far advanced age, while the task promised to be toilsome in the extreme undertook to explore the shores of California and endeavor to discover

if it were possible for the Philippine ships to get into the Gulf of California by any small inlet, or failing this, to find if any bay could be utilized as a port for large ocean going vessels. Nothing in the whole career of this famous man shows more clearly his disinterestedness, and his devotion to the cause of his country as well as his faith. After exploring the coast for five months in stormy and cold weather, and finding no port and no possibility of the Philippine ships getting into the Gulf from the north, Fr. Ugarte came back, not to abandon the work, but to refit and begin his arduous labors anew. He dispatched another boat upon the search, and he himself prepared to go along, but was prevented by an ever increasing malady which was presently to bring about his death. The seacoast navigation was resumed and carried to a point north of previous examination but still no first rate roadstead could be found. In 1728 and 1729 new missions were founded and the Indians could now be reached from many points.

This stage of development should have been reached twenty years before. The retarding of the missions and the long inability of the missioners to get about more rapidly and meet all the Indians, is traceable more or less directly to the City of Mexico and the government officials who wound the Californian affairs in a maze of red tape from which they were never entirely freed. This hindered the missions when young and delayed their growth nearly a quarter of a century. Otherwise the development would have been more rapid, and by this time the missioners would in all probability have had nearly the whole peninsula settled and civilized, whereas they had only a good beginning. Conversions continued to increase but the Missions sustained a great loss in the death of Fr. Ugarte on the twenty fourth of December. In the same year his venerable assistant Fr. Piccolo also died.

In I729 more missions were located in the La Paz country and a few new missioners were sent out to take charge of the newly settled lands. But the number remained pitifully small. The Jesuits never at any time had enough men to enable the missionaries to get all the work done without undue strain upon many of the priests. Some were under double burdens all the time.

In I730 Frs.Echeverria and Tamaral were able to report slow but very satisfactory progress about the La Paz vicinity, although the usual difficulties of extreme dullness and brutishness among the natives hampered their work. Fr.Taraval was an exceptional man and among the new arrivals he stood out prominently as the man best fitted if any one was, to replace the heroic Salvatierra. It is largely to his zeal for historical accuracy and his diligent search for information, and his reliable judgement in selection that we possess most of the facts recorded in the history of Lower California. In the year I733 the missions of San Jose, Santa Rosa and Santiago, all in the south, were menaced by more Indian troubles which were only averted by the courage and forethought of Fr.Tamaral. In the interior the Indians resisted the missioners very stubbornly, quite in contrast to the natives of the coast regions, who had shown themselves much more docile, though quite as ignorant, lazy and incompetent. Thus matters stood at the close of the year I733.

-VIII-

UPRISING OF THE NATIVES.

One of the most critical periods of the mission history now arrived. The supineness and ill temper of the Mexican officials for the first time showed direct results. The whole web of events had been years in weaving, and wearisome in detail, but now flashed out the first consequence. The Fathers had repeatedly pointed out the necessity of strong military guards in the peninsula, and the need of having them located at strategic points, but the posts so sorely needed had been refused, and the effects now became apparent. During the winter a wide spread conspiracy arose among the natives. Dreading the firearms of the soldiery they planned to cut off the soldiers one by one. There were but a few enlisted men at Loreto and the task was comparatively simple. The troops in the outlying stations were surrounded and killed and an effort was made to have Fr.Tamaral and the guard at Loreto fall into the same trap. Fr.Tamaral's soldierly habits and acuteness enabled him to avoid the danger and save the lives of the people under his charge. But the lack of a strong force compelled the abandonment of Loreto and the mission was sacked and burned. La Paz was destroyed and it became evident that before long San Jose would be attacked. A soldier who had escaped through the tumult fled all the way to Mission Dolores, more than sixty leagues to the north and gave the alarm. The Father-Visitor, Fr.Guillen who was at Mission Dolores sent orders at once to Frs.Carranco and Tamaral, with the neophytes still surviving, to hasten to a point near La Paz and take a boat for Dolores. Everything was now in wildest confusion. The letters were intercepted upon the road and no news reached the two priests. Santiago was attacked upon the first

of October and Fr.Carranco killed. San Jose was destroyed the following day and Fr.Tamaral murdered by the same band that had wrecked Santiago. The Christian Indians were killed or dispersed throughout the mountains. The missions were ruined. Fr.Taraval escaped through the enemy and getting to the bay of La Paz found the boat sent by Fr.Guillen. The few survivors were collected and taken to Espiritu Santo Isle. The whole affair happened in an incredibly short time. The work of many years fell into nothingness.

One would think that such a turn of affairs would rouse the Mexican officials to the true state of the California trouble. It did nothing of the kind. Only persons who have met the Mexican and watched his ways can realize how supine he can become upon occasions. Fr.Guillen's plea for a guard upon the peninsula had fallen upon deaf ears. The destruction of the missions,the relapse of so many of his Majesty's subjects into barbarism,the martyrdom of the heroic missionaries the loss of so much territory,and of salt mines and of pearl fisheries of great potential value; all these considerations moved the Mexicans not a whit. The Viceroy,Bizarron replied to Fr.Guillen's earnest request for immediate aid,with that formal and tiresome courtesy so common to the Mexican,and which is in itself an insult being intended to to convey a sneer without offering a pretext for a retort. His attitude was very typical of many Mexican officials and was the kind that makes the modern American of the New Mexican border boil with exasperated wrath every time that he comes in contact with it. Fr.Guillen was almost in despair. The Indians around Mission Dolores were becoming restless and it was evident that the spirit of revolt was spreading. A council was held on the ground and as it was evident that no troops would be sent by the rascally Viceroy,Fr.Guillen decided that it would

be imprudent as well as useless to expose his men any longer in the outlying missions, and he accordingly called all the missioners to the General Head Quarters near Loreto where the wreck of the mission forces had made a stand. Further troubles now befell the peninsula. The Philippine galleon on its way home was stricken with scurvy and ran in near Cape St. Lucas to find a small bay where fresh water and food could be had. A satisfactory place was discovered, and thirteen seamen went ashore with a small boat, but while getting water from the spring, they were attacked by the rebel natives and all were massacred. Another boat went ashore and the crew fought off the natives and killed several. This affair roused wild excitement in Acapulco and the City of Mexico. Relatives of the murdered men threatened revenge against the officials who had failed to provide a guard upon the dangerous coast, and reports of the Viceroy's proceedings began to filter back to Spain. That person woke up at last and dispatched a force to the peninsula under Huidrobo the governor of Sinaloa. This body effected a reduction of the peninsula, as anyone could have foreseen that they would, but the mischief was done. The missions were destroyed, the missionaries had been driven out, some killed, many of the neophytes murdered, the farming which they had begun and carried on with the greatest toil was reduced to nothingness, and worst of all the Indians were again driven back into a state of abject and savage wildness, and absolute fear and hate for the Whites. They could not again be easily collected and brought under civilizing influences, and this had a drawback that could not be properly estimated by one not on the ground. To make matters worse it was now necessary for a larger military force to occupy the country for some time and a great influx of strangers was the result. In the train of the military came every sort of disreputable character.

The missionaries found themselves called upon to combat every form of vice prevalent among civilized nations while endeavoring to tame the wild and intractable savages who had been frightened out of their wits by the rough treatment that they had received, and embittered by seeing many of their relatives killed in battle or taken and executed. It is no wonder that the task seemed colossal and it would have been no matter for surprise if the Jesuits had abandoned it all and given up in despair. All these troubles again can be traced more or less directly to the old officials of Mexico City and more distantly to Albuquerque. He was responsible for the cramped conditions that hampered the colony when it was young, by his failure to carry out the decrees issued in assistance of the missions by the Spanish King. If Albuquerque's enmities had been kept out of official life, the missions would have grown and prospered twenty years sooner, and in all likelihood those twenty years would have witnessed the civilization of the peninsula, and the insurrection that spread such wide flung ruin would never have occurred. The Fathers would have had guards sufficient to protect themselves, and at the same time of such character that they would not have been a scandal to the Indians and a hindrance to the missionaries as so many of the military actually were. Despite royal decrees to the contrary, Bizarron insisted that the new garrison should not be subordinate in any way to the missionaries, and he had his way. The old troubles all began anew. Bizarron throughout the whole case appears absolutely disloyal. It is hard to see how any other construction can be put upon his actions.

The pearl fishers now returned and a reign of lawlessness commenced which produced the former results. The Viceroy hindered the affairs of the Jesuits at every turn, and directed the soldiers

to act independantly of the Fathers all the time. This kept the colony constantly on the verge of ruin. Gradually a new force of missioners appeared and the old missions were all opened again, but things were not as they had been before. In due time Bizarron sent his reports to Spain and the provincial of the Jesuits sent in his account. The King deliberated upon the situation and turned the matter over to the Council of the Indies.

The Council of the Indies debated long and earnestly. Finally they offered some recommendations to the King and he accepted them, putting them forth in a royal decree, dated Nov. 13th 1744. The decree dealt with four specific points. First, that the missionary work should continue in charge of the Jesuits, second that colonies of Spaniards should be founded in convenient spots in the vicinity of the new country, for the purpose of better settling and subjugating it as well as civilizing it, third, the Jesuit missionaries should try to enter the peninsula from the north for the purpose of getting the country more quickly under control, and fourth, that to insure the more rapid spread of Christianity, the numbers of the missionaries be doubled and soldiers be provided to guard and escort them.

These regulations prove at least that the attitude of the King and the Council was friendly toward the missions. There is no room to doubt that the monarch was animated by the best and most sincere motives, and that he recognized the true worth of the great work that the Jesuits were doing. In compliance with official instructions, the provincial of the Compania de Jesus, in Mexico, drew up and forwarded a report covering the situation as he saw it. He explained that it would be profoundly difficult to comply with some of the royal instructions, and that furthermore in the state in which the country then was,

some of them could be carried out only with the greatest inconvenience and danger. Colonization was impracticable in many places on account of the extreme barrenness of the soil, which only in a very few parts was fertile enough to produce a scanty vegetation. Fifty years of exploring and missionary work had given the Jesuits a keen insight into the situation and they must doubtless have possessed much unrecorded local information which added to their convictions about the country.

When the Father Provincial's report reached Spain, King Philip the Fifth had died. His successor Fernando the Sixth, a good man but apparently less acquainted with the situation in California than the former King, sent a copy of the Father Provincial's letter to the Viceroy in Mexico with instructions to proceed as his judgement dictated. Thus again this most important task was left to the decision of a man far from the scene of action and inclined from his surroundings not to get an exact view of the case. Don Juan de Horcasitas, the Viceroy, gave the document careful and somnolent consideration. Apparently he must still be considering it for his action in the case has yet to commence.

In spite of apathy in Mexico affairs were slowly pushed forward in California and the Missioners rallied all their slender forces and began once more. They were advancing to their last task in California.

-IX-

FINAL EFFORTS OF THE MISSIONARIES.

Several German Jesuits came at this time to the ranks of the workers in California. All were men of great reputation and of indefatigable zeal. All exerted themselves heroically. Notable among them were Fr.Francis Wagner who after several years of arduous work died at San Jose on Oct.12th 1744,and Fr.Fernando Consag. About this time the veteran commander of the post at Loreto passed away. Estevan Lorenzo had been with the Jesuits from their early missions and had had an irreproachable character,as well as ability as a soldier and an administrator. The missionaries felt his loss very deeply.

Nearly one hundred missions were now held by the Fathers, in various sections of the country,and there were not nearly enough priests to attend to all of them. The work as usual was doubled up upon those men who were in a position to do more than the others,and thus the determined apostles of religion and civilization struggled along in the face of innumerable difficulties. Fr.Consag was one of the most persistent and hard working of all this heroic band. (x). Fr.Jorge,(Georg ?) Retz was another German Jesuit who ably assisted Consag in his work. Frs.Consag and Retz explored a large section of the country to the north and before the death of Fr.Consag in 1759, the geography of the country was decided pretty definitely. This was a great step and an incalculable advantage for succeeding explorers and missioners. Fr.Juan Armesto who was now the procurator for the missions persuaded the king to have a ship built for the California

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(x). cf. Jesuiten Missionaire des Siebenzehn Jahrhunderts. Huonder S.J.

work and with the aid of this boat the task of spreading the faith and carrying supplies was greatly facilitated. The missioners progressed so favorably that shortly after they had another boat built. In 1762 Fr.Wencelao Link,a native of Bohemia came to San Borja and to a great extent took up and carried on the work of the heroic Fr.Consag. The Indians still gave slight trouble from time to time,but Fr.Link by his cool behavior and diplomatic conduct kept them reasonably quiet and prevented repeated outbreaks. A final attempt at an insurrection was forestalled and after all the culprits had been captured and kept in confinement for a day, Fr.Link obtained their release from the military and the difficulty was forgotten. In 1764 Fr.Victoriano Arnes came out to help Fr.Link and the aging Fr.Neumayer,who was at Todos Santos. Fr.Link made a perilous and exceedingly difficult journey to the mouth of the Colorado River during this year in order to look for suitable sites for new missions. He found a few spots that seemed satisfactory and made a report upon the journey.

At Calamyet,in the locality called Guiricata by the Indians Frs.Arnes and Diez were sent to begin another mission. The place was not well chosen. It is about four leagues from the bay now called San Luis and in longitude 114° 22'. After working on for several months in this desolate place it became evident to Fr.Arnes that in a locality so barren,nothing could be accomplished. Besides,his companion Fr.Diez became so ill that he had to be recalled,and the Indians of the vicinity were hostile and ill dipposed. Some who were friendly attacked the malcontents and prevented serious harm to the missionary but Fr.Arnes realized that work on this site could produce little results,and resolved to shift the mission somewhat. In a spot some sixteen leagues to the northward he found a locality slightly better and at

that point recommenced his arduous labors.

The last Jesuit who died upon the peninsula was Fr.Carlos Neumayer who passed away at Todos Santos on August 30th.1764. Troubles among the Indians now began to rise upon another point. One Don Manuel de Ocio who had formerly been a soldier,had obtained permission to institute a small pearl fishery,and after that source of wealth had been exhausted,he had transferred his activities to some small silver mines in the vicinity. He imported a number of miners from the mainland to do this work and thus began a fruitful source of trouble. The miners were of a low class and their association with the Indians was anything but beneficial for the savages. The Jesuits were unable to check the growing disorder,and the miners filled the heads of the Indians with stories prejudicial to the Missions,and tending to cause the greatest disorders. They were persistent agitators and the missionaries had to face an exceedingly grave difficulty. The Indians stirred up by these laborers made foolish,unreasonable and impossible demands. The Jesuits were in hard straits. Anyway they turned they became exposed to calumny. When they sold supplies according to royal orders they were accused of being commercial and of endeavoring to enrich themselves and when they gave food and clothing out of charity they were said to be improvident fools who were impoverishing the Missions.

The long struggle was nearly at an end. The Missions might have prospered and made Lower California a partially wealthy country as well as a civilized and happy one,if they had been given strong support from the outset. Even at a later date they were in a fair way to accomplish those results. But the whole order now met a blow that closed the California question forever. In 1767 King Carlos ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish possessions.

This move came as a shock to all in the New World, not merely those who had been in contact with the order and knew of their ability, but to those who had learned of them only by hearsay

We are not here concerned with the reasons that prompted the expulsion of the Jesuits from the royal domains or that later on prompted the papal authority to suppress the order. Suffice it to say that the King's mandate was carried out to the letter and by their quiet submission the Jesuits proved their patriotism and devotion to their country in the face of harsh mistreatment. The decree was carried out all over Mexico on June 25th.1767. The military seized the Jesuit missions not only those of Mexico but of the adjacent Indian countries. In California Captain Gaspar de Portola landed with fifty soldiers and took charge of the stations. He met with no resistance, and the orders of the King were punctually carried out. It is an odd commentary upon the workings of the blind goddess that every decree which the King of Spain issued for the welfare of the missions should have been delayed, misunderstood, held up, thwarted or bluffly disobeyed, while the first motion that he made against the Order was clearly understood and carried out to the letter. The intelligence of the Spanish officials received a sudden quickening and clarifying when it became possible to work an injury upon the missionaries. It is another proof of the old fact that history is not all written in books.

On Feb.23rd.1768, fifteen Jesuits, priests, with one lay brother assembled for the last time in the mission church of Loreto and after hearing Mass departed. Thus the Jesuits passed from the missions of California. They came in poverty, anxious only to serve their country and their religion. They were rewarded by seventy years of unceasing toil, peril and suffering which culminated in martyrdom for some of them,

and at the end of their toils they were rewarded by an expulsion such as might have been given the lowest kind of criminals. Neither sanctity nor diligence, neither love for their work nor love for their country, neither their sacred character nor their holy occupation of spreading religion and civilization, availed against the irresponsible word of an absolute monarch. The missioners when leaving California might well have paraphrased the dying words of Strafford. They had even greater right to complain.

The missions were not allowed to lapse and new men were sent to these fields but the Jesuits saw them no more. With the passing of the Jesuit missioners the California situation ceased to be a problem for their successors ceased to push matters with the indefatigable vigor of their predecessors and Spanish official rule choked all activity. To this day the peninsula is as barren and life upon it is as unpromising as if no civilizing influences had ever struck roots in its burning and inhospitable sands.

CONCLUSION.

The story of the Jesuit Missions of Lower California seems to an observer who looks at it for the first time like an unmitigated tale of misfortune and hardship. Indeed it is little else. The work was colossal from the first, and throughout it was hampered and dragged down in a way that seems almost incomprehensible. One would think that any effort to spread civilization and social and moral improvement would meet the unqualified approval of all people who called themselves civilized. The human element in history has played some queer tricks. The study of this peninsula and the Jesuits' efforts to civilize it, offers a curious problem and one far from solution. Probably it will never be quite understood. An enormous amount of research could be done, and quite possibly no more definite conclusions be reached. The crux of the whole question lies in the fact that no matter how much a man may be impelled by motives of policy and morals, he can still be led by his prejudices into quite a different course. The human equation is the mainspring of the entire situation. This story of California resembles many another debateable question of history in which this same human equation has played a part largely unseen and yet deeply significant. True history is far from being speculative. It deals with facts. "History is thus obliged to combine with the study of general facts, the study of certain particular facts. It has a mixed character, fluctuating between a science of generalities and a narrative of adventures." (x).

When varying causes have produced a given effect there is

(x).cf.Introduction to the Study of History. Langlois & Seignobos. p.238.

always an opening for speculation upon the share that is due to each cause ~~and this~~, as well as upon its nature and the extent of its work. Such questions are as elusive as quicksilver. Long discussion of them may result only in the conclusion that knowledge will never be had of their true cause and origin. If only the situation is outlined and some of the effects produced are definitely understood, then a long step will have been taken toward grasping the causes. On the safe principle that we do not gather "figs of thistles, nor grapes of thorns" it is also true, other things being equal, that historical problems are produced by perfectly proportionate causes. The unnatural and vastly disproportionate difficulties that entangled and burdened the missioners were not the outcome of natural and proportionate causes. An irregularity is traceable throughout, shadowing the entire story, an undercurrent running counter to the normal trend of affairs. Beginning and ending alike are lost in obscurity, but from time to time on the drifting tide of events appear the indications of a vague undersurface power, always moving counter to the work of the missions. It was one of those influences known only by its effects, and the nature of the influence may be sharply inferred from the nature of the wreck that it left behind in the missions of Lower California.

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