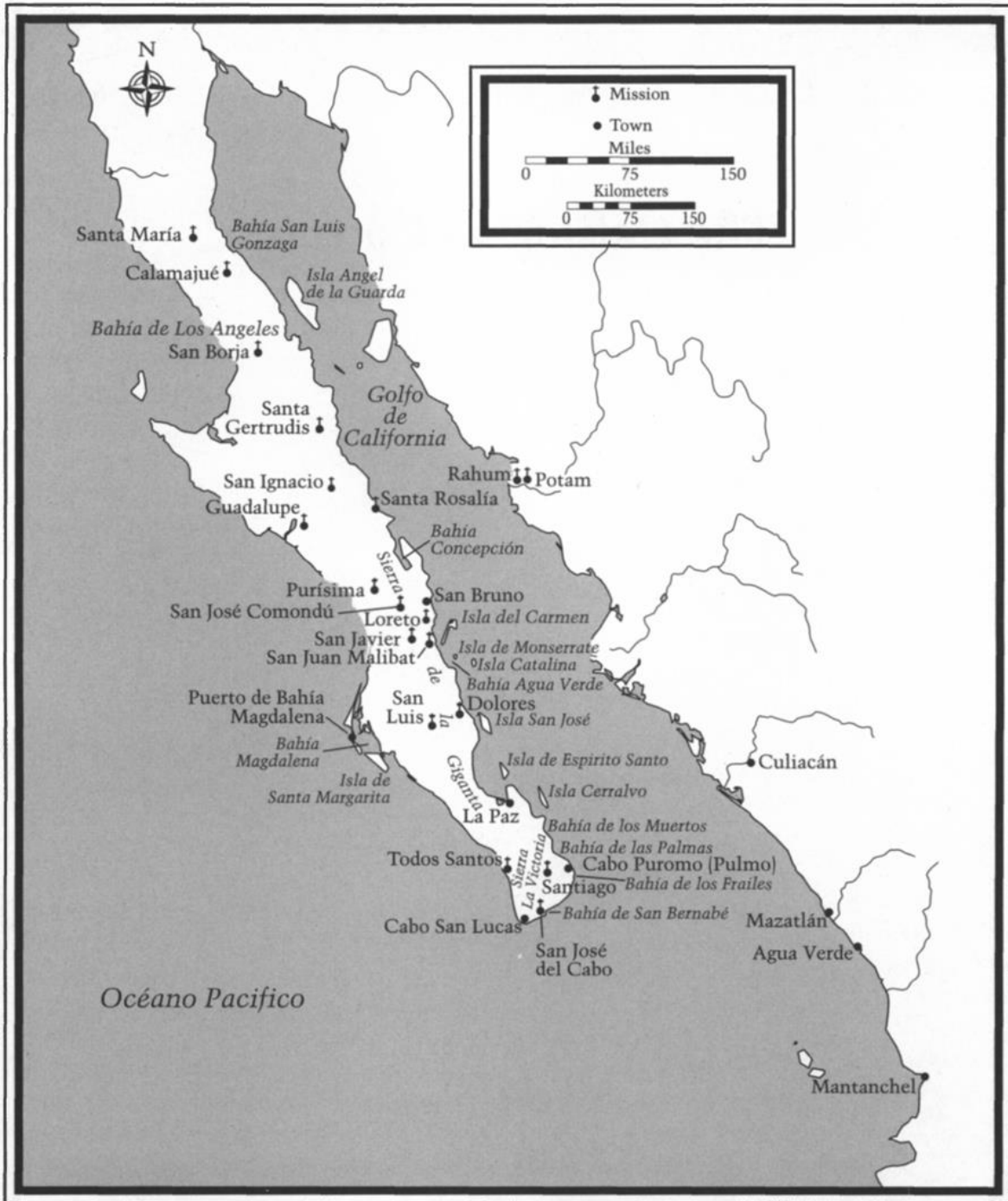


THE CALIFORNIA CORRIDOR



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Acknowledgments

The writing of history has a way of creating its own history. As Volume Two of *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain* came to completion, we looked back over years of involvement with only a faint hope of remembering the contributions of archivists, scholars, and students toward its production. When Volume One came off the press in 1986, the ten-year period of its preparation seemed unusually

long, and the promise of Volume Two appeared invitingly close. It was not to be. Little did we realize that political winds were shifting and that vital funding would be sharply curtailed at both the federal and state levels.

Those circumstances actually generated our first debts of gratitude, because the director of the Arizona State Museum, Raymond H. Thompson, defended the value of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW) project despite perilous budget recisions. And the executive directors of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), Richard Jacobs and Gerald George, maintained at least minimal funding for the project when scores of others were jeopardized. We are deeply indebted to Roger Bruns, Mary Giunta, and Nancy Sahli, under whose management the Publications Program of the NHPRC stood steadfastly by us in difficult times. And naturally, we have also to thank the commissioners of the NHPRC, who maintained their confidence in the DRSW project and its worthiness for publication.

We proceeded confidently to structure the forthcoming book, only to learn that its size would far exceed the limitations of book crafting. The central document of this period, Pedro de Rivera's tour of inspection of 1724, discussed in the introduction, was broken out for separate publication. This decision greatly affected the team involved in preparing the remaining documents. Within a month it was clear that an adequate documentary portrayal of the presidio in the north of New Spain would require a second volume in two books. The first book, referred to as Part One, under the general editorship of Charles W. Polzer, S.J., and Thomas E. Sheridan, was entrusted to a varied team of transcribers and translators. The California documents first came into the care of Laura Cummings, then a doctoral candidate in linguistics. Daniel S. Matson, a retired professor of linguistics, began the tedious work of translating a series of select documents. Zarina Estrada, another linguistics doctoral candidate, tackled long and abstruse texts that were mired in historical trivia. The work was accomplished with dogged determination, even though several of these efforts later had to be excised from the final manuscript. The remaining documents for the California section, some of which proved rather troublesome, were handled by Dale Brenneman and Michael Brescia, both graduate assistants on the DRSW project. The Sinaloa-Sonora documents were entrusted to Jorge Acero, Luz María Hernández, Lauren McElroy, Dan Matson, Rafael Saavedra, Elizabeth Wheeler, and Emily Wilson; the team exchanged work on transcription, translation, verification, and annotation.

Part Two began under the skilled supervision of Thomas H. Naylor, then a doctoral candidate in history. He was originally assisted by Diana Hadley, Patrick Hays, and Raul and Raymunda Saba. Naylor's work was tragically interrupted by his death in a

horseback riding accident in the spring of 1990. None of the DRSW staff was prepared to make up for such a substantial loss. His knowledge and love of central Mexico and Texas simply was unmatched, so the task that befell his chief assistant, Diana Hadley, was overwhelming. Part Two of Volume Two slowed to a near-halt. Hadley was best prepared of anyone on the staff to take over the reins of editorship for Part Two. She quickly reached out for help, and it came in the person of Mardith Schuetz-Miller, a longtime scholar of Spanish Texas history. As a friend and confidant of Naylor, Schuetz-Miller was able to flesh out the selection of documents cut short by Naylor's death. By 1992, Part Two was taking shape, and a new team of graduate assistants joined with Hadley to transcribe, translate, verify, and annotate the array of documents that would accompany Schuetz-Miller's contributions to the Texas material. Once again, many efforts were in vain because several selections had to be excised to make the size of the volume manageable. Nevertheless, the DRSW project recognizes the work and skills of Jorge Acero, Jennifer Gilbert, Dan Matson, Raul and Raymunda Saba, and Catherine Tucker. Again, the team of Spanish linguistic scholars of Zarina Estrada, Rosa García Barragán, Lupita Martínez, and Gloria Ciria Valdez-Gardea was indispensable. Osvaldo Barreneche, Dale Brenneman, and Philip Coyle were of special assistance in the preparation of Part Two and have been recognized as assistant editors.

Presidio and Militia, Volume Two, like all the publications of the DRSW, represents the work of a team of scholars and students, backed up by a quiet, dedicated staff of persons who manipulate the research database and manage the word processing of documentary texts. In these days of computer typesetting, the responsibility of copyediting has fallen back into the laps of the composers. Our special gratitude goes to Frederick Jandrey, the loyal guardian of the DRSW Master Indexes, to Martha O. Martin for her meticulous entry of Spanish text, to Rubén Flores-Díaz for his computer wizardry, and to Carmen Villa Prezelski and Lupita Martinez for efficient office management while handling scholars, students, and an inquisitive public. With the texts in place, Adam Savin extracted all the terms for the glossary and provided explanatory definitions. Victoria Juárez de Savin inherited the task of finalizing the manuscript with all the complications of modern computer technology; she has performed with distinction.

Once the manuscripts were completed, the University of Arizona Press assigned dedicated editors to hone down the final copy. Special thanks go to Joanne O'Hare, general editor, to Al Schroeder for editing and composition, and Kirsteen Anderson, who saw the bulky manuscripts through final publication.

Charles W. Polzer, S.J.

General Editor

The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain
Volume Two, Part One The Californias and Sinaloa-Sonora,
1700–1765

[Volume Introduction](#)

This second volume of *The Presidio and Militia in Northern New Spain*, divided into Parts One and Two, continues the documentary study of the institutional military history of the Spanish Empire in northern New Spain. Whereas the earlier volume, known internally as *Presidio I*, treated a long span of time in a relatively confined geographical region, the current volume, *Presidio II*, picks up the story around 1700 and moves it through only six decades to the early 1760s, but covers a much vaster territory. The first volume was structured primarily on chronology, plotting out the evolution of the presidio as it gained prominence in an expanding frontier. This second volume recognizes regional distinctions and is consequently divided into several geographical sections, which are then handled in chronological fashion.

Part One, this volume, is devoted to events and episodes in the Californias (the early colonial referent for the peninsula of Baja California) and events in Sinaloa and Sonora, the mainland of the northwest coast of New Spain. Part Two, the next volume, concentrates first on presidial presence along the central corridor as far north as New Mexico, then on presidial expansion into Texas. These four sectors have on occasion been described in interpretative literature as "corridors" because the dynamics of expansion followed these four lines of communication and trade with central Mexico. Spillover between the corridors was not uncommon, but in general the major historical dynamics followed north-south lines and were contained within the regions.¹ Another historical interpretation sees northern expansion as centered in the heartland of Nueva Vizcaya; this is a thoroughly defensible thesis, but it does not lend itself to an

evolutionary analysis of institutions such as the presidio and the mission.² After the creation of the Provincias Internas in the last half of the eighteenth century, the corridor concept diminishes in usefulness because Bourbon attempts at uniform administration of the north clouded regional issues. These attempts at uniformity in the Intendancies actually played into the hands of regional division, if for no other reason than the impossibility of administering the political, social, and military needs of a region that stretched from the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico from a central headquarters in a tiny village in Sonora.³ Those who have traversed this terrain know that the idea of controlling such a vast region from Arizpe (Sonora) borders on the ludicrous because of the isolation and asperity of the area. Yet this truth never really registered with the high-minded aristocrats from Europe. The problems of political organization and military effectiveness in this later period do not concern the present documentary study, but they do illustrate the inadequacy of critiquing Spanish colonial policy, especially in regard to the presidial system, according to the model of eighteenth-century reforms, a point discussed in the introduction to Volume One.



Northern New Spain

When the DRSW project was inaugurated in 1975, the publication objectives were arranged into three categories: (1) the Jesuit Relations of the Southwest, (2) the

Franciscan Relations of the Southwest, and (3) the Civil-Military Relations of the Southwest. The third category was recognized and financed by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission as a fundamental contribution to the history of the American West. The earliest research revealed a pattern to presidial history that showed this frontier institution as a response to internal Indian hostility. In other words, the purpose of the presidio was not to advance the military frontier into "enemy" territory which would then be settled by civilian immigrants. The controlling notion behind expansion was the abrupt claim to all lands, occupied or not, that were not in the control of acknowledged sovereigns. More often than not, settlers moved into "unoccupied" lands, only to be followed by military support when conflict arose between the newcomers and native residents. Clearly, this demonstrates both a mentality and a policy quite distinct from our contemporary concepts of aggression, expansion, and occupation.

As Volume One indicated, the presidio as a frontier institution used the model of the North African garrisons that Spain had successfully employed to protect trade routes in the desert. Over time the military aspects of the presidio gave way more and more to professional soldiering, the ragtag descriptions of the men and their posts notwithstanding. *Presidio I* brought the story of the presidio up to a "pre-professional" period, so when *Presidio II* was being designed, the inspection of the presidial system by Brigadier General Pedro de Rivera emerged as the linchpin of the study. Around this document the others were to be arranged. It became indisputably clear, however, that the Rivera material was too lengthy to be included with all the other documents in a single volume. Hence, the editors, Naylor and Polzer, chose to present the Rivera material in a separate volume that has been published as *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations of Northern New Spain, 1724–1729*. The linchpin of *Presidio II* was thus broken out, necessitating a different arrangement of documents in this sequel volume. This decision led to the geographical partition of the remaining documents and the further decision to break the second volume into two parts.

Part One: California and Sinaloa-Sonora

Drought and Indian rebellions in northern New Spain in the last quarter of the seventeenth century unquestionably stalled Spanish expansion into the north. The aftermath of the Toboso Revolt (1660) and the shock of the successful Pueblo Revolt (1680) forced a reconsolidation of Spanish forces in the two existing corridors (Pacific slope and central plateau); the Texas and California corridors were yet to be opened. The almost premature expansion into New Mexico in the early part of the seventeenth century left that colony nearly isolated and dependent on a thin line of supply and

communication. The shredding of security in the central corridor by the events of the Toboso rebellion placed the survival of the Spanish settlements of the upper Río Grande in peril.⁴ When the Pueblos finally threw off the yoke of Spanish dominion, the settlers retreated to the fringes of Chihuahua, where they found the land poorer for farming and ranching and where they were still subject to hostile raiding.⁵

At the time of the Pueblo Revolt, the other center of Spanish expansion was at Culiacán, Sinaloa, the more-than-century-old base of Nuño de Guzmán and Francisco Ibarra. The Villa de Sinaloa had sprung up in the rich delta lands of the rivers flowing westward from the rugged canyons of the Sierra Madre Occidental. It was a lush, subtropical headquarters for ranching, farming, and lucrative mining. The Crown recognized it as the hub of military activity for the region and supported a fifty-man garrison, whose duties rarely brought them into hostile action against local natives. As a matter of fact, one of the primary responsibilities of the Sinaloa garrison was to respond to threats of French, Dutch, and English pirates who occasionally raided the west-coast ports of New Spain.⁶ Curiously, when the Pueblo Revolt erupted, Governor Isidro Atondo y Antillón adamantly refused to send military relief to the beleaguered New Mexican garrison; he had been preparing for a new thrust into California to exploit the pearls of the "island" and establish more settlements along the western shores of the Sea of Cortés to increase security. The sense of regional security for the whole frontier was not well defined or generally shared, and Atondo was able to avoid becoming embroiled in the fiasco of New Mexico. After his failure to maintain settlements in California, however, New Spain's higher administration prevailed on the governors of Sinaloa to split the presidial force and station a "flying company" in the heart of Sonora, in order to keep the flame of revolt from spreading too deeply into the western flanks of the Sierra.⁷ This detachment was in full operation at the time the reconquest of New Mexico was begun by Diego de Vargas (1692–93), which meant that the western perimeter would be maintained as a secure front against hostile Indians from New Mexico. In fact, it was during this very period that the classical Apache menace grew to new proportions and called for increased Spanish military action, a policy well illustrated in *Presidio I* in the campaigns of Generals Domingo Jironza and Fernández de la Fuente.

The opening of the California corridor had stronger apostolic motives than military ones. Continual failures to settle the island were adequate proof to the Crown that California would prove valuable only as a possible site to succor the Manila galleon and to save countless abandoned peoples through religious conversion. As the documents in the California section will show, the conversion of California loomed as a major ascetical exercise. Everything, it seemed, became subject to the judgment and purposes of the rector of the California missions. From the moment of the agreement between the

Society of Jesus and the viceroy that the Californias could be reopened without expense to the Crown, the Jesuits carefully controlled entry into and residence on the peninsula. The twenty years when the California missions were under the jurisdiction of Father Juan María Salvatierra (1697–1717)—who insisted on the independence of the missions—and almost twenty more years under subsequent rectors, were nearly void of challenges to the religious hegemony. Only after the Guaicuro Revolt (1734) did the secular authority of the governor of Sinaloa mount a serious challenge. The fight ensued for several years, with Governor Bernal de Huidobro ultimately losing upon the removal of his hand-picked Captain Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo. The controversy was both philosophical and pragmatic, as the documents of Miguel Venegas and Licenciado Vedoya will demonstrate. But what the missionaries genuinely did not perceive was the profound change of Bourbon policy under Charles III. In retrospect, while the Jesuits were winning battles of authority in protecting the primacy of the rector of the missions, they were losing a larger war as the Crown instituted more and more secular policies that one day would lead to the expulsion of the Jesuits not only from the Californias, but from the entire empire. The role of the California missions was perhaps more influential in contributing to Charles III's decision to expel the Society than many commentators have intimated.

Huidobro's rebuff in his challenge to Jesuit authority in California came at a turbulent time in his own political and military career, because the Yaqui Indians of the Sonoran deltas rose in revolt against Spanish rule. The revolt, as the documents will show, was not unconnected to the situation in California, where the Yaquis had performed valiantly in suppressing the southern revolt on the peninsula. But Huidobro's military power and political prowess were strained to the breaking point by a revolt that threatened isolated Spanish settlements in the northwest as well as supply and communication with California. Much attention was being paid to northern expansion, spearheaded by Francisco de Aysa, the Marqués de Castillos de Aysa, president and governor of Nueva Galicia. These events played into the hands of Viceroy Pedro Cebrian, the Conde de Fuenclara, and more so his successor, Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas, the Conde de Revillagigedo. A very unsubtle solution was to remove Huidobro from the governorship and to bestow it on the effective military commander Agustín de Vildósola. This change merged well with the overall designs for expansion into the northwest in the decade of the 1740s—the only unforeseen drawback was the stubborn resurgence of Seri opposition, which was later joined by a revolt among the Pimas in 1751. Each of these developments is followed in the Sinaloa-Sonora section, showing how very clear changes in Spanish policy and attitude elicited staunch opposition from native peoples who until then had been attracted to inclusion in the empire by generous and relatively

tolerant mission policies. The new climate of military dominance charged the atmosphere of resentment and resistance.

Part Two: The Central Corridor: New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya

Although New Mexico is frequently portrayed as the heartland of the Spanish Southwest, it was really the tip of a rapidly thrust sword of expansion that was always difficult to sustain and more difficult to administer. Cabeza de Vaca had inadvertently wandered across its southern flanks on his desperate trek of survival in 1539, and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado's pseudo-triumphant expedition of empire building in 1542 linked the fortunes of the Pueblos and the Spaniards together almost from the beginning of the conquest. It was always a strange, tumultuous, and fragile marriage. New Mexico, thought to be a land of inestimable riches, revealed itself as the "land of enchantment" that beguiled adventurers, offered respite from the searing desert transits, and flirted with political and social disaster. More than one Spanish *adelantado* saw his fortunes dashed or reversed there.

South of New Mexico, the kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya was truly the heartland of the northern provinces. The historical reality was that the north-central corridor of New Spain was the trunk from which the Crown drained a flow of silver that justified vast commitments of manpower and money. The writing of United States history has so over-concentrated on the flower of New Mexico it has overlooked the fount of nutrients that gushed from the mining and military communities of Nueva Vizcaya. Were it not for the riches of these northern provinces, Spain may never have tolerated the much less lucrative and more contentious province on New Spain's northern rim.

Following an editorial and historiographic philosophy that views Spanish expansion from south to north, *Presidio II* concerns itself less with explaining social or military events in New Mexico in isolation than presenting them as a component of a more integrated picture that predated the political divisions of nineteenth-century border making. The documentary portrayal of New Mexico in this study is comparatively sketchy because we consider that the work of earlier scholars has presented an ample array of critical documents.⁸ Unfortunately, the surviving record does not provide evidence for any evolutionary analysis of the Santa Fe presidio. Without question this garrison was firmly in the hands of the colonists, who demonstrated a staunch military presence in the province. Apparently, the merchant-settlers maintained control over presidial assignments through the decisions of the *cabildo*—a typical frontier procedure. But only a careful microanalysis of extant documents might reveal these particulars, and such a research requirement exceeds the capabilities of this editorial project. We hope that the documents devoted to New Mexico in this volume will place that presidio in a

sufficient context to evoke the kind of investigation that will lead to a much more elaborate and exhaustive treatment.

Part Two: The Texas Corridor

A tenuous parallel exists between the expansionist moves into California and Texas. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 shook the Crown into the realization that maintaining colonies on a vast and distant frontier required firm military commitment. No sooner had the Native Americans rebelled on the Río Grande than word drifted into New Spain of French incursions into neighboring Texas. The abortive settlement of Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, spurred the Crown to order protective expeditions into the endless Texas hill country. Indian villages needed to be stitched into a new missionary frontier as protection against French expansion. The closer French settlements moved toward the eastern flanks of the Sierra Madre Oriental, the stronger the threat to previously secure silver mines in the central corridor. Having proven La Salle's presence at Fort St. Louis on the Lavaca River, Spain decided on a series of major expeditions to open mission communities in the far eastern plains. As the documents in Part Two demonstrate, the sheer expanse and hostile natural environment made the opening of the fourth corridor a costly and fragile venture. Far distant California was a totally different problem set for the Crown, because the only defense required there was adequate sea power and vigilance against northern European marauders. Texas, in contrast, called for networks of cooperative Indian missions and strategically placed presidios that truly taxed the ability of New Spain to sustain overland supply and communication; New Mexico's isolation was paltry by comparison. Nor was the problem solved until the Spaniards finally established support services by ship in the Gulf of Mexico. If anything, the documents presented here reflect the back-breaking work of trying to maintain military posts across endless rivers, streams, arroyos, and arid hill country. "Bridging Texas" might be the fairest characterization of Spanish expansion as far as Los Adaes; it is a feat rarely celebrated in historical memory.

The Methodology of PRESIDIO II

No significant differences between the methods employed in *Presidio I* and *Presidio II* exist. The documents for the volume were selected in each instance by the editor of the particular geographic section or corridor. Charles W. Polzer, S.J., investigated California; Thomas E. Sheridan, Sinaloa and Sonora; Diana J. Hadley, New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya; and Mardith Schuetz-Miller, Texas. Each section followed the same procedures, namely, that after pertinent documents were selected to demonstrate the patterns of presidial development and involvement, those texts were established, transcribed, and verified. The transcriptions were altered into modern orthography to

assist Spanish readers, but no attempt was made to change words or proper names, especially place-names. These transcriptions were submitted to graduate student translators whose texts were reviewed, corrected if necessary, and verified against the original paleographic script. The editors, sometimes assisted by advanced graduate students, then annotated the translations where explanations were deemed beneficial.

A more detailed description of the methodology for these volumes can be found in the introduction to Volume One. There has been no significant departure from any of those processes from selection to final translation. Every attempt has been made to standardize spellings, but in such a vast amount of documentary material pertaining to adjacent geographical regions and almost contemporaneous time periods, orthography and individual usages may have escaped our vigilance. For example, Licenciado Vedoya may have signed himself with a "V," whereas a commentator ten years earlier may have referred to him as Bedoya. Even with the modern marvels of word processors and global changes, not every instance will have been altered. Place-names have been preserved in their more original forms with only slight modernizations allowed. For example, "Theuricatzi" was altered to "Teuricachi" to conform with contemporary spelling, but "Puromo," as an original place-name, was preserved rather than using its contemporary corruption, "Cabo Pulmo." The editors acknowledge the immense and sensitive problem encountered in translating such an array of writing styles, rhetorical nuances, and sometimes, undeniable literary incompetence. Whenever we reached a point of total frustration, we consoled ourselves with the knowledge that the reader would have access to the original text. These moments notwithstanding, we assert confidence in the work of the DRSW team and its dogged determination to present the best text and translation possible; the history of America deserves no less.

Notes

[1.](#) Expansion into the north of New Spain was dictated by the topographical and geographical nature of the region. Early movements out of the valley of Mexico thrust westward and northward, then to the south. The northern probes followed the *cordillera* of the Sierra Madre Occidental, and the western movements followed the coastal deltas below the mountainous ridge of the Pacific coast. These characteristics created "corridors" of expansion that experienced minimal east-west contact due to the harshness of the terrain. John Francis Bannon follows this corridor concept in his *Spanish Borderlands Frontier, 1513–1821*. Charles W. Polzer elaborated on this formulation in "Four Corridors to the Kingdom: Spanish Missions in Northern New Spain," in Jonathan E. Reyman, *The Gran Chichimeca*.

[2.](#) See O: kah L. Jones, Jr., *Nueva Vizcaya: Heartland of the Spanish Frontier*.

3. No comprehensive study of the Provincias Internas has been written, although several studies have been done on individual commanders and aspects of their governance. Perhaps the most useful source in expanding on the concerns of this introduction is Luis Navarro García's *José de Gálvez y la comandancia general de las Provincias Internas*.

4. See chapter ten of *Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard*, by Jack D. Forbes, in which he sets out the idea of the "Great Southwestern Revolt."

5. Studies on the Pueblo Revolt are numerous and of differing value. See Charles Wilson Hackett and Charmion Clair Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682*, and a more recent overview, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*, by Andrew L. Knaut.

6. See Peter Gerhard, *Pirates on the West Coast of New Spain, 1575–1742*.

7. See Charles W. Polzer, "Long Before the Blue Dragoons: Spanish Military Operations in Northern Sonora and the Pimería Alta," in Bruno J. Rolak, *Military History of the Spanish-American Southwest*.

8. The effort to provide documentary translations for the history of New Mexico has been an impressive undertaking. See especially Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* and Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*. See also the works of George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, such as *The Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1340–1542*, and *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580–1594*.

CALIFORNIA CORRIDOR

Introduction

The military history of the Californias may at first appear peripheral to significant events in New Spain. In terms of military strategy, tactics, engagements with hostiles, and manpower, presidial presence was almost marginal in comparison to the responsibilities of military commanders on the mainland, in New Mexico and Texas. The Californias were isolated in almost every imaginable way from the commerce-driven expansion north from Mexico City. Nor was the peninsula a favorite duty post for most Spanish soldiers; in fact, the austerity and isolation made it nearly ideal as a destination for criminals who were sentenced to service in the presidios. For the most part, the firm control of the Jesuits turned this policy around, however, and men sent to serve on the peninsula had to meet stringent disciplinary criteria. This unusual situation will be borne out in the documents that follow.

Throughout this section reference is made to "the Californias," which may easily be misconstrued in modern terminology. At the time of Spanish expansion in northwestern New Spain, the Californias began as a geographical mystery. Some of the earliest explorers understood well that in the southern latitudes California was a narrow peninsula, but in time the desire to find a northwest passage to the Orient led Spaniards to believe that the Sea of Cortés split off the great island of California from the mainland of New Spain; a northern passage seemed more feasible if the Californias were an island chain.

Fernán Cortés's ill-fated colony at La Paz and another nearly 150 years of failures to establish pearl-fishing settlements on the peninsula kept California free from development. Serious interest in the peninsula was rekindled by Miguel López de Legaspi's expedition across the Pacific that began the Manila galleon trade in 1565.¹ The treacherously long return trip, which utilized trade winds and currents in the northern Pacific, invariably found the sailors falling deathly ill from scurvy about the time they made landfall on the west coast of North America. Spain searched frantically for a suitable port along the vast extent of coastline but found no place that could be supplied and sustained so far from Acapulco. The southerly currents and prevailing

winds sped the inbound galleons to Acapulco, but the same conditions stymied northbound supply ships from efficiently supporting a north Pacific base. California was the recognized turning point for the dash to Mexico's coastal ports, but by then the crews were suffering immensely. So one of the prime objects of California occupation was the discovery and maintenance of a Pacific coast port to give succor to the galleon crews. No port was ever successfully established to service the galleon trade, even after the occupation of Alta California in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In choosing documents to illustrate the role of the presidio in the Californias, several choices were made that allude to the critical role of the maritime supply for the peninsula. While the central issue of *Presidio II* has been to document the establishment and operation of the presidio on the frontier of New Spain, no other sector was as dependent on naval forces and supply. The importance of maritime involvement in the Californias persisted down to the establishment of the naval district of San Blas that supported the expeditions to Monterey and Alta California in the post-Jesuit period.² Hence, we chose to include several documents that underscored the difficulty and the cost of maintaining ships in the warm gulf waters. Even shipwrecks were meticulously scavenged to reclaim scarce woods and hardware.

COLONIZATION, MISSIONS, AND PRESIDIOS

Historians have inferred an almost substantive relation between presidial garrisons and missions among the indigenous peoples of the New World. The sword and the cross are understood as the *sine qua non* of Spanish imperial expansion such that the conversion of native peoples happened less from free acceptance of Christianity than steel-enforced submission to ecclesiastical authority. These observations and interpretations unfortunately oversimplify the rather complex interplay between these two frontier institutions. The case of California provides an unusually insightful, albeit somewhat esoteric and exceptional, occasion to study this relationship. As will be seen from the documents, the first permanent occupation of the peninsula was masterminded and managed minutely by the Jesuit missionaries under Father Juan María Salvatierra in 1697. His accurate assessment of errors in previous attempts to colonize California fashioned a very effective policy to control secular presence on the peninsula. And it should be added that Salvatierra's own notions were deeply influenced and conditioned by the experience of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who had served as rector of the missions on the expeditions of Admiral Atondo y Antillón in the 1680s.³ The Jesuits had grown to distrust military procedures in dealing with native peoples. So from the outset, when Viceroy José Sarmiento Valladares granted the Jesuits permission to reopen the Californias at their own expense, the California missionaries were granted control over

selecting manpower for the peninsula. Again, this unusual situation will be borne out in the documents; the control was maintained even after the Crown consented to pay the salaries of the soldiers and sailors assigned to duty in the Californias.⁴

The discovery of California happened quite by accident when the mutinous pilot Fortún Jiménez de Bertandoña encountered the "island" in 1533, although rumors had persisted for nearly a decade about an island to the west peopled entirely by women.⁵ Two years later Cortés decided to colonize the island so he could establish a base to interdict the activities of his rival, Nuño de Guzmán. But political and family problems beset the young marqués, who had to return to Mexico City in 1536. The recently arrived viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, ordered the abandonment of the California enterprise, which languished for more than half a century until the concerted expeditions of Sebastián de Vizcaíno. True, Francisco de Ulloa,⁶ acting on the orders of Cortés, had explored and reached the northern limits of the Gulf of California in 1539, but nothing came of that venture because Mendoza was committed to the overland explorations of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado at the same time.

The earliest phase of California history began with the attempt of Fernán Cortés to establish a *población* on the southeastern part of the peninsula along the bay of La Paz. This was an appealing and well-sheltered harbor that could serve as a base for northern explorations, because no one was yet sure how far west Anián (Japan) might be. Cortés's colony was established in 1533 but was very short-lived. Spain saw no reason to commit men and money to the sterile colony and abandoned efforts on the peninsula. Even the successful galleon trade did not influence efforts to colonize California until Sir Francis Drake breached the security of the Pacific in 1585, twenty years after Andrés de Urdaneta opened the trans-Pacific route between Acapulco and Manila.⁷ Even then, the Spaniards continued in a false sense of safety until Thomas Cavendish with three small ships seized the treasure-laden *Santa Ana* off the tip of Baja California. As fate would have it, one of the survivors was a merchant, Sebastián Vizcaíno, whose losses stimulated him to search out a defensible site for the exposed and underdefended merchant ships returning from the Philippines.⁸ In 1596, just nine years after the humiliating defeat at Cavendish's hands, Vizcaíno returned to California to establish a port and to exploit the pearl beds. Then in 1602, under direct orders from King Philip III, he led a major expedition to map the California coast and select a suitable port for protecting the galleons. Although his expedition reached the high latitudes of the Pacific, he failed to find a port or a way to supply one.

Attempts to colonize the Californias waned once again, but the victorious invasion of the South Sea by Admiral Joris van Spilbergen jolted the Spanish Crown to resume

defensive measures to protect both the coastal villages of the Pacific and the vulnerable, lightly armed galleons. From 1615 onwards, the fear of Dutch pirates infected the coast, and every unfamiliar sail was thought to be that of a *pichilingue*, a derogatory Spanish name for a Dutchman; the name has lingered on to this day for a particular small bay near La Paz, Baja California Sur.⁹ Viceroy Francisco Pacheco y Orozco, the Marqués de Cerralvo, ordered Francisco de Ortega in 1628 to explore the coast to find a suitable and defensible harbor. Ortega's two expeditions, which lasted into the mid-1630s, were responsible for the erection of a small fort and settlement at La Paz, but this venture was abandoned for lack of food and supplies, according to the Jesuit historian Miguel Venegas. Ortega disappeared from the scene and two other futile attempts were made by his pilot, Esteban Carbonel and a Francisco Vergara.

The next serious effort to colonize California occurred in late 1636, when Captain Don Pedro Porter de Casanate was licensed to settle on the peninsula, but legalities and a furtive trip to Spain delayed his preparations until 1640. Ships were constructed for the crossing, but jealous speculators on the Sinaloa coast burned the ships and destroyed the base Porter had made at the mouth of the Río de Santiago. He made a final effort in 1648–49 to find a suitable place to establish a settlement, but nothing could be found, and he terminated the enterprise while accepting a governorship in Chile.¹⁰ Then in 1663, Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero sought permission to exploit the Californias, which he did by pearl fishing and mistreating the Indians. He failed to fulfill contractual promises and was ordered to try again in 1667. Nothing seems to have happened under Piñadero's leadership; he then relinquished his interests in the Californias to Admiral Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón in 1678. Atondo's California expedition five years later finally opened the door to permanent settlement, not so much for its expeditionary success as for its definitive failure, which made the subsequent offers of the Society of Jesus more attractive to the Crown. It is at this point that the documents in this volume resume the story of presidial presence in the Californias.

The repeated failures to colonize California from Cortés to Atondo discouraged the Spanish Crown from further attempts. Hence, when the second attempt of Atondo to maintain a permanent settlement at San Bruno collapsed because of drought and lack of supplies from the mainland, Father Eusebio Kino's insistence on returning to evangelize the Indian peoples was acceptable on the grounds that the missionization effort would be mounted at no expense to the royal treasury. Kino had been rector for the incipient missions as well as the royal cosmographer on the expedition, so he knew the situation very well. Years of frustration were met with a firm, if foolhardy, plan to accomplish at least a part of the royal design for California. There would be no effort to establish a colony, but the missionaries could work on the conversion of the natives and, through

them, maintain a secure port for the galleon trade. It made sense, as it promised to be free from royal expense.

Missionization of the Californias really did not resemble that of the mainland, especially in regard to the relations between the clergy and the secular individuals permitted to reside on the peninsula. However one may wish to typify colonization on the peninsula during Jesuit times, the process was clearly distinguished from what was happening elsewhere. Since the only non-religious persons allowed on the peninsula were subject to the approval and control of the rector of the missions, there was tight control over any exploitation of Indian peoples and expansion into Indian lands. Obviously this aggravated the tensions between those Spaniards who saw California as a land of untapped resources and the missionaries, who knew from experience that exploitation and poor example would only destroy any efforts for permanent settlement. Jesuit control continued without serious challenge until the rebellion of the Pericúes in the southern sector in 1734. Although the presidial forces under Captain Esteban Rodríguez were bringing the rebels under control, the viceroy ordered Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, to intervene more than a year after the initial uprising.¹¹ Having put the rebellion to rest to his satisfaction, he attempted to control the military personnel and to satisfy their economic ambitions, which so irritated the missionaries that Huidobro himself was brought under sustained attack. The archives are filled with accusations, rejoinders, decrees, and appeals that have added fuel to a relatively unproductive dispute. Some of these materials are included in this documentary history as evidence of the nature of the controversy.

The colonization of California had failed, but the missionization, although a terrible struggle, was relatively successful. Just as colonization failed because resources were so limited on the peninsula, so would the missions have failed except for the fact that the Society of Jesus settled on a policy of subsidizing the missions with charitable donations from the mainland and with a system of supply from the closest missions in Sinaloa and Sonora. Thus, the Jesuits' problem remained one of constant supply and protection of the maritime trade. Some of the documents in this section deal with appeals for the replacement of ships that were disintegrating or that were lost at sea. California was flatly dependent on the mainland for food, tools, and clothing. It is frankly difficult to imagine how the missionaries and Spanish soldiers lived in such deprivation with patience and equanimity. But the high purpose of converting the Indian peoples to Christianity demanded an asceticism found only in rare individuals. This explains the rigorous screening of candidates for the California missions. Only those Jesuits who could meet the requirements of health, personal character, and spiritual motivation had a chance to serve on the peninsula. Similarly, the rector of the missions applied

stringent rules in selecting the men who were to be assigned to the presidial company—who were not always as satisfactory as in the case of religious designees.

Throughout these volumes on the presidio and the militia in northern New Spain, the central question has been how and why the presidios were established and, to a limited degree, how they functioned in their specific regions. As intimated previously, the presidio in California was primarily a garrison of men selected to protect the establishment of missions among the native peoples of the peninsula. There were no commercial or secular settlements, save those of the soldiers themselves, that demanded military protection. This remained true for the better part of half a century, and even then secular interests were very limited.

With the aftermath of the Pericúe rebellion in 1734 the issue of a second presidio in the south was broached, but to establish a full garrison and maintain it with the limited number of supply vessels and limited funds available was virtually impossible. The decision was finally made to reduce the garrison to a squadron of cavalry based at San José del Cabo whose entire complement was subject to the captain at Loreto. Even this garrison was considered too far removed and difficult to supply, so the unit was moved to Todos Santos, which was relatively close to La Paz, and to some small bays on the Pacific shores of the peninsula. This remained the situation in California until the coming of Inspector General José de Gálvez, who directed the establishment of a presidio at San Diego in what was to become Alta California.¹² Hence, the military history of the Californias centers on Loreto and the frustrated desire of the Crown to open a port on the southern tip of the peninsula that could protect both missions and itinerant galleons.

PRESIDIOS, MISSIONS, AND THEOCRACY

The presidial history of California in itself is of minor significance and would not merit so much attention were it not for its role in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish Empire in 1767. The fixation on the Jesuits by Charles III only compounded his fears, and the members of the court and the Council of the Indies were solicitous of the wildest rumors to confirm their strong anti-Jesuit convictions. The arrival in Mexico of José de Gálvez in 1765 introduced a powerful personality into the political scene of New Spain and played into the hands of the critics of Jesuit mission policy in the Californias as well as expansionist speculators. Gálvez was ready to believe almost any exaggeration that placed the Jesuits in a poor light; one can detect a special rancor in his distaste for the powers exercised by the missionary authorities. But the solutions he proposed were precisely the ones that were unworkable in the austere environment of the peninsula.

Not a few commentators through the centuries have tried to characterize the Jesuit venture in the Californias as an unabashed attempt to establish a theocracy. This extreme accusation is very well offset by the detailed comments of Father Miguel Venegas in his unpublished manuscript "Empresas apostólicas," a part of which is included in this documentary overview. Venegas's analysis is, in fact, a critical statement about the relationship of the California missions and the secular power of the Crown, particularly as it relates to military authority. These chapters from Venegas's manuscript reveal an unusual and complex situation in which the religious superiors of the California missions exercised almost unparalleled powers over both land and sea forces. Nevertheless, the power held and exercised by the rector of the missions was totally subject to the Crown, the Council of the Indies, and the viceroy. Clearly, the organizational plan for the operation of the missions was not concocted in some philosophical vacuum to align itself with avant-garde theories. Yet, the primacy of the religious goals of Christianity are sharply in evidence. In many ways, this is what makes the case of the Californias so fascinating as a study in the development and refinement of church and state relations. Without question, the unusual arrangement in California attracted the attention of secular absolutists in Spain and made California a prime target at the time of the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from the empire. The arrival of Gálvez in Mexico and his fixation on the California missions constitute one of the more bizarre aberrations in the history of northern New Spain. These documents will cast a great deal of light on the fiction of how California's mission system was thought to menace the security of royal interests in northern expansion. Precisely because the mission system of California was so distinct from that of the northwest coast, some Bourbon ideologues conceived a worst-case scenario that would help to justify the elimination of the Jesuits as rivals to their worldly ambitions. California was born in a shroud of mythology, and California continued to cloak the truth from them because they refused to accept the austere reality of one of the world's most hostile environments.

Depending on one's definition of theocracy, California under the Jesuits may or may not fulfill the definition. Certainly the religious leaders were not absolute in their authority, which was always subject to viceregal approval. But the rector of the California missions had unusual powers in naming the presidial commanders and in controlling the manpower and activities of the maritime complements. The central issue of control was never over the exercise of professional duties, which were left to the discretion of the particular captain or commander, but over personal conduct. The missionaries were adamant that the soldiers' lives would be exemplary—not taking advantage of native women or exploiting native labor. Unbefitting conduct frequently led to expulsion from the peninsula or a severe reduction in pay—it was the missionaries' prerogative to

approve the payment of salaries. Immoral or irreligious conduct was subject to punishment. So in this sense the role of authority served the purposes of a religious society, but that is where the issue ends. Eventually, as Spain's concerns for coastal defense increased, there was more and more concentration on exploration; new impetus was being given to colonization. Hence, the weight of authority exercised by the rector of the missions began to work against newly perceived interests. Nonetheless, the system was sustained until the expulsion of the Jesuits from the empire in 1767, when the Bourbon reforms radically altered the relation of secular to ecclesiastical authority in the missions. As many documents in other sections of this presidial study will demonstrate, the social climate of New Spain was experiencing a growing professionalism among the military, and even the militia character of defense was giving way to a concerted policy of professional militarism.

DOCUMENTS IN THIS SECTION: AN OVERVIEW

As the introduction has indicated, the military history of the Californias has an unusual and uneven record. The earliest contact with the regions did not really require a permanent military post, as Spanish presence was exploitative. The conversion of native peoples, which might require protective measures, became an issue only in the mid-1650s. Hence, this section opens with a document of Admiral Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón regarding the establishment of the *real* of San Bruno in 1685. We consider this the first stage of what eventually became a permanent Spanish presence on the peninsula, and the results of his expedition set the tone for the return of the Jesuit missionaries in 1697. Indeed, the problems Atondo faced and the frustrations experienced by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino shaped the policies by which the Society of Jesus offered to evangelize the peninsula at their own expense. The decision by Father Juan María Salvatierra to abandon the site of San Bruno and to open the mission of Loreto slightly to the south launched the permanent settlement of the Californias. Again, presidial presence was entirely auxiliary to the program of missionization. The changing evaluation of the Crown's role can be seen in the subsequent documents, and by the time of Salvatierra's death (1717) the control of the rector of the missions over the military was confirmed, as was the financial support awarded by the royal treasury. The documents then continue to underscore the recurrent concerns for shipping and for protection for the Manila galleons.

The major military engagement in the Californias in the eighteenth century is omitted from this study because the key document has been published as a separate book. Father Sigismundo Taraval's detailed account has appeared in translation by Marguerite Eyre Wilbur in *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734–1737*. The aftermath of the

campaign against the Guaicuros in the southern sectors of the peninsula is, however, included in these documents because the relations between the Jesuits and Governor Manuel Bernal de Huidobro directly affected the organization and functioning of the military. The campaign itself did not differ in any particulars from any other presidial police action on the mainland. One of the muster rolls provided reveals the significant involvement of Indian auxiliaries.

Despite intense efforts to discover presidial records for Loreto in the archives of Spain and Mexico, very few have survived, if they ever existed. This seems to confirm the observation that the presidio was far less a military outpost than a garrison of soldiers assigned to protect and assist missionaries in their remote sites—a point strongly insisted on by Father Miguel Venegas. The lengthy treatise on the relation of the presidio and the Jesuit missions is a cardinal issue; it explains why the history of the California presidios is so unique and outside the mainstream of documentation. Since Venegas wrote the "Empresas apostólicas" at the height of the controversy with Governor Manuel Huidobro, some of the documents regarding the controversy are included. Unfortunately, more ink was spilled over the litigation regarding Huidobro and his choices for captaincies than the issue fundamentally merited. It seems that the attorneys for the viceroyalty were as anxious to have done with the squabble as the Jesuits were.

As these documents will indicate, the question of a southern presidio was resolved when it was decided to maintain only a mobile garrison in the south—effectively a "flying company" that required almost no manpower for separate maintenance. After much trial and error, the squadron of the south was assigned to the environs of Todos Santos, where it could still patrol the coast as far as Cabo San Lucas and remain in close support of La Paz, which was the key communications link to Loreto and the mainland. The documents conclude with a review of the acquisition of a new vessel and the account of a shipwreck on the remote southern coast. These documents were chosen in order to emphasize the critical role of the maritime supply route in the establishment and maintenance of the presidial garrisons, which was a rather unique problem as compared with the supply of mainland forces. Indeed, the stark nature of military operations on the peninsula stands in such sharp contrast to the rest of New Spain that deficiencies of expansionist policies become more obvious.

Notes

1. For summary descriptions of explorations along the California coast in the early years of contact, see Alvaro del Portillo, *Descubrimientos y exploraciones en las costas de*

California, 1532–1650. The classic work on the Manila galleon remains William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon*.

2. See Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*.

3. Kino's insistence on returning to missionize the Californias after Atondo's abortive expeditions impressed Salvatierra so deeply he concurred with Kino in 1691 that a renewed effort should be mounted by the Society; see *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, edited by Herbert E. Bolton.

4. For a relatively complete investigation into the economics of the California missions, see Ignacio del Río, *Conquista y aculturación en la California jesuítica, 1697–1768*. For an instructive analysis of the financing of the California missions, see María del Carmen Velázquez, *Cuentos de sirvientes de tres haciendas*.

5. See Portillo, *Descubrimientos*, p.120ff.

6. Francisco de Ulloa was a relative of Fernán Cortés and was familiar with the western waters and the California coast. He was sent out by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to explore the northern waters of the gulf prior to Coronado's overland expedition. See Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado*.

7. See John Sugden, *Sir Francis Drake*.

8. See Portillo, *Descubrimientos*.

9. See Engel Sluiter, *The Dutch on the Pacific Coast of America, 1598–1621*.

10. See Portillo, *Descubrimientos*.

11. See Sigismundo Taraval, *The Indian Uprising in Lower California, 1734–1737*.

12. See Luis Navarro García, *José de Gálvez y la comandancia general de las Provincias Internas del norte de Nueva España*.

THE RETURN TO CALIFORNIA

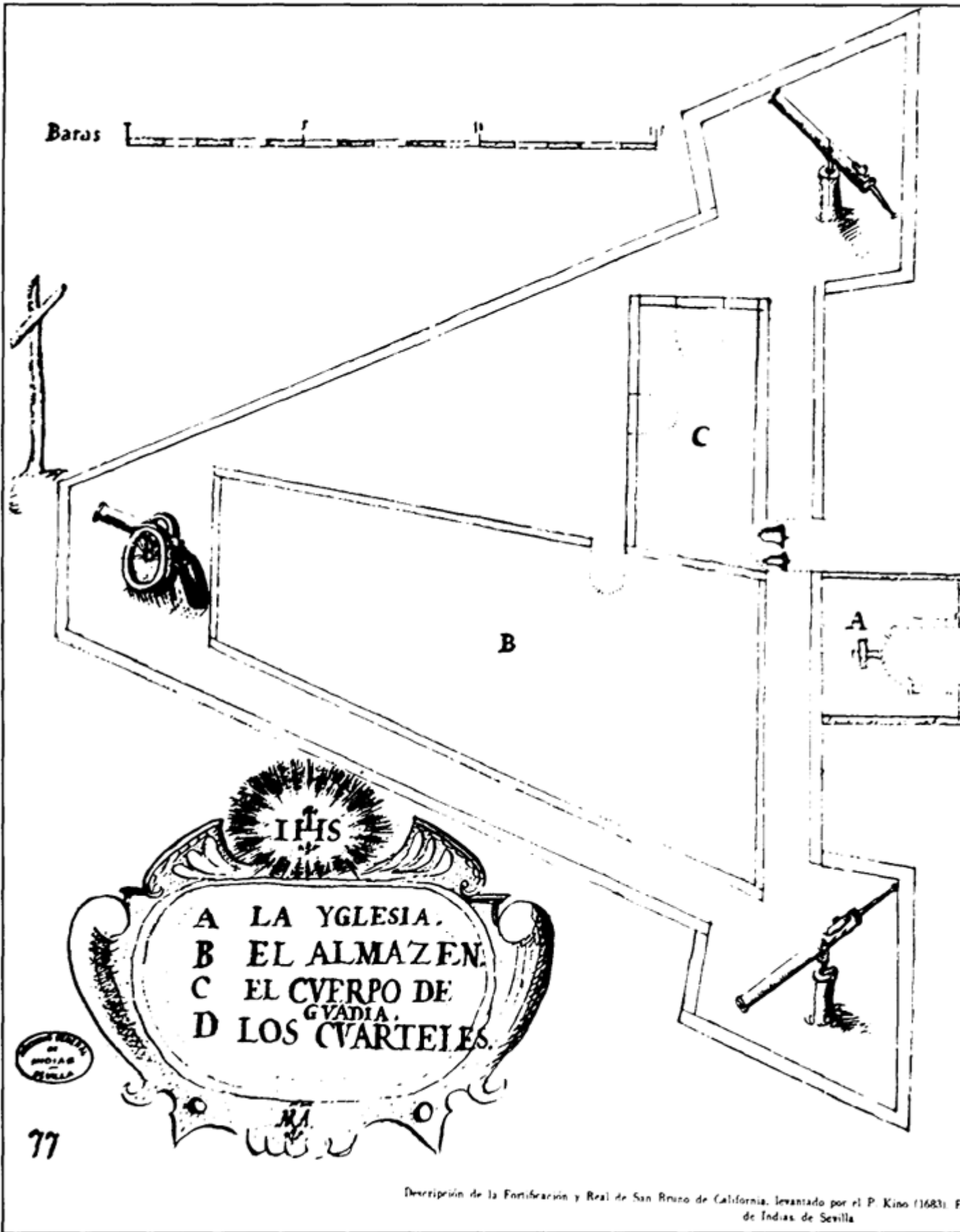
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[Return to the Californias \(1683-1722\)](#)

[Admiral Don Isidro Atondo to Viceroy de la Cerda y Aragón, 1683](#)

After two weeks on the eastern California coast Admiral Don Isidro Atondo y Antillón reports on his successful landing. The California expedition demonstrated Atondo's strong commitment to the project inasmuch as he had denied assistance to the other northern provinces in the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico (1680). As presidial captain of Sinaloa, he was called upon for immediate aid, but he adamantly refused on the grounds that he had been preparing for the all-important entrada into California. His first abortive landing at the bay of La Paz was fresh in his mind, so he was looking for an equally favorable location among Indians who did not manifest the same degree of hostility as the peoples of the southern region. The letter reveals some interesting misconceptions about California and where he thought he had landed. In noting the place where the expedition disembarked, he calls it the "Río Grande" that had been reported at much higher latitudes—that is, the Río Colorado. Most probably a large discharge of water from the Sierra de la Giganta confused the Spaniards, who had heard many conflicting descriptions of rivers flowing into the gulf.

Over the next several months Atondo constructed an ample stone fortification at the bend of the river about two miles from the beach. The ruins of the presidio have survived into this century as a memorial to the isolation and austerity of the region. Atondo's appraisal of the presidial site was not inaccurate, given a sufficient supply of water. Several cattle ranches flourish in the vicinity, and upstream there are several hundred acres of agricultural fields. All these endeavors are dependent on deep water wells with mechanical pumps, unavailable to the Spaniards of the time.



Plan of Admiral Don Isidro Atondo's fortification at San Bruno in Baja California, drawn P. Eusebio F. Kino, S. J. (Courtesy Archivo General de Indias, Seville)

October 15, 1683

ATONDO TO THE VICEROY

Your Lordship:

I place at your feet a short report covering the period from September 27. I have already sent a letter to your excellency relating what happened up to that time in California.¹

On the feast day of San Miguel, the twenty-ninth of last month, I set out from the port of San Lucas (since the weather permitted), and on the sixth of this present month the *Capitana* and *Almiranta* dropped anchor on this coast that the maps and charts call Río Grande.² Although it is reported at a latitude of 30 degrees, and in some cases at 31 degrees, the pilots of this fleet, by different observations, have found it to be at 26 -1/2 degrees, notwithstanding that, comprised of islands and inlets, it lacks a coastline.³

On the feast day of San Bruno, I disembarked with some infantry and the missionary fathers. The *Te Deum Laudamus* was sung and a prayer said in honor of the Holy Cross, which was made from the first piece of wood found on the beach.⁴ I continued up river about a league until we met some twelve or thirteen friendly Indians, to whom we gave some trifles from the alms his majesty provided for this new conversion. The valley and land where the said natives live appears good; it is more pleasing than what we have seen until now in California. The natives say that corn, wheat, and all kinds of grains can be grown in a circumference of ten leagues from where we are looking as far as the mountains that surround the valley. There are abundant pastures for the horses and cattle, although we found the river short of water. For drinking water it has been necessary to dig holes in the sand on the beach. As it is so near the beginning of October, which is the dry season in New Spain, we expect there will be no water until the wet season, when the rains will come with great force. All this is attested to by dead leaves and twigs in the trees, which are signs of the two seasons.

While rounding up the fifteen horses and mules I have brought, I will follow the river and climb the sierra. I shall then descend the hill that overlooks the entire valley, where we have in the canyon below an assured water supply and abundant wood. I shall make some sort of breastwork for the protection of the supplies, clothing, and arms.⁵

The language of these natives is so different from that spoken by the Guaicuros of the port of Nuestra Señora de la Paz that we understand nothing expressed in it. Nonetheless, they

have given us to understand that they are at war with the Indians of that nation, who live beyond the aforementioned sierra.⁶

Since the *Almiranta* is leaking a great deal, I am not detaining it. It is carrying harquebuses to be repaired. The need for these weapons and an armorer is great, as it is for the rest of the things that I have requested of your excellency in my previous letter. I hope it merits your excellency's consideration and that you see fit to send the *Almiranta* and the launch with all speed, inasmuch as its captain, Diego de la Parra, informs us (from the port of Mazatlán) that it may be full of shipworms, and it will be necessary to put a new bottom on it.⁷ It is also carrying pitch, wax, tar, and oakum for the launch; I have also ordered that, in passing, it take the launch to the port of Matanchel, as weather permits.⁸

I am again sending the *Capitana* to the Yaqui coast for more supplies and to see if they can buy, in the brief time that necessity dictates, more horses and mules with harnesses (although I may be without a shirt on my back), which are very essential to continuing the conversion, penetrating the land, and carrying supplies, munitions, and armament.⁹ We are experiencing great difficulty in transporting these things from the boats to this camp, even though the distance is not more than a league. The trip to the Yaqui coast is twenty-eight leagues unless the northeast winds, which now rule these seas, hinder the outgoing and returning voyages of the *Capitana*. I will keep you informed of what happens until then, fulfilling my obligations as your excellency's servant.

May God keep your excellency's most eminent person in the greatest grandeur for the many years I wish you, as is necessary. In this camp of Río Grande on October 15, 1683.

Most excellent lord, at the feet of your excellency.

Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón

From the Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de México 56, f. 248.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

15 de octubre de Año 1683

ATONDO AL VIRREY

Excelentísimo señor:

Pongo a los pies de vuestra excelencia la breve relación que puedo hacer desde [el] 27 de septiembre, que despaché correo a vuestra excelencia dando cuenta de lo sucedido hasta entonces en la California.

Día de San Miguel, 29 del pasado (que lo permitieron los tiempos) salí del puerto de San Lucas, y el día 6 del corriente dí fondo con Capitana y Almiranta en esta costa que intitulan los mapas y derroteros, río Grande. Y aunque refieren está en altura de treinta grados, otros en treinta y uno, han hallado los pilotos de esta armada, por diferentes observaciones, está en veintiséis grados y medio, sin que le falte a la costa circunstancia en islas y bajos.

Dicho día de San Bruno, salté en tierra, con alguna infantería y los padres misioneros. Se cantó el *Te Deum Laudamus* y oración a la Santa Cruz que se formó entonces del primer palo que se halló en la playa. Proseguí río arriba como una legua, hasta que encontré doce o trece indios afables a quienes repartimos algunas chucherías de la limosna que su majestad dió para esta nueva conversión. Parece bueno el valle y paraje en que habitan dichos naturales, pues es más ameno que lo que hemos visto hasta ahora en California, y que en la circunferencia de diez leguas que estamos mirando hasta la serranía, de que está rodeado el valle, dicen los naturales, se puede sembrar maíz, trigo y todas semillas. Hay abundantes pastos para la caballada y ganado; si bien hemos hallado dicho río cortado, y para el agua que bebemos ha sido necesario abrir cacimbas o jageyes, que con ser tan a los principios de octubre en que corren los estériles de la Nueva España, nos prometemos no sucederá en éste sino en tiempo de aguas, y en ése será con tal fuerza, que todo lo acredita las señales de dos estados que hay de broza y palizada en los árboles.

En recobrándose los quince caballos y mulas que he traído, seguiré el río y montaré la sierra. En ese intermedio, acabaré de desmontar el cerro que domina todo el valle, en que tendremos debajo, el cañón, asegurada agua y abundante leña. Formaré algún género de trinchera para resguardo del bastimento, ropa y herramientas.

La lengua de estos naturales es tan distinta a la que profesan los guaicuros del puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, que no nos aprovecha nada de lo trabajado en ella. Pero estos dan a entender, tienen guerra con los de aquella nación y que viven detrás de dicha sierra.

Por ser mucha el agua que hace la Almiranta, no la detengo. Lleva arcabuces para que se aderecen. Es mucha la necesidad de éstas, y de armero, como lo demás que he suplicado a vuestra excelencia en el correo antecedente. Espero merecerlo a la grandeza de vuestra excelencia y que se sirva mándese de carrera a dicha Almiranta y patache balandra, pues avisa su capitán Diego de la Parra (desde el puerto de Mazatlán), esté llena de broma, será preciso se le echen fondos nuevos. También lleva para dicha balandra, alquitrán, sebo, brea y estopa, como así mismo orden que de paso la lleve al puerto de Matanchel, como se lo permitan los tiempos.

A la Capitana vuelvo a despachar a la costa de Yaqui por más bastimento, y si en la brevedad que pide la necesidad de su carrera, pueden comprar (aunque me quede sin camisa) más caballos y mulas aparejadas, que tanto importan para continuar la conversión, penetrar la tierra, cargar bastimento, municiones y herramientas. Pues estamos experimentando mucho trabajo en conducir lo dicho, desde los navíos a este real, no siendo la distancia de más de una legua.

La travesía a dicha costa de Yaqui es de veintiocho leguas sin que los vientos noroestes, que reina ahora en estas mares, embaracen los viajes de ida y vuelta con dicha Capitana. Avisaré de lo sucedido hasta entonces, cumpliendo con la obligación de criado de vuestra excelencia.

Dios guarde de la excelentísima persona de vuestra excelencia en su mayor grandeza los muchos años que deseo, y es menester. En este real de río Grande y octubre 15 de 1683.

Excelentísimo señor, a los pies de vuestra excelencia.

Don Isidro de Atondo y Antillón

Notes

- [1.](#) Atondo to the viceroy, AGI, Mexico 56; San Lucas, September 25, 1683.
- [2.](#) The Río Grande, thirty-three kilometers north of Loreto, is actually the arroyo of San Bruno, which intermittently drains one section of the Sierra de la Giganta to the west.
- [3.](#) The latitude on modern maps is 26°12" N., and the longitude, 111°26" W.
- [4.](#) "We Praise You Our God" was a formal hymn of praise sung on major feasts and special occasions.
- [5.](#) The site for the presidio and *real* of San Bruno sits on a low hill where the river turns southeast to empty into the Gulf of California three kilometers distant.
- [6.](#) These were most probably Monquis Indians, who belonged to one of the three main linguistic groups on the peninsula. Padre Eusebio Kino called them the "Didius" and their language "Nebe." See Miguel del Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica de la Antigua California*, p. 17 iff.
- [7.](#) Shipworms were marine mollusks of the genus *Teredo* that bored into the wood of ships in the warm waters of the gulf. Mazatlán is located on the southern coastal border of Sinaloa 222 kilometers southeast of Culiacán.

[8.](#) Matanchel is the large exterior bay located on the coast of Nayarit, seventy-five kilometers west-northwest of Tepic, Nayarit. More commonly known as San Blas, it is where the naval district was headquartered after 1768.

[9.](#) Supplies were picked up at the Jesuit missions of Rahum and Belén on the lower Yaqui River in southern Sonora.

Father Rector Juan María Salvatierra to Viceroy de la Cueva, 1705

The following report by Father Salvatierra to Viceroy Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, the Duke of Alburquerque, is a watershed document because Salvatierra had returned to Mexico City to assume the responsibilities of Jesuit Provincial of New Spain, which placed him at the highest administrative level over the apostolate of the Society of Jesus throughout the viceroyalty. The clear instructions of Philip V in his cédulas of 1701 and 1703, regarding the Californias had not been followed with enthusiasm or complete compliance.

Salvatierra would remain in Mexico City until 1707, when he rejoined the California missionaries in their arduous efforts to expand the missions as far as the Pacific coast.

Report of Father Juan María Salvatierra to His Excellency, the Duke of Alburquerque,¹ concerning the contents of the royal cédula that assigns 13,000 pesos for wages to the presidio of California, ordering that the payments be made by a secular person.

Most Excellent Lord:

I, Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus, rector of the missions of the Californias, was summoned by your excellency in obedience to the cédula of his majesty issued on September 28, 1703, in which he commands your excellency to hear the opinions of the fathers. In obedience to the cédula and your excellency's orders, I arrived a little over a month ago at this city from the Californias. On entering this city I

learned that Father Visitor, Manuel Piñero, had died.² On his death, I became provincial of this Province of New Spain, while remaining a California missionary.

In obedience to the cédula of his majesty I would say:

First, it is impossible to live in the Californias with only one ship. For seven and a half years we have always had three ships, and still we lacked enough boats due to the unpredictability of the sea. At times we have lost their entire cargos. The ships have been detained for long periods of time because of the lack of supplies, of aid and contributions, and of officers required to provision and repair them, as well as the distance from ports and coves where it would be possible to careen them. Our enterprise is so new that there are as yet no adequate facilities. And this would still be the case even if we had plenty of money, as it was in the time of Admiral Don Isidro de Atondo, who had access to all the royal wealth. He had three vessels that were built for California. Of these, the sloop never went to the Californias; it did nothing more than serve [as a pretext] to spend his majesty's money in constructing and provisioning it, and for soldiers and naval officers. The other two ships, the *Almiranta* and the *Capitana*, were both useless. The *Almiranta* never arrived on time with needed equipment, leading to the loss at that time of the port of La Paz, which had just been established and was the center of the [pearl] beds. The Guaicuro nation then rebelled because the admiral had murdered some Indians who were gathered around a large kettle where they had been invited to eat some cooked corn [that he had provided].³ Later, the admiral settled sixty pueblos farther north at San Bruno, where he remained for ten months without [the arrival of] a single ship.

Second, I would remind your excellency about the ruggedness of the land, which it has not been possible to settle in 180 years since the time of Fernán Cortés and many others who followed him, an indication of the great difficulties they all encountered.⁴ If it had not been this time for the *Pobladora* and *Conquistadora*, the Most Holy Virgin of Loreto, the depopulation [of this land] would have been happening not only every year, but every day.⁵

I did not come fresh to this activity, because I had already been aged in the labors of Nueva Vizcaya, putting the brake on the uprisings of those tribes, helped by fine cooperation of both Spanish settlers and soldiers, and by good relations with the Indians.⁶ Yet I am relegating such knowledge and experience to second place while I present to your excellency the great difficulties and dangers to which we are subject. We will almost certainly lose this land if in the beginning the fathers, or the father superior, are deprived of the authority to place or remove the commander of the small squadron of soldiers. I have personally found that if I had not had that authority during

the course of the [last] eight years, not a single step would have been taken in California. We would still be biding our time on the beach where we first landed. The commanders, mostly out of fear of being removed, mounted expeditions and made discoveries at the effective urging of the fathers, strengthened by their authority. Since the attraction of pearls is quite strong, if the fathers did not have the aforementioned authority, which they have used in overcoming obstacles, the soldiers under various pretexts would have obliged the Indians, both pagan and Christian, to dive for pearls. This forced labor would almost certainly have quickly brought about an uprising of the Indians, and once the countryside was involved, there would be no way to remedy its loss because of the rugged terrain; even the cavalry could not be used to reclaim it.

And as to the contentment of the Spanish soldiers, who are serving overseas in a country quite far away, they are less discontent, knowing that they will suffer no unjust vexation, because they recognize that they enjoy the powerful protection of the fathers or the father superior, who has the authority to remove the military commander. This country is prone to many dangerous envies. For example, if an Indian sells a fine pearl to a soldier who is his friend and does not sell it to the captain, then the captain has ill will toward both the soldier and the Indian. And if a Spanish soldier is discontent, he despairs and gives himself over to serious errors, as was often seen in the time of Don Isidro de Atondo, who was in danger of losing his life at the hands of the soldiers and sailors.

I say also that the generosity of the king's vassals, who have been giving alms, will diminish if they see that authority taken from the fathers. Now they are confident that the alms they have given will be useful, but they will be afraid that what is done with one hand will be undone by the other. Furthermore, personal reinforcements of Spaniards and Indian warriors from Nueva Vizcaya will be cut off. On one occasion they were called by the California fathers, and the Indians and Spaniards immediately left their ports, coming with well-laden boats. This happened three years ago. At that time an open launch [*canoa*] filled with Spaniards from Sinaloa came to the rescue. Some Indian warriors of the most faithful Yaqui tribe filled a boat they had and came very well armed. They landed at Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias, terrorizing the California tribes. When these things happen, both Spaniards and Indians can be disheartened, losing confidence in the sea, in aid, and in friendship, through not being treated like sons or not directed by the fathers. This is one of the greatest harms a new conquest can suffer.

It is well known that Don Isidro de Atondo was not only admiral of the Californias but also captain of the presidio of Sinaloa and governor of that province. And yet, with all

this authority, and acting on the express orders of the viceroy, he could not obtain a single Indian volunteer from Sinaloa or Sonora. And the few he brought, because they were so bad, were the cause of the first uprising he experienced on his expedition. I insist that all the aforementioned reasons touch the security of the land and the assurance of the Christian religion.

And here it seems proper to report to your excellency a situation that illustrates this point. So far, 225,000 pesos have been expended in this undertaking until today, not counting the six missions, which amount to 58,000 pesos. In all these years until now, I have received only 18,000 pesos from the royal treasury; the rest has been acquired only by the great labors and sweat of the fathers of the Company. And all this redounds to the service of his majesty and to a savings for the royal treasury. And now, in view of this past service, I beg your majesty [for the power] to appoint a commander with a squadron of twenty-five soldiers, or to remove him. I do not consider this to be contrary to the generous heart of our king. I am not taking into consideration the decision of the Royal Cabinet which was made in the year 1685 concerning the abandonment of the Californias.⁷ After all the great expenses that resulted in nothing, the Royal Cabinet summoned the father provincial of the Company. Since he was not in Mexico City at the time, the vice provincial, Father Daniel Angelo Marras, came instead.⁸ The cabinet proposed that the Company of Jesus take charge of the entire enterprise of the Californias. They offered to provide 90,000 pesos annually from the royal treasury. Father Daniel Angelo Marras summoned the advisors of the province, but they declined the offer. It is true that when Father Provincial Bernabé de Soto came back from his visitation [of the province], he was sorry that the request of the Royal Cabinet had not been approved in view of what was best for the poor Californians, considering that this was the only possible way that remained to plant the faith in the Californias. And the conviction of the Royal Cabinet was so firm that there was probably no other way to bring about the conversion of the Californias except to turn it over to the fathers of the Company. When a petition came from Captain Francisco de Lucenilla in which he requested much less money than the amount offered to the Company, the cabinet ignored it.⁹

But now, the Company no longer excuses itself. Persuaded by Father General Tirso González its sons have been dragged into all the houses of pious people and to all the tribunals begging for help for the conversion of this realm to our holy Catholic faith.¹⁰ It is my opinion that this undertaking will not be accomplished outside our Company. With new requests and orders from your excellency, while a report is being made to his majesty, the fathers should be encouraged to take charge of both spiritual and temporal affairs. Moreover, with the aid of the 13,000 pesos his majesty has recently offered, the

fathers would be relieved, but it would be a great burden for any secular. Based on my experience in managing these affairs for nearly eight years, I say that it would be impossible to meet the conditions of the new *cédula* with that amount. If someone should decide to comply and to administer this country with 13,000 pesos, it would be out of ignorance or an attempt to deceive the king. Meanwhile, it would be business as usual; there would still be a thousand disagreements with the fathers, who must necessarily counter the oppression by the soldiers and sailors and especially the ill-treatment of the Indians, both Christian converts and unbelievers, who will certainly rebel.

While letters and *memoriales* are sent to this court, even before replies favorable to the Indians are returned, the Indians will already have rebelled, like a newcomer who is inexperienced, knowing no other recourse than to resort to weapons and natural ferocity. The aforementioned commander would have to buy all his supplies from overseas for many years; customarily they arrive rotten and worm-eaten, especially the meat. In actual practice, the expenses are triple what was estimated. Thus, no one can be supported without great expense to the royal treasury.

From the foregoing I conclude that the country is still not capable of admitting Spanish settlers due to its harshness. It still cannot support even two fathers. Today there are no Spaniards who want to settle new lands, even though the lands are good ones, unless they are paid by the king or exiled by law. They are of no use except to cause the land to rebel and to support dissensions with the soldiers, thus threatening civil war, as happened a few years ago in New Mexico between soldiers and settlers.

The last point is to reply to the proposal of founding a new presidio on the opposite shore or on the west coast where ships pass by on their way from the Philippines. This proposal comes from the most Catholic breast of our king, who pities so many Christian subjects dying from the Berber sickness [scurvy] because there is no beach where they can land for thousands of leagues. If there were, with fresh meat and bittersweet greens, almost all of them would get well. To this I reply that now I will die contented, seeing that our king desires what I too have desired for so many years, compassion for the sick and dying. I have done all my work with this in mind. But now, in order to avoid new and greater expenses to the royal treasury by giving more help to the fathers, whose reductions of unbelievers are approaching the west coast, what his majesty desires can quickly be achieved without the expense of a new presidio.

I suggest that the fathers be entrusted with the 13,000 pesos to help out with their expenses. With this and the alms of faithful Christians, they can hope to achieve what the king wants. Presently, the 6,000 pesos in assistance does not amount to even a third

of what is spent. My hopes are great because the rest can be made up by alms. Besides the 13,000 pesos, there will only be the need to charter a fishing boat for a year or two at about 4,000 pesos in cash. This boat can explore and map the west coast from [18] to 21 degrees, listing the ports, inlets, or bays found in that region. I would also sail that boat up the east coast where we could set foot on grassy shores, just as on the west coast, where we might assist the China ship, and let it be known whether there are any enemies on the coasts of New Spain.

The actual situation of California consists in this: the king our lord today owns fifty leagues of coast from Concepción Bay to Agua Verde,¹¹ and another fifty leagues in the interior in the heart of the mountains between the two seas. In this circumference of 100 leagues, all is peaceful; the fathers travel through it alone and without military escort. The natives throughout the whole region are obedient to the ministrations of the fathers as well as to the orders of the military officers. They are ready to take up arms in our favor with 1,200 Christians and an equal number of catechumens and gentiles.

Besides the land around here that is already conquered, there is still more that has only been explored. Three roads run through this country to the beaches on the west coast. It is a two-day journey from one coast to the other where the ship comes from the Philippines. Even though the Indians on the west coast have fled and hidden themselves during these expeditions for fear of the soldiers, they are still tame and have even come to visit Father Juan de Ugarte, who lives in the heart of the mountains between the seas.¹²

California is now a refuge for Spaniards who have been shipwrecked by storms in the South Sea. Two years ago seventy persons, who were all thought to have perished, took refuge there when their ships were lost. Now we are beginning to find good signs of mines in these newly discovered and subdued lands.

This is, in short, what I can report to your excellency in obedience to the royal cédula. So that it may be known that everything I have said is true, I sign it with my name in Mexico [City], May 25, 1705.

Juan María de Salvatierra [signature]

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 63, ff. 62-66.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Informe del padre Juan María Salvatierra al excelentísimo señor duque de Alburquerque sobre el contexto de la real cédula que señala 13,000 pesos de sueldo al presidio de California, encargando que su paga corra por mano de secular.

Excelentísimo señor:

Yo, Juan María de Salvatierra, de la Compañía de Jesús, rector de las misiones de Californias, llamado de vuestra excelencia, en obediencia de la cédula de su majestad que su señoría ha dado en 28 de septiembre del año de 1703, en que ordena que vuestra excelencia oiga el parecer de los padres. Y por obedecer a dicha cédula y orden de vuestra excelencia, en poco más de un mes llegué a esta ciudad desde Californias. Y llegado a las puertas de ellas, supe haber muerto el padre visitador Manuel Piñero; y por su muerte me halló yo provincial de esta provincia de Nueva España, y juntamente misionero de Californias.

Y en obediencia de la cédula de su majestad, represento lo primero:

La imposibilidad de poderse vivir en Californias con una sola embarcación, pues en siete años y medio, siempre hemos tenido tres embarcaciones, y no obstante hemos pasado grandes desamparos de barcos, por las contingencias del mar, barcados de ellos, y aún pérdidas totales, detenciones de mucho tiempo en sus avíos y carenas por falta de pertrechos, de socorros y limosnas, de oficiales, y distancia de puertos o caletas, adonde poderse carenar. Pues la empresa es tan nueva que no da todavía lugar a mayor facilidad, y esto fuera así aunque hubiese mucho dinero, como fue en tiempo del almirante don Isidro de Atondo, que teniendo abiertas todas las cajas reales, de tres embarcaciones de [que] había fabricadas para California, la balandra, no vió a Californias, ni servido más para que su majestad gastase en la fábrica, avíos, soldados y oficiales de mar. Y de los dos barcos, Almiranta y Capitana, sirvieron tan poco que por no llegar el Almiranta con el socorro a tiempo, se desamparó y perdió, hasta la hora de ésta, la fundación del puerto de La Paz, centro de los placeres, quedando todavía alzada esa nación Guaycura, por la muerte que hizo el almirante, con los indios que estaban alrededor de un caso grande comiendo, actualmente, maíz cocido, a que los había [convidado. Y habiendo después poblado sesenta pueblos más arriba, en San Bruno, se halló diez meses sin una sola embarcación.

Lo segundo que represento a vuestra excelencia, es la mucha aspereza de la tierra, que pues no ha podido poblar en como ciento y ochenta años desde el tiempo de Fernán Cortés, y de otros muchos que después entraron, señal es que se hallaron grandes dificultades. Y a no haber sido en esta ocasión la pobladora y conquistadora la Virgen Santísima de Loreto, hubiera sucedido el despoblarse, no cada año, sino cada día.

Yo no entré n[uevo] en este trabajo, sino envejecido en los trabajos de la Nueva Vizcaya, poniendo freno a los alzamientos de esas naciones, ayudándome de la buena correspondencia de los españoles, así soldados como vecinos, y buena amistad con los indios, ante pues, al dicho conocimiento y experiencia. [Pro]pongo en segundo lugar a vuestra excelencia las dificultades grandes y peligros, casi ciertos, de perder[se] la tierra si se quita en estos principios la potestad a los padres, o al padre superior de poner o remover el que fuere cabo de esa pequeña escuadra de soldados. Pues he tocado con manos, que a no haber tenido yo esa potestad en el espacio de estos ocho años, no se hubiera dado paso ninguno dentro de la California, y hubiéramos estado ga[stan]do y más gastando en la primera playa adonde saltamos. Y por miedo, o mas, de no [ilegible] dos los cabos, han ido haciendo entradas y descubrimientos por la persuasión eficaz de los padres, y fortalecida con la autoridad. Aunque que es fuerte el atractivo de la perla, y a no estar los padres de medio con dicha autoridad, que iban atajando inconvenientes, ya hubiera entrado, como entraba aprisa, el obligar con varios pretextos, y atarear a los indios, así gentiles como cristianos, al buceo de la perla. Y tras de esta tarea forzada seguro se sigue el alzamiento, y una vez alzada la tierra, será sin remedio la pérdida por la aspereza de ella, y no poder servir gente a caballo para su recobro.

También para sosiego de los soldados españoles, que en tierra tan distante y ultramarina sirven menos descontentos, reconociendo que con la seguridad del amparo válido de los padres, o del superior que tiene poder de remover al cabo, tienen seguridad de que no llegará a hacerles vejación injusta. Y está sujeta la tierra a ellas con muchos peligros de envidias; como por ejemplo, porque el indio va a vender una perla buena a un soldado su amigo, y no la vendió al capitán, entra ojeriza contra el soldado y contra el indio; y si el soldado español no está contento, se desespera y se arroja a cosas graves como se vió en muchas ocasiones en tiempo de don Isidro de Atondo, que estuvo por perder la vida en muchas ocasiones por los soldados y marineros.

Digo, asimismo, que se va retirando la piedad de los vasallos de nuestro rey, que concurren con sus limosnas, viendo se les quita esta potestad a los padres; corriendo con la confianza del logro de sus limosnas antes, y temiendo que lo que ellos hacen con una mano se deshaga por otra. También se atajan los socorros personales de gente española y de los indios guerreros de la Nueva Vizcaya, que a una vez de los padres, californios e indios y españoles, luego se movían de sus puertos, y vienen barcos llenos de unos y otros, como sucedió tres años ha, llenándose una canoa de españoles de Sinaloa que vinieron a socorrer, y haciendo lo mismo los indios guerreros de la fidelísima nación Yaqui, que se llenó, un barco que había, de ellos, muy bien armados, y desembarcaron en nuestro Loreto de Californias, aterrorizando a las naciones de Californias. Y en esto podrán desmayar, así los españoles como indios, desafiando del

mar, amparo y cariño, y no ser mandados como hijos, no corriendo por los padres. Y será uno de los mayores daños que se padecerán en la nueva conquista.

Pues, es sabido que don Isidro de Atondo, no sólo era almirante de Californias, sino también capitán del presidio de Sinaloa y gobernador de esa provincia, y con toda esa autoridad, y versados encargos del excelentísimo señor virrey, no pudo conseguir un indio solo voluntario de Sinaloa y Sonora; y unos pocos que llevó a causa de [ilegible] de cómo tan malévolos fueron causa del primer alzamiento que tuvo en su entrada. Y digo que todos los motivos susodichos mir[an] a la seguridad de la tierra y aseguran [en] ella la religión cristiana.

Asimismo me parece representar a vuestra excelencia una circunstancia que conduce a este propósito; y es que se han gastado en esta empresa, hasta el día de hoy, doscientos y veinticinco mil pesos, sin la fundación de seis misiones, que montan de principio] cincuenta y ocho mil pesos. Y de las cajas reales sólo he recibido, a la hora de ésta en todos estos años, dieciocho mil pesos, y el resto se ha sacado con grandes trabajos y sudores de los padres de la Compañía, lo cual todo redundando en servicio de su majestad, y ahorro de su real caja. Y atento a este servicio, le pido yo, a su majestad, el poner cabo y removerle en una escuadra de 25 soldados, no la tengo por petición de contrapeso al corazón magnánimo de nuestro rey. Dejo de ponderar la resolución de este que tomó el año de 1685 en el desamparo de Californias. Después de grandes gastos con ningún logro, llamó este real acuerdo al padre provincial de la Compañía, y por no hallarse en México acudió el padre vice-provincial Daniel Angelo Marras y se le propuso con ruego y encargo que la Compañía de Jesús se encargue de toda la empresa de Californias, ofreciendo 90 mil pesos de la caja por cada año. Y juntando el padre Daniel Angelo Marras la consulta de provincia, se excusaron. Bien es verdad que vuelto de la visita el padre provincial Bernabé de Soto, sintió que no se hubiese admitido el ruego y encargo, atendiendo a la parte más favorable, a los pobres californios, y ser éste el único medio que quedaba, que podrán, para ver si con eso se plantaba la fe en ese reino. Y la persuasión de este real acuerdo fue tan firme, de que no tenía ya otro medio, sino de estar parte, todo, en los padres de la Compañía, para la probabilidad de surtir efecto la conversión de las Californias, que acudiendo luego la petición del capitán Francisco de Lucenilla, pidiendo mucho menos dinero de lo que se ofrecía a la Compañía, no se hizo caso de ella.

Pues ahora, que no se ha excusado la Compañía, sino que se ha arrastrado con sus hijos, por persuasión del padre general Tirso González, a todas las casas de los hombres piadosos y a todos los tribunales pidiendo socorro para la [conversión de este reino a nuestra santa fe católica, es mi parecer de que no se haga afuera n[uestra] Compañía,

sino que con nuevos ruegos y encargos de vuestra excelencia, en el ínterin se dé cuenta a su [majestad], y se alienten los padres a cuidar no sólo de lo espiritual, sino asimismo de lo temporal, y más aún con el alivio de los 13 mil pesos que ofreció de nuevo su majestad que para los padres sea de alivio, pero para cualquier secular será de mucho peso; pues por la experiencia que tengo, y haber manejado como ocho años esta empresa, digo que es imposible que con dicha cantidad puedan guardarse las condiciones de la nueva cédula, y si admitiere cumplirlas, y m[inist]rar la tierra con los 13 mil pesos, será por ignorancia o por engañar al rey. Haciendo en el ínterin su negocio, y teniendo mil disensiones con los padres que de fuerza se habrán de oponer a las vejaciones contra los soldados y marineros y más en especial contra los [indios], nuevos cristianos e infieles, que con seguridad se alzarán.

Y mientras se atiende con cartas y memoriales a esta corte, aún antes que [traigan] las respuestas favorables a los indios, ya ellos se hallan alzados, pues como gente nueva, e incapaz, no conoce más recurso que a sus armas y fiereza natural, habrá dicho cabo, de comprar allende la mar, por muchos años, todo género de bastimentos, y como suelen llegar, no pocas veces podridos y apollados, especialmente la carne, son triplicados los gastos, en la práctica, de lo que parecen en la especulativa, y así nadie se podrá mantener sino con grandes gastos de la real hacienda.

De lo susodicho deduzco, que no está la tierra, todavía, capaz de admitir vecinos españoles, por su aspereza, y no poder, todavía, sustentar a dos solos padres. Y el día de hoy no se hallan vecinos españoles que quieran poblar tierras nuevas, aunque buenas, sino es asalariándolos el rey, o echándolos la justicia desterrados. Y no sirven más que para alzar la tierra y tener disensiones con los soldados, peligrados a una guerra civil, como pocos años ha sucedía en el Nuevo México, entre soldados y pobladores.

El último punto es responder a la propuesta de nueva planta de presidio en la contracosta, o costa del poniente por donde pasan las naos de Filipinas. Movido este punto del pecho catolicísimo de nuestro rey, apiadándose de tantos vasallos cristianos que se mueren del mal de Berbér, por no tener playa en qué poderlos dejar en millares de leguas, en la cual, con carne fresca y cosas agrias verdes, podían sanar casi todos. Lo que a esto respondo es que yo moriré contento viendo que nuestro rey desea lo que en tantos años he deseado, compadeciéndome de tantos enfermos y muertos, y así lo que he trabajado siempre ha sido con la mira a esto. Pero hoy día por no acrecentar nuevos y mayores gastos a la real hacienda con dar más socorro a los padres, cuyas reducciones de infieles se van ya acercando a la costa de poniente, se podía conseguir en breve, sin gasto de nuevo presidio, lo que su majestad desea.

Y entregándose a los padres los 13 mil pesos por ayuda de costa, con eso y con limosnas de los fieles cristianos, se podrá esperar el conseguirse, pues hoy los 6 mil pesos de ayuda de costa, no son ni la tercera parte de lo que se gasta, y son grandes mis afanes porque de limosnas se acabale el resto. Sólo es menester, por un año, o dos, además de los [13] mil pesos, un barco pescadero, fletado con unos 4 mil pesos de contado para que visitar y demarcarse la costa del poniente de [ilegible] hasta los 21 grados, los puertos y callos o bahías que en este espacio se topasen, y yo fuera en dicho barco, y con esto se dieran la mano la costa del levante, a donde fijamos el pie en dichos prados, y la costa del poniente en los mismos, para socorro de la nao de China, y avisarla allí si andan enemigos en las costas de la Nueva España.

El estado hoy día de la California, consiste en ser hoy día el rey nuestro señor, poseedor de cincuenta leguas de playa desde la Bahía de la Concepción hasta el Agua Verde, y otra cincuenta leguas de la tierra adentro o riñón de la sierra entre los dos mares. Y en estas cien leguas de circunferencia] toda tierra de paz, que toda la andan los padres solos, sin escolta de soldados, obedientes los naturales de toda esta circunferencia a la m[inistración] de los padres, y órdenes del cabo militar, prontos a tomar las armas a nuestro favor con mil y doscientos cristianos, y otros más catecúmenos y gentiles.

Hay más de la tierra reducida o conquistada, otras descubiertas solamente, como son tres caminos para la contracosta del poniente, hasta llegar a las mismas playas, y visitadas, dos jornadas de dicha playa, por donde viene la nao de Filipinas, y aunque se huyeron y retiraron los indios de la costa del poniente en estas entradas, por miedo natural a los soldados, pero ya hoy se van amansando, y ellos mismos bajan a visitar al padre Juan de Ugarte, que vive en el riñón de la sierra entre mar y mar.

Es ya la California refugio de españoles derrotados de tempestades del mar del sur, de modo que dos años ha se abrigaron setenta personas, pérdidas ya sus embarcaciones, que todos hubieran perecido. Y ya empieza a haber buenos asomos de minas en lo descubierto, y obediente país.

Este es, en breve, lo que en obediencia de la real cédula, puedo representar a vuestra excelencia, y por entender ser todo lo dicho como lo represento. Lo firmo de mi letra en México y 25 de mayo de 1705.

Juan María de Salvatierra [firma]

Notes

[1.](#) Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez, Duque de Alburquerque, was viceroy from December 1702 until January 1711.

2. Padre Piñeiro held several provincial positions in Spain before coming to America. He died suddenly in Mexico City on October 21, 1704.

3. The Guaicuro comprised several groups or bands of Indians south of Loreto.

4. Cortés attempted a colony at the bay of La Paz; landing on May 3, 1535, he named the locale Santa Cruz in honor of the feast day.

5. Salvatierra had an exceptionally strong devotion to Our Lady of Loreto, constructing shrines in her honor in the mountains of Chinipas (Chihuahua), at the Jesuit novitiate of Tepetzotlán, and in Baja California. *Pobladora* and *Conquistadora* are epithets to depict the goals of settlement and conquest.

6. This is a reference to Salvatierra's previous mission experience in Chínipas, where he labored from 1680 to 1693.

7. Real cédula, Madrid, December 22, 1685. AGI, Guadalajara 134.

8. Marras was a major figure in the development of northwestern New Spain. He was the rector of the mission of San José de Mátape in Sonora and was responsible for the development of cattle ranching in the region.

9. Francisco de Lucenilla, a merchant from Paradas, Andalucía, went to Mexico in 1665. His return to Spain was delayed, so he petitioned to make an expedition to California in 1668 in place of Captain Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero. Accompanied by two Franciscan friars, the venture was a complete failure that probably influenced the council's later decision.

10. Tirso González was Praepositus General of the Society of Jesus from July 1687, to October 1705.

11. Concepción Bay lies fifty kilometers north of Loreto, about one-third of the way up the peninsula's east coast. Agua Verde Bay, named by one of Vizcaino's captains in 1596, is fifty kilometers south of Loreto, near Isla de Monserrate.

12. Ugarte was born in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, in 1679. He stands with Salvatierra as one of the most important figures in the founding of California. He was the founder of mission San Javier Viggé in the mountains between Loreto and the Pacific coast.

Testimony of the Viceregal Junta on Promoting the Californias, 1722

The situation in California had once again reached crisis proportions with respect to the lack of reliable supplies from and communication with the mainland. Salvatierra had returned to the peninsula in 1707 and continued to expand the mission chain both to the south and the north in accord with the express wishes of Philip V. The expansion had placed a strain on the presidial complement, which was divided among the resident missions, leaving only a small contingent at Loreto where there was little threat of hostilities. The largest secular complement was that of the officers and sailors for the tiny fleet of small boats that plied the coastal waters to serve the missions on the eastern seaboard. One misfortune after another befell the ships; several of the larger vessels ran aground or were stripped by Indians, blown across the gulf, or lost at sea. One missionary, Benito Guisi, drowned when the incompetently built replacement for the Rosario sank off the southern coast. Then, in 1717, Salvatierra's health began to fail, and he died in Guadalajara en route to Mexico where the new viceroy, Balthazar de Zúñiga, the Marqués de Valero, had arrived with news of new royal support for California. The document that is presented here is a summary of the actions that were taken by the viceroy and his council two months after Salvatierra's death. But by 1720 little or nothing had been accomplished to fulfill the king's orders. The Jesuits had mounted an overland expedition to the Pacific at Magdalena Bay, but no port and fortress had yet been built. The ship required for the coastal exploration still had not been acquired by 1720, and perforce, Father Juan de Ugarte set about building a boat on the peninsula. This resulted in the famous Triunfo de la Cruz which explored the gulf waters and supplied the California missions for the next three decades.

The following document is a copy of the testimony of the agreement reached in 1717 and reviewed in the junta of 1722 that found the implementation of the king's orders deficient and incomplete. This document is continually referred to throughout the administrative history of the development of the Californias because it succinctly states the royal disposition toward the frontier territory.

1722

Testimony of the junta held by the Marqués de Valero on September 25, 1717, regarding measures to promote the growth of the Californias.

April 3

The special junta held today, September 25, 1717, by the most excellent Marqués de Valero, viceroy, governor and captain general of New Spain and president of the *Real Audiencia*, was attended by the Licenciado Don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas, knight of the Order of Santiago, and Doctor Don Juan Díez de Bracamonte, judges of this Real Audiencia; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila and Don Isidro Nicolás Pardo de Nájera of the same order, accountants for the Royal Tribunal of Accounts of New Spain; Don José Solís and Don Simón de Carragal, provisional royal officers for the royal treasury of this court, and Don José Antonio de Espinoza Ocampo y Cornejo of the mentioned Order of Santiago, his majesty's counsel in civil matters.¹ Also attending, by order of his most excellent lordship, were Father Gaspar Rodero, father provincial of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, the Reverend Father Alejandro Romano, and Brother Jaime Bravo of the same Society of Jesus, and Don Pedro Pablo de Orduña.² The *autos* of discovery, conquest, and reduction of the Californias were reviewed, whereby the fathers of the aforementioned Society of Jesus were made to understand the cost and expenses to his majesty (may God keep him) and of the rest of the faithful. The content of the royal decrees attested to in the *autos* was also examined, especially all that was resolved and ordered by his majesty in the decree of September 28, 1703, which, along with the counsel's response of April 18, 1704, brought about the general conference held in this city on June 6 of the same year.³ Considered next were reports presented by Father Juan María de Salvatierra of the same Society of Jesus on May 25, 1705, another on June 27 of the said year, and a royal decree dated August 13 of the same year, another from September 24, 1706, and the final royal decree dated July 26, 1708.⁴ These were presented together with the news recently imparted to his excellency and matters contained in the report presented by Brother Jaime Bravo on the seventeenth of this current month and year. Accompanying the *autos* pertaining to this matter is the verbal response of his majesty's counsel, who said he would put it in writing. Everything that should be was discussed with Father Alejandro Romano and Brother Jaime Bravo as men familiar with the territory and coast of the Californias, as well as with Don Pablo de Orduña, who also has had firsthand experience and is a military man.

It was resolved in compliance with his majesty's orders that the California missions be furnished everything necessary to pay the wages of the twenty-five soldiers, their captain, navigator, cabin boys, and the rest of the officers for the vessel. Payment is to be made upon arrival at their destination, and another small amount for the transport of the supplies. If the 13,000 pesos assigned are not sufficient to pay these expenses, everything necessary is to be provided from the *Real Hacienda* for now, it being estimated that a large allotment will be needed to cover them. The funds must not be delayed or halted, due to the risk of wasting the labor that this reduction has already cost the ardent, religious zeal of the holy Society of Jesus (without causing considerable

expense to the Real Hacienda and burdening the alms gathered by their fervent and charitable devotion, which have increased to such an extent that more than 600,000 pesos have been distributed by the aforementioned fathers toward the work achieved in the service of God and of his majesty. It is the will of his majesty, charged repeatedly, not only that these missions be maintained, but that they be improved as much as possible. Every appropriate action should be taken toward the discovery of a port that can be fortified and where a presidio can be built for the relief of the *Nao de Filipinas*. There it can anchor in complete safety, supply itself, revitalize the men, leave the sick, and resume its journey to Acapulco without the risks of facing enemy pirates or losing the many men who die traversing the coast. In order to achieve such an important goal, once the aforementioned ship has been finished, manned with soldiers and sailors (as might seem suitable), and guided by the most intelligent pilot who can be found, and under the supervision of the missionary fathers (having one or more on board as might seem necessary), the vessel can go on to reconnoiter the interior coast or wherever the aforementioned fathers might choose. Because they are experienced men and such Christian and truthful persons, the good management and success of this enterprise may be entrusted to their direction. (Experience has shown that this has not been achieved by other subjects, who ran up huge expenses to the royal treasury. What we have wanted to know and what matters so much remains as puzzling as at the beginning.) With the map, reports, and opinions of the aforementioned fathers, pilot, and knowledgeable men, the port may be selected and decisions made for the construction of the fort that has been ordered to be built, together with the other decisions that pertain to the achievement of what is desired by his majesty. Regarding the stipends of the missionaries in the missions that may be established in the future, the toilsome effort with which they must apply themselves to achieve their charitable work in this place must be kept in mind. Also one must remember the difficulty of transporting food and other types of supplies and the greater costs that are incurred by transporting by ship, unlike the other missions that transport their supplies overland. Regarding the saltworks that are requested for the Santuario de Loreto, since this belongs properly to his excellency's royal prerogative, it is left to his judgment to grant this concession as he sees fit, temporarily or in perpetuity, and to issue the necessary dispatches.

[Signed with seven rubrics.]

His excellency [and] the honorable gentlemen:

Valenzuela

Bracamonte

Ardila

Pardo

Solís

Carragal

This junta had been missing the *autos* concerning the matter, and they were taken down and put in the office of the secretary of his excellency today, December 22, 1720; for the record I set down this explanation.

Mendoza

This concurs with the junta whose original is located among the *autos* pertaining to the matter, which, for the purpose of obtaining this copy, were shown to me at the accounting office of the royal treasury of this court, where I returned them so that they might be delivered to the government office where they belong (to which I am referring), so that they might be on record as appropriate, in virtue of the decree of the most excellent Viceroy Marqués de Valero, which was dispatched to the conference of the royal officials, which also was shown to me and which I returned.

I give the present [testimony] in Mexico on January 21, 1722. Present as witnesses are Don Manuel Dávila, Don Juan del Campo, and Don Antonio de Fierro. Among [illegible] in the missions. Vale.

I have hereby signed in attestation of the truth.

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno

Royal Notary

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 63, ff. 329-31.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Año de 1722

Testimonio de la junta que tuvo el Marqués de Valero en 25 de septiembre de 1717 para las providencias conducentes al aumento de Californias.

3 abril

En la junta particular que hoy veinte y cinco de septiembre de mil setecientos diez y siete años tuvo el excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, virrey gobernador y capitán

general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la Real Audiencia, a que asistieron los señores licenciado don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas, caballero del Orden de Santiago, doctor don Juan Díez de Bracamonte, oidores de esta Real Audiencia; don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila y don Isidro Nicolás Pardo de Nájera del mismo orden, contadores del Real Tribunal de Cuentas de esta Nueva España; don José Solís, don Simón de Carragal, oficiales reales interinos de la Real Caja de esta corte, y señor don José Antonio de Espinoza Ocampo y Cornejo del referido Orden de Santiago, fiscal de su majestad en lo civil, y en donde concurrieron de orden de dicho excelentísimo señor el referido padre Gaspar Rodero, provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de esta Nueva España, el reverendo padre Alejandro Romano y hermano Jaime Bravo de la misma Compañía de Jesús, don Pedro Pablo de Orduña. Habiéndose visto los autos del descubrimiento, conquista y reducción de las Californias, en que a costa y expensas de su majestad (que Dios guarde) y de los demás fieles se ha entendido por los padres de la referida Compañía de Jesús, y el contenido de las reales cédulas que se hallan testimoniadas en ellos, y especialmente lo resuelto y mandado por su majestad en la del veinte y ocho de septiembre del año de mil setecientos tres, de que con respuesta del señor fiscal de diez y ocho de abril de mil setecientos y cuatro dimanó la junta general que a los seis de junio del propio año se tuvo en esta ciudad, y después a consulta presentada por el padre Juan María de Salvatierra de la misma Compañía de Jesús a los veinte y cinco de mayo de mil setecientos y cinco, otra de veinte y siete de junio de dicho año, y por real cédula de trece de agosto del mismo año, otra a los veinte y cuatro de septiembre de mil setecientos seis, y el de la última real cédula de veinte y seis de julio de mil setecientos y ocho, con las noticias nuevamente participadas a su excelencia y puntos que contiene la consulta presentada por el referido hermano Jaime Bravo a los diez y siete de este corriente mes y año, y respuesta dada por el señor fiscal de su majestad in voce, quien dijo la pondría por escrito para que estuviese adjunta con los autos de esta materia, comunicado todo lo que debió serlo con el padre Alejandro Romano y hermano Jaime Bravo, como prácticos del país y costa de las Californias, y con don Pablo de Orduña, que también lo ha sido, y militar.

Fue resuelto en conformidad de las órdenes de su majestad se ministre a las misiones de Californias todo lo necesario para la paga de los sueldos de los veinte y cinco soldados, su capitán, marinero, grumetes y demás oficiales para la embarcación, que ésta se haga correspondiente al fin de su destino, y otra pequeña para el transporte de los bastimentos; y si los trece mil pesos asignados no fuesen bastantes para reportar estos gastos, se dé todo lo necesario de la Real Hacienda por ahora, considerándose que será preciso mayor porción para ejecutarlos, que no se deben retardar ni reparar en ellos por el peligro de que se pierda el trabajo que ha costado esta reducción al ardiente celo de la religión de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús (sin costar costo considerable de la Real

Hacienda) y cargo de su fervoroso y caritativo celo en las limosnas tan crecidas que éste ha conseguido para obra tan del servicio de Dios y del de su majestad, que pasan de seiscientos mil pesos lo que en ella se ha erogado por los referidos padres, siendo voluntad de su majestad, encargada geminadamente, el que no solo se conserven estas misiones, sino que se adelanten en cuanto fuese posible y se hagan todas las diligencias convenientes a fin de que se descubra puerto para que se pueda fortificar, y en el construir presidio para alivio de la Nao de Filipinas, en el que pueda entrar con todo seguro, bastimentarse, refrescar la gente, dejar los enfermos, y poder proseguir su viaje hasta el de Acapulco, sin los riesgos que experimentan, así por los enemigos piratas, como por la mucha gente que muere en recorriendo la costa; y para conseguir tan importante fin acabada dicha embarcación, guarnecida con gente de guerra y marinería (la que pareciere correspondiente) y el piloto que se hallare más inteligente, con intervención de los padres misioneros, y embarcándose en ella él que fuere o los que parecieren necesarios, se pase a reconocer la costa por adentro o por la parte que los referidos padres eligieren, que como tan prácticos y personas de tanta cristiandad y verdad por que se puede confiar la buena conducta y acierto de este negocio en su dirección (habiéndose experimentado que por otros sujetos no se ha logrado, haciendo crecidísimos gastos a la Real Hacienda y quedándose en la misma confusión que a los principios lo que se desea saber e importa tanto). Y con el mapa y informes y pareceres de los dichos padres, piloto, y hombres inteligentes, se elija el puerto y se den las providencias para construcción de la fuerza que en él se manda fabricar, con las demás correspondientes a que se logre lo que se desea por su majestad. Y en cuanto a los estipendios de los misioneros en las misiones que en lo de adelante se fundasen, se tendrá presente el trabajo de comodidad, con que se aplican en este paraje a su instituto caritativo la dificultad de transporte de los bastimentos y demás géneros de vestuario, los mayores costos que puede causar el referido transporte por haber de hacerlo en embarcaciones, y no como a los demás que ejercen este empleo en tierra firme; y por lo que mira a las salinas que se piden para el Santuario de Loreto, siendo esta propia regalía de su excelencia, se deja a su arbitrio para que dispense esta gracia como le pareciere, temporal o perpetua, y se libren los despachos necesarios.

[Señalado con siete rúbricas.]

Su excelencia señores:

Valenzuela.

Bracamonte.

Ardila.

Pardo.

Solís.

Carragal.

Esta junta se había echado menos en los autos de la materia, y se bajó y puso en el oficio de la secretaría de su excelencia hoy, veinte y dos de diciembre de mil setecientos y veinte, y para que conste pongo esta razón.

Mendoza.

Concuerta con la junta que original se halla en los autos de la materia, los que para efecto de sacar este traslado se me demostraron en la Contaduría de Real Hacienda de esta corte, a donde los devolví para que lo hiciesen al Oficio de Gobierno donde tocan (a que me refiero), y para que conste donde convenga en virtud de decreto del excelentísimo señor Virrey Marqués de Valero, expedido a consulta de los señores oficiales reales, que también se me demostró y devolví.

Doy el presente en México a veinte y uno de enero de mil setecientos veinte y dos años, siendo testigos a su corrección don Manuel Dávila, don Juan del Campo y don Antonio de Fierro presentes, entre visto [ilegible]. En las misiones. Vale.

Testimonio de verdad lo signé.

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno.

Escribano Real.

Notes

1. Licenciado Don Francisco Valenzuela Venegas and Doctor Don Juan Diez de Bracamonte were judges; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila and Don Isidro Nicolás Pardo de Nájera were accountants for the Royal Tribunal of Accounts; Don José Solís and Don Simón de Carragal were provisional royal officers for the royal treasury of this court; and Don José Antonio de Espinoza Ocampo y Cornejo had previous military experience on the peninsula.

2. Father Gaspar Roderó was in his first term as father provincial of the Society of Jesus in New Spain from November 1715 to July 1719. Returning to Spain he headed a new group of missionaries and again became father provincial from 1723 until 1726, when he assumed the major responsibility of Procurator of the Indies in Spain.

Father Alejandro Romano, a native of Naples, succeeded Rodero as father provincial from July 1719 to the middle of 1722. Then he was made superior of the professed house until his death in 1724.

Brother Jaime Bravo, a native of Aragón, served in the California missions for fourteen years before being ordained a priest. He finished his life as an exemplary missionary, dying in California in 1744.

Nothing is known of Don Pedro Pablo de Orduña.

[3.](#) See AGN, Reales Cédulas, vol. XXXI, exp. 131, fols. 367-72.

[4.](#) These cédulas are discussed in Miguel Venegas, "Empresas apostólicas," paragraphs 645 through 648. They can also be found in the appropriate chronological section of AGN, Reales Cédulas.

[Testimony of the Royal Treasury Regarding a Ship for the Californias, 1722](#)

The sequence of documents regarding Philip V's orders to protect the Californias and encourage exploration terminates with these bureaucratic papers indicating the litigious and frustrating character of politics in New Spain. Already, the Jesuit missionaries had initiated work on a vessel to fulfill the king's desires, but the royal officials continued to dicker over what kind of ship was available and whether it were affordable. The final selection of the Peru ship was apparently a compromise with maritime merchants trading between New Spain and northern Peru. As later documents will show, these compromises continuously jeopardized the availability of adequately strong supply ships for California.

Testimony of the temporary decree given at a meeting of the royal treasury regarding the supply of a boat equipped for the missions of the Californias.

April 24, 1720

This meeting of the hacienda was convoked by the most excellent Marqués de Valero, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain, and president of the Real Audiencia, on March 8, 1720. In attendance were the attorneys Don José de Uribe, knight of the Order of Santiago and Don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, judges in this royal court; Don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, knight of the same order, Marqués de Villa Mediana, regent of the royal accounting office; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, official auditor; and Don Simón de Carbajal and Don Pedro Larburu, officials of the royal treasury and the purse of the court. Also present was the fiscal attorney of his majesty, Don José Sáenz de Escobar, who read the representation of the case given by Padre Jaime Bravo of the Sacred Company of Jesus and missionary of the Californias on the fourth of this month. Padre Bravo is empowered to speak by the fathers in charge of those new [missions crossed out] conversions.

In the document, Padre Bravo stated that the presidio has been without a ship on his majesty's account since May 22 of last year, the date on which the king's sloop, which had served as flagship, was lost. The Company found that not only was it unable to advance, but it could not maintain all that had been conquered without more than one ship. At present, there is only one old boat, one of the first launches sent at the beginning of the conquest, and two canoes that are unable to cross between the coasts of the kingdoms. The document concluded by asking his excellency to order that an adequate ship be provided so that the missions might be restored in the shortest time

possible and their earnings and other necessary assistance might be delivered. The ships should be outfitted with everything needed for a sea crossing, along with some of the weapons from his majesty's account in Acapulco for the ship's security and any war munitions your excellency wishes. With these measures the advancement of that kingdom, of such interest to both majesties, would be assured. The padre suggested that difficulties would follow if these measures were delayed and he asked for speed so that the officials in Acapulco, as in the other ports of the kingdom, would offer the protection which is their obligation for the safe embarkation of the ship (since it belongs to our lord the king and is the flagship of these seas).

The fiscal attorney replied to the request of the fifth, informing the court of accounts on the sixth:

By common agreement it was decided that his excellency would assign to the missions of the Californias the Peru vessel mentioned in this meeting. The price would be given to the person whom his excellency said had bought the ship. As there was no resolution to the contrary it was thus decided to give a vessel to these missions, with arms and supplies in the form requested. The necessary documents were drawn up and signed with six signatures: their excellencies Uribe, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, Marqués de Villa Mediana, Ardila, Carbajal, and Larburu.

The original documents on this matter were shown to me in the cashier's office of the Real Hacienda of the court in order that this copy could be written. I returned them to this office so that an official letter could be drawn up and forwarded to the place deemed most suitable. I did this in light of the decree of the most excellent Viceroy Marqués de Valero, written in consultation with the royal officials, which was also shown to me and returned. The present document was written in Mexico on January 21, 1722. Witnesses to its correction were Don Ju[li]n del Campo, Don Manuel Dávila, and Don Antonio de Fierro.

I affirm this as truthful testimony,

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno

Royal Notary

CALIFORNIAS, 1720

A simple copy of the petition was made by the same California missionary, Bravo, regarding the restitution of a boat equipped for California.

April 24, 1720

Most excellent [crossed out]

I, Jaime Bravo of the Company of Jesus, California missionary, have been charged by the fathers who administer those new conversions to appear before your excellency and relate the following: the California presidio and its lands have been without one of his majesty's boats since May 22 of last year when the king's sloop, which had served as flagship, was lost. Because of this, not only has the Company been unable to advance, but it cannot even maintain the newly conquered lands. There is only one very old launch, which was one of the first ships at the beginning of the conquest, and two canoes incapable of crossing between the coasts of the kingdoms.

I therefore beg your excellency to give me a boat adequate to restore my missions in the briefest time possible, and to deliver the earnings and other necessary aid. This ship should be equipped with everything necessary for a sea voyage, including some of his majesty's weapons from Acapulco for the ship's protection and any war munitions your excellency desires. With these measures the advancement of that kingdom, so important to the service of God and the king, is assured. I must warn your excellency that grave setbacks will follow if this project is delayed; the seas are hazardous and the storms can be very dangerous if a voyage is not made before the rains.

In addition, I ask your excellency to give me a dispatch written in such a way that the officials of Acapulco, as with other ports in these kingdoms, will extend their protection to the safe embarkation of the ship (since it does belong to our king and is flagship of those seas). I hope to receive the mercy and kindness of your excellency.

Jaime Bravo

Mexico, March 2, 1720

To the fiscal attorney and magistrate

[Signed by his excellency]

Most excellent sir, if you so desire, would you send a report of this petition to the royal accounting office with all haste? Keep in mind the recent docking of a galleon from the Philippines called the *Sagrada Familia*, a vessel which, according to your excellency's order, was to be used for the traffic between Acapulco and the Californias. Having made that report, the fiscal attorney added the documents that were drawn up when the missions were granted the previous ship, mentioned as having been lost, and asked for the most suitable solution in light of the information presented.

Mexico, March 5, 1720

Maestro Sáenz

Mexico, March 6, 1720

To the royal accounting office for the purpose stated by the fiscal attorney.

[Signed by his excellency]

Most excellent sir, all of the measures discussed concerning the support of the Californias were arrived at by juntas, who had before them his majesty's mandates regarding this population as well as the documents of the Sacred Company explaining their achievements and the suggestions they feel are suitable. All of these make up the *autos* cited by the prosecutor who, in light of these documents, presents his opinion with full knowledge of the matter. He does not suggest a judgment to the tribunal since there was nothing on which to found such a report. Also, it was announced that a ship from the Philippines has docked and there are reports that it has asked to unload. If the vessel is consigned to the Californias, it will be left to your excellency to determine its best use, as always.

The royal accounting office of Mexico, March 6, 1720.

[Signed with three signatures]

Testimony by order of the superior government of this kingdom with regard to a ship to be given to the California missionaries.

April 11, 1720

This petition was read in Mexico City on April 11, 1720 before Señor Don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas, *alcalde ordinario*.

I, Jaime Bravo, member of the Sacred Company of Jesus of this province of New Spain and proxy for the California missions, wish to present the warrant given to me by his reverence, Padre Juan de Ugarte, father visitor of these missions, as well as the dispatch from the superior government of New Spain regarding a certain ship. Both testimonies were given to me separately in order to ensure the rights of the missions and publicly notarized as to their truthfulness. I therefore entreat your majesty, having been presented with these documents in the proper form (the originals of which I would like returned), to order that which I ask, as is just.

Jaime Bravo

Your Excellency:

As your grace has seen, the documents to which he refers were included.

I order that the father be given the notarized affidavits of the documents and that the original copies be returned to him. Signed and dispatched.

Don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas

AUTO

Jacobo Gómez de Paradelass, royal and public notary.

In fulfillment of the preceding document and of the decree given by the superior government of New Spain I drew up a document whose contents can be seen in the following:

DECREE

Don Baltasar de Zúñiga Sotomayor y Mendoza, Marqués de Valero, Ayamonte y Alenquer, gentleman of his majesty's chamber [*cámara*] and of his council and council of war in the Indies, viceroy, deputy, governor, and captain general of New Spain and president of its royal court. Your excellency, I ordered an assembly regarding the following matter:

In attendance at the hacienda assembly, which I ordered convoked on March 8, 1720, were the most excellent Marqués de Valero, viceroy, governor, and captain general of New Spain and president of his royal assembly; the attorneys Don José de Uribe, knight of the Order of Santiago; Doctor Don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués of Villahermosa de Alfaro, judges of this royal assembly; Don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, knight of the same order; Marqués de Villa Mediana, regent of the royal accounting office; Don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, first accountant; Don Simón de Carbajal and Don Pedro Larburu, officials of the Real Hacienda and the treasury of this court. The fiscal attorney of his majesty, master Don José Sáenz de Escobar, read the report made on the fourth of this month by Padre Jaime Bravo of the Sacred Company of Jesus. Padre Bravo is a California missionary and is empowered by the fathers of those new [conversions]. He told how that presidio had not had a boat belonging to his majesty since May 22 of last year when the king's ship, which had served as flagship, was lost. The Company has had no way of advancing nor of maintaining the newly conquered lands, for it has only one very old boat, which was one of the first ships at the beginning of the conquest, and two canoes incapable of crossing from one coast to the other. The conclusion of the father is that his excellency should send a boat capable of restoring the missions in the briefest time possible, and of carrying the earnings and necessary

relief. The boat should be outfitted with everything necessary for a sea voyage, including some of the weapons from his majesty's possessions in Acapulco for the ship's security and any munitions his excellency wishes to give. These measures, the father added, should ensure the advancement of that kingdom, of such interest to both majesties and he suggested that problems might follow if these measures were delayed. Padre Bravo asked for haste so that the authorities of Acapulco, as in other ports of those kingdoms, would as far as they were able offer safe embarkation to the ship, which is his majesty's and flagship of these seas.

The response of the fiscal attorney:

It was decided by general agreement that his excellency would assign the Peru ship to the California missions, as reported by his excellency in this meeting. The price for the ship would be given to the person whom his excellency indicated had bought it. Since there was no resolution to the contrary, it was decided to give a ship to the missions with arms and supplies in the form requested, and to draw up the necessary documents. The matter was thus resolved and signed.

[signed with seven signatures]

So that this resolution would be properly and entirely fulfilled, the *castellano* and royal officers of Acapulco ordered that the most necessary measures be taken with the aim that this ship assigned to the Californias be delivered to Padre Jaime. Also, the price for the ship should be given to its buyer, and it should be delivered to the father with arms and supplies in the form requested. Thus with this document and the other messages justifying the importance of this ship, the missions will be restored.

Mexico, March 15, 1720

The Marqués of Valero,

through His Excellency Antonio de Avilés

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 63, ff. 319-23.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Testimonio de la providencia tomada en junta de real hacienda sobre que se dé a las misiones de Californias un barco pertrechado.

Con 24 abril, año de 1720.

En la junta de hacienda que mandó convocar el excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España, y presidente de la real audiencia de ella, el día ocho de marzo de mil setecientos y veinte, con los señores licenciados don José de Uribe, caballero del orden de Santiago, señor don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, oidores de esta real audiencia; don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, caballero del mismo orden, marqués de Villa Mediana, regente del real tribunal de cuentas, don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, contador mayor de él; don Simón de Carbajal, y don Pedro Larburu, oficiales reales de la real hacienda y caja de esta corte, presente el abogado fiscal de su majestad, maestro don José Sáenz de Escobar, se vido y leyó la representación que a su excelencia hizo en cuatro del corriente el padre Jaime Bravo, de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús, misionero de Californias y apoderado de los padres que componen aquellas nuevas [misiones tachado] conversiones.

[E]n que expresó hallarse aquel presidio sin barco de cuenta de su majestad desde el día veinte y dos de mayo del año pasado, en que se había perdido la balandra del rey que servía de capitana; hallándose la compañía sin forma de poder no solo adelantar, pero ni aun mantener toda aquella conquista, sin que tuviese más de una lancha, tan vieja, que era de las primeras embarcaciones que habían ido al principio de la conquista, y dos piraguas incapaces de atravesar a las costas de estos reinos; concluyendo en que su excelencia demandase dar barco suficiente en que con la mayor brevedad restituirse a sus misiones y llevar el situado y demás socorros necesarios, dándoseles pertrechado de todo lo necesario para salir a la mar, y con algunas armas de las que hubiere en Acapulco de cuenta de su majestad, para seguridad del barco, y municiones de guerra, que fuese del agrado de su excelencia; medio con que se aseguraría el adelantamiento de aquel reino en que tanto interesaba el servicio de ambas majestades, insinuando los inconvenientes que de retardarse esta providencia se pueden seguir, pidiendo despacho para que, así en Acapulco como en los demás puertos de aquellos reinos, las justicias que en ellos hubiese diesen el amparo que era de su obligación en cuanto pudiese ofrecerse al buen despacho de dicho barco (como que era del rey nuestro señor y capitana de aquellos mares).

Lo que el abogado fiscal dijo en respuesta de cinco, informó el tribunal de cuentas en seis.

Se resolvió de común acuerdo que se asigne por su excelencia para las expresadas misiones de Californias la embarcación del Perú de que su excelencia dio noticia en esta junta, dando el precio de ella a la persona que su excelencia dijo haberla comprado, entendiéndose por el mismo en que la compró, no habiendo resolución en contrario,

para que se de embarcación a estas misiones y que se les de con armas y pertrechos en la forma que se pide, librándose para ello los despachos que fueren necesarios, y así quedó resuelto y lo rubricaron. Señalado con seis rúbricas. Su excelencia señores: Uribe, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, Marqués de Villa Mediana, Ardila, Carbajal, Larburu.

Concuerta [ilegible] con la junta que original consta en los autos de la materia, los que para efecto de sacar este traslado se me demostraron en la contaduría de real hacienda de esta corte, adonde los devolví para que lo hiciesen al oficio de gobierno a donde tocan (a que me refiero) y para que conste donde convenga, en virtud de decreto del excelentísimo señor virrey Marqués de Valero, expedido a consulta de los señores oficiales reales, que también se me demostró y devolví. Doy el presente en México a veinte y uno de enero de mil setecientos veinte y dos años, siendo testigos a su corrección don Ju[liá?]n del Campo, don Manuel Dávila y don Antonio de Fierro, presentes, [ilegible] testado. Misiones. No vale.

Testimonio de verdad, lo signé

Nicolás Rodríguez Moreno

Escribano Real

CALIFORNIAS, 1720

Copia simple del pedimento hecho por el mismo Bravo, misionero de California, sobre que se le de barco pertrechado para restituirse a ella.

Con 24 abril. Año de 1720.

Excelentísimo [tachado]

Jaime Bravo de la Compañía de Jesús, misionero de Californias y apoderado de los padres que componen aquellas nuevas conversiones, aparece ante vuestra excelencia y dice que: hallándose el Presidio de Californias y toda aquella tierra sin barco de cuenta de su majestad desde el día veinte y dos de mayo del año pasado, en que se perdió la balandra del rey que servía de capitana, se halla la compañía sin forma de poder no solo adelantar, pero ni aun mantener toda aquella nueva conquista, sin que tenga más de una lancha, tan vieja, que es de las primeras embarcaciones que fueron al principio de la conquista, y dos piraguas incapaces de atravesar las costas de estos reinos.

Por tanto, a vuestra excelencia pide y suplica se sirva de mandar se me de barco suficiente en que poder con la mayor brevedad posible restituirme a mis misiones y

llevar el situado y demás socorros necesarios, y que dicho barco se me de pertrechado de todo lo necesario para salir a la mar, y con algunas armas de las que en Acapulco hubiere de cuenta de su majestad, para seguridad del barco, y las municiones de guerra que fuere del agrado de vuestra excelencia, medio con que se asegura el adelantamiento de aquel reino, en que tanto interesa el servicio de Dios y del rey; protestando a vuestra excelencia que, de dilatarse esta providencia, pueden seguirse graves atrasos por lo arriesgado de aquellos mares, no cogiéndose el viaje antes que entre el tiempo de aguas, que es muy peligroso por las tempestades.

Otrosí, a vuestra excelencia suplica se sirva de mandar se me de despacho en toda forma para que, así en Acapulco como en los demás puertos de estos reinos, las justicias que en ellos hubiere den el amparo que es de su obligación en cuanto pudiere ofrecerse al buen despacho de dicho barco (como que es del rey nuestro señor y capitana de aquellos mares) en que espero recibir merced y gran benignidad de vuestra excelencia.

Jaime Bravo.

México, 2 de marzo 1720.

Al abogado fiscal y magistrado.

[Rubricado de su excelencia.]

Excelentísimo señor, siendo del agrado de vuestras excelencia, podrá mandar que el real tribunal de cuentas informe sobre este pedimento con toda brevedad y teniendo presente así el haber venido en presente galeón de Filipinas nombrado la Sacra Familia una embarcación en cuarteles que, según se enuncia [ilegible], fue de orden de vuestra excelencia para el tráfico de Acapulco a Californias; y hecho dicho informe vuelva a él el abogado fiscal este expediente, con los autos que se hicieron cuando se adjudicó a las misiones la otra embarcación que se refiere haberse perdido, que en vista de todo pedirá lo que sea conveniente.

México y marzo 5 de 1720.

Maestro Sáenz.

México 6 de marzo de 1720.

Al real tribunal de cuentas para el efecto que dice el abogado fiscal

[Rubricado de su excelencia.]

Excelentísimo señor, todas las providencias que se han deliberado sobre la manutención de las Californias se han determinado en juntas en donde se ha tenido presente lo mandado [ilegible] por su majestad sobre esta población, y lo que la sagrada compañía se ha dedicado a su logro, con las proposiciones que les han parecido convenientes que todo constara en los autos que cita el abogado fiscal, que en vista de ellos expondrá con pleno conocimiento su dictamen, no ofreciéndosele al tribunal qué decir, por no haber en el instrumento en que fundar informe. Y por [ilegible] se enuncia de la embarcación que en cuarteles ha venido de Filipinas, se tiene noticia se ha pedido [ilegible] para el desembarque del galeón, y si para el fin de Californias es remitida, le constará a vuestra excelencia que determinará lo que hubiere por conveniente, y lo mejor como siempre.

Tribunal y real audiencia de cuentas de México, marzo 6 de 1720.

[Rubricado con tres rúbricas.]

Testimonio de una orden del superior gobierno de este reino para la entrega de un navío a los misioneros de Californias.

Con 11 abril. Año de 1720.

["sello cuarto, un cuartillo, años de mil setecientos y diez y seis y diez y siete."]

En la Ciudad de México, con once días del mes de abril, de mil setecientos y veinte años, ante el señor don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas, alcalde ordinario en ella por su majestad, se leyó esta petición:

Jaime Bravo, religioso de la sagrada Compañía de Jesús, de esta provincia de Nueva España, y procurador de las misiones de Californias, digo que de la licencia y patente que el muy reverendo padre Juan de Ugarte, visitador de dichas misiones, me ha dado y demuestro, y del despacho que también demuestro del superior gobierno de esta Nueva España sobre cierta embarcación, se me den, de cada cosa separadamente, los testimonios que pidiere autorizados en pública forma y manera que hagan fe, por necesitarlos para enguarda del derecho de dichas misiones. Por tanto a vuestra majestad suplico que, habiendo por demostrados dichos recaudos en debida forma (los cuales se me devuelvan originales), se sirva de mandar hacer como pido, que es justicia.

Jaime Bravo

Su excelencia

Y por su merced vista, hubo por demostrados los recaudos que refiere; y mando que a dicho padre se le den los testimonios de los recaudos que demuestra en la forma que los

pide, autorizados en pública forma y manera que hagan fe y obra la que hubiese lugar por derecho, y se le devuelvan los originales demostrados, y así lo proveo y firmo.

Don Juan Antonio de Aguirre y Cuevas.

AUTO

Jacobo Gómez de Paradelass, notario real y público.

En cumplimiento del auto que precede, y del mandamiento del superior gobierno de esta Nueva España, hice sacar, y saqué, un tanto cuyo tenor a la letra es como se sigue:

MANDAMIENTO

Don Baltasar de Zúñiga y Guzmán Sotomayor y Mendoza, Marqués de Valero, Ayamonte y Alenquer, gentilhombre de la cámara de su majestad, de su consejo, cámara y junta de guerra de Indias, virrey, lugarteniente, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España, y presidente de la real audiencia de ella, su excelencia. Por cuanto yo mandé formar la junta del tenor siguiente:

En la junta de hacienda que mandó convocar el excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, virrey gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la real audiencia de ella, el día ocho de marzo de mil setecientos y veinte, con los señores licenciados don José de Uribe, caballero del orden de Santiago; doctor don Jerónimo de Soria Velázquez, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alfaro, oidores de esta real audiencia; don Sebastián Rodríguez de la Madrid, caballero del mismo orden; Marqués de Villa Mediana, regente del real tribunal de cuentas; don Gabriel Guerrero Ardila, contador mayor de él; don Simón de Carbajal y don Pedro Larburu, oficiales reales de la real hacienda y caja de esta corte. Presente el abogado fiscal de su majestad, maestro don José Sáenz de Escobar, se vido y leyó la representación que a su excelencia hizo en cuatro del corriente el padre Jaime Bravo de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, misionero de Californias y apoderado de los padres que componen aquellas nuevas conversiones, en que expresó hallarse aquel presidio sin barco de cuenta de su majestad desde el día veinte y dos de mayo del año pasado, en que se había perdido la balandra del rey que servía de capitana, hallándose la compañía sin forma de poder no solo adelantar, pero ni aun mantener toda aquella nueva conquista, sin que tuviese más de una lancha, tan vieja, que era de las primeras embarcaciones que habían ido al principio de la conquista, y dos piraguas incapaces de atravesar a las costas de estos reinos; concluyendo en que su excelencia le mandase dar barco suficiente en que poder con la mayor brevedad restituirse a sus misiones y llevar el situado y demás socorros necesarios, dándosele pertrechado de todo lo necesario para salir a la mar, y con algunas armas de las que

hubiese en Acapulco de cuenta de su majestad, para seguridad del barco y municiones de guerra que fuese del agrado de su excelencia—medio con que se aseguraba el adelantamiento de aquel reino que tanto interesaba el servicio de ambas majestades— insinuando los inconvenientes que de retardarse esta providencia se pueden seguir; pidiendo despacho para que, así en Acapulco como en los demás puertos de aquellos reinos, las justicias que en ellos hubiese diesen el amparo que era de su obligación en cuanto pudiese ofrecerse al buen despacho de dicho barco; como que era del rey nuestro señor y capitana de aquellos mares.

Y lo que el abogado fiscal dijo en respuesta de cinco e informó el real tribunal de cuentas en seis:

Se resolvió de común acuerdo que se asigne por su excelencia para las expresadas misiones de Californias la embarcación del Perú, de que su excelencia dio noticia en esta junta, dando el precio de ella a la persona que su excelencia dijo haberla comprado, entendiéndose por el mismo en que la comprara [ilegible]; no habiendo resolución en contrario para que se de embarcación a estas misiones y que se les de con armas y pertrechos en la forma que se pide, librándose para ello los despachos que fueren necesarios. Y así quedó resuelto y lo rubricaron.

[Señalado con siete rúbricas.]

Y para que esta resolución tenga debido y entero cumplimiento, por el presente, mando del castellano y oficiales reales de Acapulco den las providencias más necesarias y convenientes a fin de que se entregue a dicho padre Jaime la expresada embarcación asignada para las misiones de Californias, dando el precio de ella a la persona que la compró por lo mismo en que se la dieron; la cual se ha de entregar a dicho padre con armas y pertrechos en la forma que pide y se refiere en la junta inserta, que con este despacho y los demás recaudos que justifique la importancia de todo lo que importare así dicha embarcación, como lo demás que va expresado, se les retribuirá y pasará en data.

México y marzo quince de mil setecientos y veinte.

El Marqués de Valero,

por medio de su excelencia Antonio de Avilés.

Protecting the Peninsula from Indian Rebellion and Aiding the Manila Galleons

(1733-1735)

Muster Roll of the Presidio of Loreto, 1733

This muster roll of the presidio of Loreto gives a good summary view of the manpower situation in California immediately prior to the rebellion of the Guaicuro Indians on the southern tip of the peninsula. Up to this time, 1733, hostilities had been minimal and the presidial complement was scattered around the missions on routine "detached" duty. Although it is commonly held that life in a Spanish presidio was burdensomely autocratic, this document reveals the rather unusual practice of resolving common problems democratically, inasmuch as the soldiers and sailors were requested to choose the manner of the distribution of their earnings. It was not uncommon on the mainland for the local commander to run a company store that offered needed supplies at inflated prices; apparently Loreto under Captain Rodríguez adhered strictly to the reforms of Pedro de Rivera as imposed by the Marqués de Casafuerte (1729). Captain Rodríguez's certification indicates that the established rates of salaries and wages had been maintained at this level since 1718, when an agreement was reached between the soldiers and the Jesuit father superior and procurator. Father Bravo explains in this document that he is sending a copy of the original agreement to the viceroy, and he requests its return. The document presented here is a copy of that complete expediente, which makes possible a comparison of the change of personnel, as well as its numerical increase. The price list is also most informative because it stands in contrast to those established by Rivera in his frontier inspection and in the Reglamento of 1729.

Statement of the posts of soldiers, as well as those of the sailors, officers and other laborers, given in 1733 by Don Esteban Rodríguez, captain of the presidio of Loreto; with five applicable pages, 1733.

This is the record of the current posts of soldiers, as well as sailors, officers, and the other laborers assigned to working the lands, for whom the management of royal funds is administered by Father Jaime Bravo, our procurator. I testify so far as I reasonably can that everything listed here is as stated, using this common paper because stamped paper is not available in this land. Due to the lack of either royal or public notaries in this land, I am acting as the official recipient with two witnesses attending me, done on this the eleventh day of December 1733.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

José Antonio de Rodríguez

Bernardo Rodríguez

I, the aforementioned captain, certify before whomever receives this agreement that the venerable Father Juan de Ugarte, as father superior of the missions of this land at the time, and the most excellent Father Jaime Bravo, procurator and general administrator of the royal funds assigned by the king our lord (may God keep him) for the payment of this royal presidio and its naval forces, met with all of us in the guardroom about that payment. Before everyone, the most reverend fathers presented the plan by which his majesty granted 18,275 pesos and 4 reales to pay for twenty-five positions, along with those of the captain, sixteen sailors, and two masters for two ships. The venerable Father Juan de Ugarte then gave the captain the option of taking charge of the payments in the manner his majesty had ordered or of having the money in Mexico or of deciding that half be brought in reales and the other half in clothing. He stated that it would be our responsibility to pay for expenses and the risks of sea and land. The captain responded that he could in no way take charge of handling the money in a land overseas, and the soldiers requested time to respond on the part that affected them, as they would have to purchase supplies, munitions, and horses in order to perform their military duties. The venerable father said they should think it over and reply so that he would know how to proceed.

After the captain and the soldiers conferred about what would be most suitable, they came to an agreement and verbally told the venerable father that up to that time the Society of Jesus had managed the payments very much to the satisfaction of all those concerned. For this reason, they asked that payments be continued in the same manner as before, so that their salaries would always remain free from any taxes or risks of land and sea. This being the opinion of the captain and the soldiers, they presented a written document in everyone's name, the content of which is as follows:

I, Captain Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, as present captain of this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias for his majesty, appear before you, most reverend father, with all the soldiers of this presidio, to reply to what you presented to us on July 29, [1718]. We have seen and heard the representation made by the Most Reverend Father Jaime Bravo, our procurator, on behalf of the viceroy regarding the well-being of the presidio. We are very grateful to him for the good that he does for us, and we all declare that, in regard to the proposals you have made, we are leaving it for you to

decide, most reverend father. We all give this as something very well done. In truth whereof, I am signing this in this royal presidio, with all the soldiers, on July 31, 1718.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

Don Joseph de la Rea

Juan Villalobos

Ignacio de Acevedo

Sebastián Martínez

Fermincillo Meneses

Joseph Altamirano

Francisco de la Rosa

Manuel Joseph de Sosa

Because the following did not know how to sign their names, I have signed for them:

Manuel de Sosa

Ignacio Valdés

Nicolás Valdés

Jesús Sabalza

Francisco de Orozco

Cayetano de Aguilar

Lázaro Mill[án]

Manuel González

Manuel Ruiz

Joseph Romero

Martín de Armenta

I have taken into consideration the representation made by Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, his *alférez*, Don Joseph de la Rea, and the rest of the soldiers of this

royal presidio. Reconciling this with the new assignment made by his majesty of each one's annual wage, with the obligations imposed on them—which are the same as those in the presidios of Nueva Vizcaya, some being difficult or even almost impossible for the said royal presidio to handle at this time—and attending as much as possible to the relief and consolation of everyone, I have decided on an appropriate plan as follows:

For the captain a salary of	525 pesos and 2 rations
For the alférez an assignment of	380 pesos and 2 rations
For the squadron leader	330 pesos and 2 rations
For married soldiers	300 pesos and 2 rations
For unmarried soldiers	325 pesos
All these salaries amount to	8,355 pesos

These salaries are free from all deductions, except for reimbursements of those amounts that might be incurred on our account for purchasing privileges, prerequisites, and other unavoidable expenses. Likewise, the presidio's annual support and munitions are in our keeping, on our account. The officers and soldiers are only obliged to cover the cost of two horses each, assuming there is a way by which they can acquire them. Until they get them, we are obliged to provide them with the horses they might need for military expeditions. Because of how useful married soldiers can be to this land through their good example, they are given 300 pesos and the rations for their wives, which costs much more than the 25 pesos added to the bachelors' pay. This arrangement conforms with what has been decided by the royal presidio. In fulfillment thereof, I have signed this document in this pueblo and camp of Nuestra Señora de Loreto on August 1, 1718.

Juan de Ugarte

I, the aforesaid captain, also certify that from the day on which the agreement was made with the reverend fathers to the present they have not failed to comply with all their obligations to the presidios. Nor has there been any increase in prices; rather, everything is very satisfactory, and the punctual provisioning [by] the reverend fathers superior has made the entire presidio and the seamen content. Today we have many of the items needed here at lower prices than before, as the following shows: for sugar, 2 pesos per arroba; for tobacco, 2 rations per handful; men's silk stockings have been reduced 4 pesos; women's [silk] stockings, 2 pesos; knit stockings are reduced 5 reales; flannel, 2 reales; sackcloth, -1/2 real; [illegible] from León 1 real; medium-grade linen, 3

reales; Dutch blue linen, 2 reales per vara; spun and unspun silk, 4 reales an ounce; thread, 4 reales an ounce; paper is one more sheet to the real; work hats were reduced 12 reales; a blanket from Villalta [Oaxaca], 4 reales; women's shoes, 4 reales; embroidered ribbon, 2 reales per vara; double for agave thread; twill, 4 reales per vara; satin from Toledo, 1 peso per vara; cups and other small items are greatly reduced; horses have been reduced 10 pesos; mules 5 pesos; colts have been reduced 5 pesos; for a jerkin, 2 reales;¹ for ribbons for tying, 1 real; skirts from Puebla, 1 peso; shawls, 1 peso; stockings from Tornay, 4 reales.

Likewise, I certify that the twenty-five positions assigned by his majesty have been maintained, and even some additional positions during various emergencies that tend to occur in this land. I am writing down the current positions in this presidio individually, and the exact wage each one receives, including those of the officers and their aides, as well as a list of the wages of the men who help with the forge, the carpentry, [illegible], and other laborers who are indispensable. These are shown as follows:

The captain's wage is	880 pesos and 3 rations
The sergeant	330 pesos and 1 ration
Don Simón Rodríguez	325 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Carrillo	300 pesos and 2 rations
Diego de Estrada	300 pesos and 2 rations
Pedro de Piña	300 pesos and 2 rations
Andrés de Cota	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Antonio Velasco	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Manuel Morales	300 pesos and 2 rations
Joseph de León	325 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de Rivas	300 pesos and 2 rations
Francisco Antonio Mendes	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan de Estrada	325 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Miguel Montaña	325 pesos and 1 ration

Don Manuel Romero	325 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Luis Torzolén	325 pesos and 1 ration
Francisco Javier Cras	325 pesos and 1 ration
Santiago de Pico	300 pesos and 2 rations
Felipe Villalobos	300 pesos and 2 rations
Don Manuel de Ossio	325 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Torres	300 pesos and 2 rations
Diego Pérez	325 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de la Rosa	325 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de Trejo	325 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Altamirano	325 pesos and 1 ration
Miguel Cordero	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Romero	300 pesos and 2 rations
Don Joseph Marcio Romero	162 pesos
Francisco Rudelo	162 pesos and 2 rations
Manuel Villavicencio	162 pesos and 1 ration
Juan de Aguilar	162 pesos and 1 ration
Nicolás López	162 pesos and 1 ration
<i>Sailors</i>	
Arraez, Julio de Santa Cruz	320 pesos and 2 rations
Arráez, Julio Agustín	320 pesos and 2 rations
Pascual Cruz, assistant	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Sánchez, assistant	300 pesos and 2 rations

Gregorio de la Cruz, assistant	300 pesos and 2 rations
Francisco Manríquez	180 pesos and 2 rations
Pedro Regalado	122 pesos and 2 rations
Juan de Santa Cruz	122 pesos and 1 ration
Manuel Quijano	120 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro Gerónimo	120 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro Adriano	120 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph de Santa Cruz	180 pesos and 1 ration
Isidro de la Cruz	180 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Contreras	72 pesos and 1 ration
Gregorio Uribis	120 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Bautista Vizaya	122 pesos and 2 rations
Matheo de la Cruz	122 pesos and 2 rations
Ignacio Lorenzo	122 pesos and 1 ration
Lorenzo de la Cruz	122 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Peñuelas	96 pesos and 1 ration
Lorenzo Juan	96 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Girón	120 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro de Robles	120 pesos and 1 ration
Gaspar Guaynamota	120 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Antonio	122 pesos and 1 ration
Nicolás Villanueva	120 pesos and 1 ration
Lucas Santa Cruz	72 pesos and 1 ration
Pedro Contreras	72 pesos and 1 ration

Juan de Villanueva	120 pesos and 1 ration
Miguel de los Santos	120 pesos and 1 ration
Miguel de la Cruz	96 pesos and 1 ration
Antonio de la Cruz	72 pesos and 1 ration
Gaspar Molina	180 pesos and 1 ration
Juan de la Cruz	122 pesos and 1 ration
Francisco Javie	96 pesos and 2 rations
Jacinto Carbajal	96 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Antonio Peñuelas	72 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Ignacio	72 pesos and 1 ration
Joseph Guerrero	120 pesos and 1 ration
Commanders of the two ships	382 pesos, 2 rations each
 <i>Skilled Blacksmith and Three Aides</i>	
Gunsmith, Juan Botillar	300 pesos and 2 rations
Cristóbal Acencio	192 pesos and 2 rations
Joseph Acencio	72 pesos and 1 ration
Juan Bautista	96 pesos and 2 rations
 <i>Skilled Carpenters</i>	
Manuel Morillo	300 pesos and 2 rations
Sebastián Manríquez	72 pesos and 2 rations
Cristóbal Márquez	72 pesos and 1 ration
Antonio Manríquez	72 pesos and 1 ration

Skilled Shipwrights

Salvador Márquez	300 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Ignacio, assistant	72 pesos and 1 ration
Carlos Márquez	72 pesos and 1 ration
Agustín Alejandro	192 pesos and 2 rations

Cowboys

Juan de Ugarte	168 pesos and 2 rations
Pedro Fuydu	122 pesos and 2 rations
Juan Andrés	122 pesos and 2 rations

All of the wages mentioned are paid from the funds that his majesty (may God keep him) assigns every year, and they are as follows:

Captain	620 pesos
24 soldiers at 450 pesos	10,800 pesos
14 sailors at 150 pesos	2,100 pesos
2 muleteers at 200 pesos	400 pesos
3 officers at 200 pesos	600 pesos
2 cooks at 140 pesos	280 pesos
Rations of corn and officers	3,275 pesos
	18,275 pesos

By virtue of the petition mentioned above, judged to be very proper, this should be given to the Reverend Father Jaime Bravo, rector of these missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias.

I, Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, *capitán de mar y guerra* for this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias, and chief justice before whom all decrees pass, in addition to documents that are submitted to me as his majesty's investigating

officer for this entire land, [do hereby state] that a document of the following nature was presented to me.

Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

I, Jaime Bravo of the Society of Jesus, rector of the missions of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, procurator and general administrator of the royal funds that the king our lord (God keep him) has assigned to the spiritual conquest of the Californias, state that the written agreement dated July 31, 1718, which I am presenting to your grace (and requesting return of the original), does not contain certain parts of the agreement because they were made orally and did not seem necessary at that time. Now there is no person remaining in this presidio, other than your grace, who was present at the meeting. I therefore request your grace to clearly state the matters or propositions which were discussed, so that there will be for the present superiors, as well as future ones, a permanent record of what was then decided.

I also request that a transcript be made of the said agreement that faithfully copies it to the letter. Further, would your grace please certify that the Society of Jesus has punctually fulfilled all its obligations, and that, as promised, it has not increased the prices of the goods that have been supplied on its account to the presidio and the sailors. Those goods [illegible] that have been reduced from [prices] current at that time should be stated, with a list of the goods and the amount by which each has been discounted. It should be mentioned that the number of assigned positions has been maintained, and the military positions that presently exist, as well as those of the sailors, officers, and their aides, should also be given, with a list of their salaries and rations. I assure you that I have no motive for creating this document other than judging it most appropriate that the manner in which the Society has acted in regard to the management of the royal funds assigned to this presidio always be on record for his excellency the viceroy, the official justices of the royal treasury, and other superiors. I also present a statement of the assignment made by the higher government; there should be an accounting of it for the satisfaction of those concerned. For these reasons I request and beg your grace to provide whatever you may justly deem appropriate.

Loreto, December 1, 1733

Jaime Bravo

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, 3, ff. 19-24.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Estado de las plazas así de soldados como de marineros, oficiales y demás peones, dado en 1733 por don Esteban Rodríguez, capitán del presidio de Loreto. Con 5 folios útiles. Año de 1733.

El traslado de plazas que al presente existen, así de soldados, como de marina, oficiales y demás peones anexos a los ministerios de tierra, en quienes se consume este manejo de real hacienda, administrado por dicho reverendo padre Jaime Bravo, nuestro procurador. Testifico en cuanto puedo en derecho, ser según va expresado, todo lo referido. En este papel común por no usarse de ningún sello en esta tierra. Actuando por receptoría con dos testigos de mi asistencia, a falta de escribanos real o público que no hay en esta tierra. Fecho en 11 días del mes de diciembre de 1733.

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

José Antonio de Rodríguez

Bernardo Rodríguez

Certifico yo, dicho capitán, ante quien paso dicho convenio, que el venerable padre Juan de Ugarte como superior que era entonces de las misiones de esta tierra, y el excelentísimo padre Jaime Bravo, procurador general administrador del real situado que da el rey nuestro señor (Dios le guarde) para pagamento de este real presidio y marinería, y para lo cual nos juntamos todos en el cuerpo de guardia, y ante todos sacaron los reverendísimos padres la propuesta de que su majestad daba dieciocho mil doscientos setenta y cinco pesos y cuatro reales para los pagamentos de veinticinco plazas con la del capitán, dieciséis marineros con dos arráez para dos embarcaciones. Y luego le ofreció, el venerable padre Juan de Ugarte, al capitán, que si quería hacerse cargo de estos pagamentos en la forma que su majestad mandaba, o si querían el dinero en México, o que se trajese la mitad en reales, y la mitad en ropa, expresando que sería por nuestra cuenta los gastos, y riesgos de mar y tierra. A lo cual respondió dicho capitán, de que de ninguna manera se podía hacer cargo de correr con ello en una tierra ultra marina. Y los soldados pidieron tiempo para responder por la parte que les tocaba, pues se habían de comprar los bastimentos y municiones, y bestias para ejercer el oficio de soldados. Para lo cual dijo dicho venerable padre que lo pensasen y respondiesen para ver en la forma en que habían de quedar.

Y después de haber conferido el capitán y los soldados lo que les era más conveniente, fueron de mancomún, y le dijeron de palabra, al venerable padre, que visto que hasta entonces había corrido la Compañía con las pagas, muy a satisfacción de los interesados, por cuya razón suplicaban de que se continuase de la misma forma que antes, con tal de que sus sueldos en todo tiempo quedasen libres de toda contribución y riesgos de mar y

tierra. Y quedando en este estado el parecer del capitán [y] soldados, presentaron un escrito en nombre de todos, que es del tenor siguiente:

El capitán Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, como capitán actual de este real presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, por su majestad. Vale. Parece ante vuestra persona reverendísima, con todos los soldados de este dicho presidio, y decimos, tocante a lo que vuestra persona reverendísima nos representó el día 29 de julio de [1718]: "Hemos visto y oído la representación, que hizo el reverendísimo padre Jaime Bravo nuestro procurador, del señor virrey por el bien del presidio. Decimos que le agradecemos mucho el bien que nos hace, a lo que decimos todos, que lo dejamos a la elección de vuestra persona reverendísima que [de] cuanto vuestra reverendísima hiciere, tocante a las propuestas que vuestra persona reverendísima nos ha hecho, lo damos todos por muy bien hecho. Y por ser verdad lo firm[amos] en este real presidio, con todos los soldados, en 31 de julio 1718."

Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo.

Don Joseph de la Rea. Juan Villalobos.

Ignacio de Acevedo.

Sebastián Martínez.

Fermincillo Meneses.

Joseph Altamirano.

Francisco de la Rosa.

Manuel Joseph de Sosa.

Y por no saber firmar los siguientes, lo firmé [yo]:

Manuel de Sosa.

Ignacio Valdés.

Nicolás Valdés.

Jesús Sabalza.

Francisco de Orozco.

Cayetano de Aguilar.

Lázaro Mill[án].

Manuel González.

Manuel Ruiz.

Joseph Romero.

Martín de Armenta.

En vista de la representación hecha por el señor capitán don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, su alférez don Joseph de la Rea y demás soldados de este real presidio, y reduciéndose su fin a que en la nueva asignación he[cha] por su majestad, del sueldo anual de cada uno, con las obliga[ciones] que les impone, las mismas que tienen los de los presidios de la Nueva Vizcaya, y siendo algunas difíciles, y aún casi imposibles por ahora, el poderse cargar con ellas dicho real presidio. Atendiendo pues, en cuanto es posible, al alivio y consuelo de todos, he tenido por conveniente determinar el modo, y planta que se sigue:

Al señor capitán se le dé de sueldo	525 pesos y dos raciones
Al señor alférez se le asignan	380 pesos y dos raciones
Al cabo de escuadra	300 pesos y dos raciones
A los soldados casados	300 pesos y dos raciones
A los soldados solteros	325 pesos
Y los sueldos solos importan	8,355 pesos

Los cuales son libres de toda contribución, sino que se les hayan de enterar, corriendo de nuestra cuenta el pagar los derechos de las cobranzas, regalías, y otros inexcusables gastos. Y queda, así mismo de nuestra cuenta y cuidado, el sustento y municiones para el gasto anual del presidio. Y sólo quedaron los cabos y soldados obligados a tener de su cuenta y de su cuidado, dos caballos cada uno, en habiendo forma de que los puedan adquirir. Obligándonos hasta que los tengan, a dar las bestias convenientes para las expediciones de su empleo, que se necesitaren. Y el dar a los soldados casados trescientos pesos, y la ración de su mujer, que cuesta mucho más de los veinticinco pesos que se les añaden a los solteros, es por lo útil que pueden ser a la tierra dichos casados con su buen ejemplo. Y en esta conformidad queda determinado lo representado por el real presidio. Y porque así se cumplirá, y exentará todo, lo firmé en este pueblo y real de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, en primero de agosto de 1718 años.

Juan de Ugarte.

También certifico yo, dicho capitán, que desde el día que se hizo este convenio con los reverendos padres, no ha habido ninguna falla en todo a que se obligaron con el presidio hasta el día de hoy. Ni menos ha [habi]do alteración alguna de precios, sino todo muy a satisfacción, y contento todo el presidio y marinería por la puntual providencia [de] los reverendísimos padres superiores, pues el día de hoy tenemos muchos de [los] géneros que aquí necesitamos a menos precio del corriente que ante[s te]nían como van expresados en la forma siguiente: en la panocha dos pesos cada arroba, en el tabaco dos reales al manojo, a las medias de seda de hombre se han rebajado cuatro pesos, a las de mujer dos pesos, a las calcetas [se] han rebajado cinco reales, a la bayeta dos reales, al sayal medio real, a la [ilegible] de León un real, al cotence tres reales, al mitán dos reales en la vara, seda torcida y floja en la onza cuatro reales, hilo cuatro reales en la onza, al papel un pliego más en el real, a los sombreros de tarea se rebajaron doce reales, en la manta de Villalta cuatro reales, a los zapatos de mujer cuatro reales, al listón labrado dos reales en la vara, pita al doble, a la sarga cuatro reales en la vara, en el raso de Toledo un peso en la vara, jicaras y otras menud[encias] ha habido mucha rebaja; en los caballos se han rebajado diez pesos, en las mulas cinco pesos, en los potros se han rebajado cinco pesos, a la coleta dos reales, a los belduques un real, a las naguas poblanas un peso, a los rebozos un peso, a las medias de Tornay cuatro reales.

Así mismo, certifico cómo se han mantenido las veinticinco plazas que asignó su majestad y aún algunas más, en varias ocasiones por urgencias que se suelen ofrecer en esta tierra; y las que al presente [haben] en este presidio pongo aquí con individualidad, y a la letra el sueldo que cada uno percibe, así de los que existen en este presidio, como también de los oficiales de mar y sus ayudantes, como también la razón de los salarios de los ayudantes de fragua, carpintería, [ilegible] y otros peones inexcusables. Cuya razón es en la forma siguiente:

El capitán tiene de sueldo	880 pesos y tres raciones
El sargento	330 pesos y una ración
Don Simón Rodríguez	325 pesos y una ración
Juan Carrillo	300 pesos y dos raciones
Diego de Estrada	300 pesos y dos raciones
Pedro de Piña	300 pesos y dos raciones

Andrés de Cota	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Antonio Velasco	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Manuel Morales	300 pesos y dos raciones
Joseph de León	325 pesos y una ración
Pedro de Rivas	300 pesos y dos raciones
Francisco Antonio Mendes	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan de Estrada	325 pesos y una ración
Juan Miguel Montaña	325 pesos y una ración
Don Manuel Romero	325 pesos y una ración
Juan Luis Torzolén	325 pesos y una ración
Francisco Javier Cras	325 pesos y una ración
Santiago de Pico	300 pesos y dos raciones
Felipe Villalobos	300 pesos y dos raciones
Don Manuel de Ossio	325 pesos y una ración
Joseph Torres	300 pesos y dos raciones
Diego Pérez	325 pesos y una ración
Pedro de la Rosa	325 pesos y una ración
Pedro de Trejo	325 pesos y una ración
Joseph Altamirano	325 pesos y una ración
Miguel Cordero	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Romero	300 pesos y dos raciones
Don Joseph Marcio Romero	162 pesos
Francisco Rudelo	162 pesos y dos raciones
Manuel Villavicencio	162 pesos y una ración

Juan de Aguilar	162 pesos y una ración
Nicolás López	162 pesos y una ración
<i>Marineros</i>	
Arraez, Julio de Santa Cruz	320 pesos y dos raciones
Arraez, Julio Agustín	320 pesos y dos raciones
Pascual Cruz, ayudante	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Sánchez, ayudante	300 pesos y dos raciones
Gregorio de la Cruz, ayudante	300 pesos y dos raciones
Francisco Manríquez	180 pesos y dos raciones
Pedro Regalado	122 pesos y dos raciones
Juan de Santa Cruz	122 pesos y una ración
Manuel Quijano	120 pesos y una ración
Pedro Gerónimo	120 pesos y una ración
Pedro Adriano	120 pesos y una ración
Joseph de Santa Cruz	180 pesos y una ración
Isidro de la Cruz	180 pesos y una ración
Juan Contreras	72 pesos y una ración
Gregorio Uribis	120 pesos y una ración
Juan Bautista Vizaya	122 pesos y dos raciones
Matheo de la Cruz	122 pesos y dos raciones
Ignacio Lorenzo	122 pesos y una ración
Lorenzo de la Cruz	122 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Peñuelas	96 pesos y una ración

Lorenzo Juan	96 pesos y una ración
Joseph Girón	120 pesos y una ración
Pedro de Robles	120 pesos y una ración
Gaspar Guaynamota	120 pesos y una ración
Juan Antonio	122 pesos y una ración
Nicolás Villanueva	120 pesos y una ración
Lucas Santa Cruz	72 pesos y una ración
Pedro Contreras	72 pesos y una ración
Juan de Villanueva	120 pesos y una ración
Miguel de los Santos	120 pesos y una ración
Miguel de la Cruz	96 pesos y una ración
Antonio de la Cruz	72 pesos y una ración
Gaspar Molina	180 pesos y una ración
Juan de la Cruz	122 pesos y una ración
Francisco Javier	96 pesos y dos raciones
Jacinto Carbajal	96 pesos y una ración
Juan Antonio Peñuelas	72 pesos y una ración
Juan Ignacio	72 pesos y una ración
Joseph Guerrero	120 pesos y una ración
Comandantes de los dos Barcos	382 pesos y sus dos raciones
<i>Oficial de Herrero y Tres Ayudantes</i>	
Armero Juan Botillar	300 pesos y dos raciones
Cristóbal Acencio	192 pesos y dos raciones

Joseph Acencio	72 pesos y una ración
Juan Bautista	96 pesos y dos raciones
<i>Oficial de Carpintero</i>	
Manuel Morillo	300 pesos y dos raciones
Sebastián Manríquez	72 pesos y dos raciones
Cristóbal Márquez	72 pesos y una ración
Antonio Manríquez	72 pesos y una ración
<i>Oficial de Calafate</i>	
Salvador Márquez	300 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Ignacio, ayudante	72 pesos y una ración
Carlos Márquez	72 pesos y una ración
Agustín Alejandro	192 pesos y dos raciones
<i>Vaqueros</i>	
Juan de Ugarte	168 pesos y dos raciones
Pedro Fuydu	122 pesos y dos raciones
Juan Andrés	122 pesos y dos raciones

Todos los mencionados sueldos se pagan del situado que su majestad (que Dios guarde) asigna anualmente, que son en la forma siguiente:

Al capitán	620 pesos
Veinticuatro plazas de soldados a 450 pesos	10,800 pesos
Catorce de marineros a 150 pesos	2,100 pesos
Dos plazas de arráez a 200 pesos	400 pesos
Tres oficiales a 200 pesos	600 pesos

Dos cocineros a 140 pesos	280 pesos
Las raciones de maíz y oficiales	3,2,75 pesos
	18,275 pesos

En virtud del pedimento arriba mencionado, y juzgado ser muy debido, se le diese al reverendo padre Jaime Bravo, rector de estas misiones de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias.

Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo, capitán de mar y guerra de este real presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, y justicia mayor ante quien pasan todos los autos y escritos que se ofrecen como juez receptor en toda esta tierra por su majestad. Vale. Por cuanto se me presentó un escrito del tenor siguiente.

Señor capitán don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo.

Jaime Bravo, de la Compañía de Jesús, rector de las misiones de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, procurador y general administrador del real situado que el rey nuestro señor (Dios lo guarde) tiene asignado a esta espiritual conquista de Californias, dice: que por cuanto en el papel de convenio fecho en 31 de julio de 1718, que presento a vuestra merced (y pido se me vuelva original), no se expresan algunos capítulos del convenio, por haber sido de palabra y no parecer por entonces ser necesario, ahora que no queda en este presidio otra persona que la de vuestra merced, de las que asistieron a la junta que a este fin se hizo, suplico a vuestra merced se expresen con toda distinción los capítulos o proposiciones que se confirieron, para que conste en todo tiempo así a los superiores presentes, como a los venideros, de lo que entonces se determinó.

Otro sí suplica, que se saque traslado que haga del dicho papel a la letra como él está. Que vuestra merced se sirva de certificar, si por parte de la Compañía, se ha dado puntual cumplimiento a todo aquello a que se obligó, que como ofreció [o si] ha hecho mutación alguna en los precios de los géneros que han dado de su cuenta al presidio y marinería; y que se exprese aquellos en que se ha hecho rebaje del corriente que en aquel tiempo tenían, con expresión de los dichos [ilegible] y lo que en cada uno de ellos se ha hecho rebaje; qué [en qué] número de plazas asignadas se ha mantenido, y las que [al] presente existen, así militares como de la marina, oficiales y sus ayudantes, con expresión de los salarios y raciones que tienen. Asegurando que para hacer este escrito no me mueve otro motivo más que el juzgar muy conveniente que el que en todo tiempo conste al excelentísimo señor virrey y señores jueces oficiales de la real hacienda y a los demás superiores, del modo que la Compañía ha tenido en la administración de este manejo de real hacienda destinado para este real presidio, y lo que expresa la

asignación hecha por el superior gobierno, que también presento, y debe quedar razón de ella para satisfacción de los interesados. Para lo cual pido, y suplico a [vuestra merced] provea lo que tuviere por conveniente en justicia. Loreto, y diciembre primero de 1733 años.

Jaime Bravo

Note

1. The two Spanish terms *coleta* and *belduques* are clearly so written in the document. But the change of context of the items listed and the prices make it more probable that the items should have been written *coleta* and *balduque*—two misspellings closely adjoining in the text.

[Indian Raid on the Manila Galleon, 1735](#)

Spain was always sensitive about the safety of the Manila galleons and their exclusive trade with the East Indies via the Philippine-Mexico connection. The voyage from the Orient was typically in excess of five months, so the armaments were greatly reduced to permit the vessels to be supplied with ample food and water, leaving as much free tonnage as possible for the merchandise. Except for relatively brief periods, the galleons remained free from the pirate attacks so common in the West Indies. The passengers and crew were usually armed with muskets, pistols, swords, and daggers in anticipation of close combat in cases when the ship was unable to outgun or outrun an enemy vessel. The image of a Spanish galleon bristling with cannon is not an appropriate depiction of these merchant ships from Manila.

But the danger to the huge ships did not always arise from marauders. Early in 1734 the Covadonga under the command of Admiral Gerónimo Montero put in at the bay of San Bernabé, not far from the mission of San José del Cabo. Several deathly ill sailors and an Augustinian priest were put ashore to be nursed back to health by Father Nicolás Tamaral. The aid was so timely and successful that the Philippine governor ordered future galleons to put in at San Bernabé. General Zumalde took the San Cristóbal into

the shallow bay expecting to contact the mission Indians and load critical supplies of fruit and water; he was totally unaware that the Guaicuro Indians had rebelled several months before, killing the missionaries at San José and Santiago. The following document briefly summarizes what happened and illustrates the kind of combat the galleon crews were capable of handling.

An account of what happened with the natives and the flagship *San Cristóbal* under the command of General Don Mateo de Zumalde¹ on the Río de San José near Cabo de San Lucas in California.

CALIFORNIAS-SAN CRISTÓBAL

Most Excellent Sir:

I wish to inform your excellency that with the scarcity of rains, sailcloth, and ballast on the California coast, it became necessary to resort to the following in order to continue the journey. I called a meeting of the officers, who unanimously agreed we should put in at the Río de San José. It was noted that other galleons in similar circumstances on this route had done the same, for not only can one replenish all necessary provisions but also leave the gravely ill there. This was done the year before last by General don Gerónimo Montero² with the special help of the father minister who resided on the Río de San José.³ In light of this, I executed the decision to explore the inlet and sent a launch ahead in charge of the third pilot. Once this had been accomplished, the pilot was to notify the ship by firing a cannon in order to send an escort. This he promptly did, leaving eight men on land who could not return on board because of the growing height of the waves. Given the difficulty of setting anchor in that place, they did not exercise the caution required.

After the launch returned, the third pilot informed me about his mission. He reported that immediately upon arriving, he found a large number of Indians on the beach who, when they recognized us as Spaniards, knelt down. One in particular, called Gerónimo, the most *ladino* of them all, was said to be the servant of the missionary priest. He had been posted as a sentinel by him to sight the arrival of the Philippine galleon with orders to report the sighting so that the galleon could be supplied with all necessary provisions. When the pilot inquired about the priest, he was told that he was some twenty miles distant with a sick companion, but that an Indian had already been dispatched to tell him of the arrival of the ship.

After hearing this news, I did everything possible that afternoon and evening to anchor in the inlet, but I was unable to do so because of the contrary weather. The following morning I was able to do so but at some distance from the inlet; shortly thereafter, as I

lacked a cable, the weather forced me to set sail for another sheltered bay called Cabo de San Lucas, nine leagues from the first. After anchoring, it seemed fitting to immediately notify the padre and ask him to send the eight men who had remained behind. For this purpose I sent three more men and another who, without my orders, volunteered. Shortly after I had dispatched these men, three Indians arrived, among them the ladino, Gerónimo. They told me that they had been sent by Father Nicolás Tamaral to see whether the ship had by chance come to that inlet. They insisted that I should not write him, and I asked why; they satisfied me by saying that they had had a falling out with the minister and that there had been an affair tinged with distrust, but they were sure that the father and my men would arrive very soon. With that they left, and I carried on without the least suspicion until I realized that the men were slow in returning; I feared that I had somehow offended the Indians. Guided by that suspicion, I ordered musketeers to protect the sick and those digging for water. In my experience, this diligence proved useful because the majority of the men on this ship have not perished. Indeed, the following day about 700 Indians arrived in two complements armed with bows and arrows. Although at first I thought they had come accompanied by the padre and our men, Gerónimo and his companions came to tell me that the priest and our men would arrive that afternoon. They had come ahead to offer any help they could.

Although his reasoning left no room for doubt, it seemed wise to detain him along with eight of his companions while reinforcing the landing party with more musketeers. I dispatched the capitán de mar y guerra with twelve more armed men and ordered that the sick should be boarded first, while the others remained on land to safeguard the operation. These orders were being carried out when the Indians aboard ship saw that the officer was beginning to board the people; five Indians then threw themselves into the water. Four swam to shore, and despite all our efforts only one was caught. With this new evidence I ordered the captain to board all the men with the greatest order possible. As the last man came aboard, the Indians gave the alarm, firing a shower of arrows at the same time. The men on the launch, while withdrawing from the beach, responded with various rounds of fire. They kept up an effective fire until they arrived at a distance where the arrows could no longer reach them. Returning aboard later, they suffered no greater casualties than light wounds to two soldiers. From what the men could see from the launch, one chief commanding the Indians was dead and others were wounded.

All of the afternoon's excitement, from the moment the alarm was given, was due to Gerónimo, whom they seemed to recognize as their leader. With these occurrences, I no longer doubted that the Indians were in rebellion, and I approached the four I had

imprisoned on board. These Indians had seen the outbreak and (considering themselves lost and imploring pardon) they began to recount what had happened without the least resistance. They told how three months ago the Indians had killed Padre Nicolás and Padre Lorenzo, ministers of the pueblos of La Soledad and Santiago. They had wanted to do the same to Padre Sigismundo,⁴ but he managed to flee in a small craft accompanied by an officer of the royal squadron. I asked them how the padres were killed; they answered, by arrows. Later, the bodies were burned, along with the churches and images. Only a Spanish woman named María, her sister, and two daughters were spared. When I asked them to whom the woman belonged, they told me Santiago Villalobos,⁵ a soldier who had accompanied a religious of the order of San Agustín who had been left sick in the pueblo of La Soledad by General Gerónimo Montero the year before.⁶

In regard to our men, as soon as the ship turned toward the bay, they killed and burned the first ones. The same thing happened to the other four men whom they met on the road. The motive for coming to the bay of Cabo San Lucas with so many Indians was to do the same to those who were left unguarded, because Gerónimo had observed no arms when he first visited. The Indians planned to win the day without risk, but since this attempt was frustrated in the manner expressed, they planned to do at night what they had been unable to do during the day. That was why Gerónimo and his three companions had repeatedly begged to return to land, but they could not do so because I had immediately ordered them put in shackles. I am now bringing them to the castellano of the port,⁷ while your excellency decides what should be done with them.

Aboard the flagship *San Cristóbal*, January 1, 1735

From the Archivo General de Indias, Guadalajara 135.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Relación de lo acaecido al patache capitana *San Cristóbal*, del cargo del general don Mateo de Zumalde, en el Río de San José y Cabo de San Lucas en la California, con los naturales de ella.

CALIFORNIAS—*SAN CRISTÓBAL*

Excelentísimo Señor:

Pongo en noticia de vuestra excelencia que habiendo llegado parco de aguas, lona y lastre a la Costa de la California, y siendo preciso acudir al remedio de lo expresado para poder proseguir el viaje, hice junta de oficiales, y en ella deliberaron todo unánimes y

conformes el que era conveniente ir al Río de San José, en atención a haber en ocasiones de la igualdad los galeones de esta carrera hecho lo mismo, en donde no solamente se podía proveerse de lo necesario, sino también dejar los que venían gravemente accidentados, como lo hizo el año próximo pasado el general don Gerónimo Montero, con especial complacencia del padre ministro que residía en dicho Río de San José, en virtud de lo que puse en ejecución la deliberación referida, enviando para ello la lancha delante, a cargo del piloto tercero, para que reconociese y sondase la ensenada y, hecha esta diligencia, esperase avistar el navío que, habiéndolo ejecutado, y disparándole un cañonazo para que saliese a camboyar, lo hizo con toda prontitud, dejando en tierra ocho hombres, los que por entonces no pudieron embarcar por el crecido tumbo de mar, ni ocasionaron el menor cuidado por el ánimo que tenía de ir a dar fondo en aquel paraje.

Luego que llegó la lancha me informó dicho piloto tercero, así en cuanto a la comisión que llevo, como en cuanto a haber encontrado en la playa crecida porción de indios, quienes luego que reconocieron ser españoles se arrimaron, y especial uno llamado Gerónimo, el más ladino de todos, que dijo ser criado del padre ministro, y puesto de centinela por el referido para ver si llegaba el Galeón de Filipinas, con orden que luego que lo avistase le noticiase para poderles proveer de todo lo necesario; y habiéndole preguntado por dicho padre dijo se hallaba distante de allí veinte leguas a ver a otro compañero enfermo, pero que ya le había despachado a un indio con la noticia de la llegada de la Nao.

En vista de las expresadas noticias, aquella tarde y noche hice todo lo posible para poder coger fondo en dicha ensenada, lo que no pude conseguir por el tiempo que me fue contrario, y la mañana siguiente, algo distante de la ensenada, pude conseguir; y habiendo dado fondo, a poco rato faltó el cable me precisó el tiempo a hacerme a la vela e ir a otra ensenada llamada del Cabo de San Lucas, distante nueve leguas de la primera; y habiendo dado fondo en ella, me pareció conveniente noticiarle al padre ministro que lo hice inmediatamente, para que me remitiese los ocho hombres quedados, para cuyo efecto despaché a otros tres, y uno que sin mi orden voluntariamente se agregó. A poco de haber despachado a los tres hombres vinieron tres indios, y entre ellos el ladino Gerónimo, quienes me dijeron venían despachados del padre ministro Nicolás Tamaral a ver si el patache había por casualidad ido a aquella ensenada y, habiéndome hecho fuerza el que no escribiese, y preguntándoles el motivo, me satisficieron con decirme haber llegado indispuerto, y aquella había sido diligencia con desconfianzas, pero que estuviese seguro el que con toda brevedad lo tendría allí, así al padre, como a mi gente, con lo que se fue, y yo por entonces quedé sin la menor sospecha, hasta que, viendo que se tardaban, recelé haber hecho los indios alguna

infamia, y con este recelo providencia el poner para el resguardo así de los enfermos como de la gente que estaba haciendo aguada, fusileros; diligencia que sirvió, según lo que he experimentado, el no haber perecido la mayor parte de la gente de este navío, pues el día siguiente ví desde él venir como hasta seiscientos indios en dos tropas, con sus arcos y flechas, y aunque al principio discurrí venían acompañando al padre y a nuestra gente, me desengañé breve con la llegada de Gerónimo a bordo con otros compañeros, quien me dijo aquella tarde llegaba el padre con nuestra gente, y que ellos venían delante para ayudar con lo que se ofreciese.

Y aunque al parecer las razones que me dijo no admitían la menor duda, sin embargo me pareció conveniente detenerlos a bordo como a ocho de ellos, que son los que vinieron, y al mismo tiempo reforzar la gente en tierra con más fusileros, que lo hice enviando al capitán de mar y guerra con otros doce fusileros con orden de que fuese embarcado lo primero a los enfermos, a quienes me remitiese a bordo, quedando en ínterin en tierra con la cautela conveniente, que habiendo así ejecutado, y viendo los indios de a bordo el que se iban embarcando la gente, se echaron cinco al agua, y a nado huyeron a tierra los cuatro, sin que por diligencias que se hicieron se pudiese coger más que al uno. Con este nuevo indicio ordené a dicho capitán de mar y guerra embarcase en el mejor orden posible toda la gente; que habiéndolo así ejecutado, al embarse [embarcarse ?] los últimos dieron el alarido los indios, disparando al mismo tiempo un diluvio de flechas, a las que correspondió la gente de la lancha con varias cargas cerradas de fusilería, retirándose al mismo tiempo de la playa, que lo pudieron hacer a toda satisfacción hasta llegar a paraje donde ya no les pudieron ofender las flechas, y luego se retiraron a bordo sin más desgracia que la de haber herido a dos marineros levemente; y de los indios, a lo que se pudo percibir de la lancha, quedó muerto uno de los cabecillas que los comandaban, y otros heridos.

Y todo su anhelo así toda aquella tarde, como al tiempo de dar el alarido, era por Gerónimo, a quien parece reconocían como a cabeza, y con lo acaecido, no quedándome duda el que estaban levantados pasé a reconvenir a los cuatro indios que tenía a bordo aprisionados, quienes en vista del rompimiento, y que ya se consideraban perdidos, empezaron a referirme lo que había (sin la menor violencia, bien que primero imploraron el perdón), y fue el que habrá como tres meses mataron al padre Nicolás y al padre Lorenzo, ministros de los pueblos de La Soledad y Santiago, y aunque quisieron hacer lo mismo con el padre Segismundo, este pudo huir en una balsita, acompañado de un cabo de escuadra del real; y preguntándoles el modo, dijeron que a flechazos, y luego los quemaron como también las iglesias y imágenes; y sólo reservaron a una española llamada María, a una hermana suya y dos hijas; y preguntándoles de quién era mujer, me dijeron que de Santiago Villalobos, soldado que

había ido acompañando a un religioso del orden de San Agustín que el año pasado dejó el general don Gerónimo Montero enfermo en el Pueblo de La Soledad, a esa ciudad.

Y que a nuestra gente, a los primeros los mataron y quemaron luego que el navío tiró para la ensenada, y a los otros cuatro, habiéndolos encontrado en el camino, hicieron lo mismo con ellos que con los antecedentes; y que el motivo de venir a la ensenada del Cabo de San Lucas toda aquella multitud de indios, era con el ánimo de hacer lo mismo con los que hallasen en tierra descuidados, pues el referido Gerónimo observó cuando vino la primera vez no tenían armas ningunas, por lo que descurrió lograr la ocasión sin el menor riesgo, pero habiéndosele frustrado este intento con la prevención expresada, deliberó hacer de noche, lo que no pudieron de día, por cuya razón hizo repetidas súplicas el expresado Gerónimo para que le dejase ir a tierra, lo que él y otros tres compañeros suyos no pudieron conseguir, pues inmediatamente les mandé poner prisiones, y los traigo con ánimo de entregar al castellano de este puerto ínterin vuestra excelencias providencia lo que deba ejecutar con ellos.

A bordo del patache capitana San Cristóbal, y enero 1 de 1735 años.

Notes

1. When Zumalde entered into the galleon trade and how long he survived remains a question for further research, as is the case for many important figures in the trans-Pacific trade.

2. Gerónimo Montero was an experienced pilot-navigator whose career in the galleon trade spanned some fourteen years. He was the commander of the *Covadonga* that finally fell prey to George Anson in the Philippines in 1743.

3. The minister was Father Nicolás Tamaral.

4. Nicolás Tamaral resided at San José; La Soledad was a visita of that mission. Sigismundo Taraval was at the mission of La Paz. The son of a Spanish army officer, he was born in Lodi, Lombardy, and raised in Madrid. He was one of the more prolific, literate missionaries in Baja California.

5. Santiago Villalobos does not appear in the Loreto muster for 1733 or 1735, although a "Juan" and a "Phelipe" Villalobos do.

6. The religious was Padre Fray Domingo de Orbigoso, who later returned to Mexico via La Paz and Matanchel.

7. The port was Acapulco, home base for the Manila galleon on the west coast of New Spain.

Payroll for the Presidio of Loreto of the Californios, 1735

From time to time the Jesuit rector of the California missions called on Indian auxiliaries from the mainland to supplement the small contingent of presidial soldiers stationed on the peninsula. This muster roll records the largest infusion of fighting forces ever to have been invited to the peninsula to join in the pacification of a rebellious tribe—in this case the Guaicuros in the southern region. Not all episodes in which Indian troops were employed were exemplary; in fact, the Indians were known to break discipline and engage the enemy in a ferocious and uncontrolled fashion. Captain Rodríguez more than once had to ride into the fray to calm the auxiliaries.

This muster roll is included here to illustrate the changes in the military complement in just two years and to identify the Indian auxiliaries who were named and paid. Too often the notion is that Indians fought alongside Spaniards as nameless bands, when in reality their participation was seen as a step toward acculturation in the vast overseas empire.

List of the troops and Indians of the Yaqui, Fuerte, and Guaymas Rivers who served during the uprising of some missions of California, and the expense of their support.

CALIFORNIAS, 1735, YEAR OF OUR LORD

List of the squads of soldiers and the Indians of the Yaqui, Fuerte, and Guaymas Rivers who served the our lord the king, may God keep him, in the uprising of some missions of California from October 8, 1734 to June 8, 1735.

List of the Soldiers

Don Francisco Cortés de Monrroy, alférez

Andrés Romero

Ignacio Romero

Juan María de la Peña

Ignacio de Acosta

Antonio de Silva

Francisco Xavier de Castro

Luis de Iribe

Don Pedro Jácome Induz

Matías de Silva

Joseph Gerardo

Pedro Romero

Nicolás López

Manuel de Urvina

Manuel Nuño

Juan de Aguilar

Don Tomás Moscoso

Nicolás Solórzano

Fernando de la Peña

Don Cristóval de Góngora

Partial Positions

Ignacio de Valenzuela

Pablo de Haro

Manuel Morales

Fabián de la Isla

Miguel García

Luis de San Pablo

Juan de Dios de Morales

Mateo de la Cruz

Manuel de Miranda

Juan Antonio de Montes

Juan Rodríguez

Juan Onofre

Juan Anselmo Cobarrubias

Lucas Careaga

Jacinto Carabajal

The twenty interior positions at 450 pesos yearly amount to 6,000 pesos for eight months. The fifteen half positions, which amount to 18 pesos 6 reales a month, total 2,252 pesos.

Squads of Yaqui, Guaymas, and Sinaloa Indians¹

Marcos, captain

Agustín Ninanque Mea

Antonio, alférez

Mateo Matua Mea

Pablo, sergeant

Bartolo Alamea

Clemente Ignacio, adjutant

Hipólito, adjutant

Ignacio de Osuna, corporal

Marcos, *alguacil*

Benito Puite Mea

Gonzalo Noquia Mea

Carry over 8,252 pesos

For the sum of the two preceding sections: 8,252 pesos

Antonio Jaemea

Luis Sisa Guiman

Mateo Bui Suai

Mauricio Alamea

Estevan Tonomea

Ignacio Sitaba

Calisto Buicua

Calisto Buite

Hernando Imepuique

Gregorio Buisua

Lorenzo Bricamaca

Hipólito Goit

Benito Buite mea

Calisto Garechi mea

Lorenzo Ugicamea

Miguel Uita mea

Joseph Noquia Mea

Bartolo Tasmea

Ignacio Macomea

Calisto Buite Mea

Francisco Xavier Mamea

Ignacio Baumea

Tomás

Luis

Pedro

Luis Guaimas

Hipólito

Un hermano de Hipólito

Balthasar

Andrés

Juan Teco

Andrés Guimas

Bentura

Tomás

Manuel

Hernando

Vicente

Juan

Calisto Puite mea	Bartholomé
Ignacio Noquiamea	Juan Batué
Dionisio Pusacaquiai	Andrés Guasiguari
Joachuín Tonopoa mea	Gregorio Ahorne
Antonio Pessi mea	Mateo Yaqui
Bartolo Sietabú	Santiago Jalisco
Martín Buire mea	Eligio Nío
Calisto Baje boa	Francisco Xavier Tegueco
Francisco Goite mea	Roque Moreno
Hipólito Teguinque	Juan Rafael
Francisco Bobit mea	Andrés Nicolás
Clemente Obomea	Jacinto Manuel
Mateo Toza Sey	Juan Andrés Ahorne
Hernando Echua Pisuan	Joseph Antonio
Bartolo Cobabuan	Juan Francisco de Nío
Sebastián Viraca mea	Salvador
Ignacio Icuchucia mea	Martín
Agustín Buicuamea	Marcos
Hipólito Buisua	Pedro
Antonio Sancoari	Plácido
Nicolás	Francisco de Sales
Agustín	Juan Hermenegildo
Hernando Belén	Antonio Manrique
Gerónimo	Joseph Asencio

Sebastián	Antonio Peñato (100)
The six officers of the squadron of Indians have earned 12 pesos a month, that is	576 pe
The ninety-four men will be paid at 8 pesos, that is,	6,016
Food for these 100 men at 4 pesos each month, that is	3,200
The three sections amount to	9,792
The two previous sections of Spanish soldiers amount to	8,252
Payment for use of the canoes of San Nicolás Gallardi and Joseph de Arroyo for transporting people and supplies to La Paz	112 pe
Carryover to the next page	18,156
Carried over from the preceding page	

Supplies

For the purchase of 13 arrobas of fine gunpowder at 2 pesos a pound, 650 pesos

Nine quintales of lead at 12 pesos a quintal

One canoe lost on the coast of Los Dolores bringing supplies for the squadron at a cost of 350 pesos

A canoe that was purchased and then given to the island Indians of San Joseph because they had proved loyal and also they had lost two of their own boats in helping and protecting our armed forces. The boat cost 300 pesos.

To Joseph de Arroyo and Manuel de Arroyo, who had been assisting in person and with their weapons for a period of five months: salary and rations, 150 pesos 150

In the same way Juan María de Ulloa and his brother, who helped us for three months with their weapons, was given the sum of 72 pesos 72 p

For a messenger who was dispatched in October of last year, 1734, to his excellency, on business concerning the royal service. 300 pesos 300

For the wounded and the sick, three large jugs of brandy which cost 180 pesos.

180

20,1

These are the expenditures which were made in the eight months being accounted for, together with the number and rank of people. All this was reported to his excellency, and the expenditures were approved. Others were not taken into consideration which might have been considered as expenditures and provisions, such as vessels of copper, sacks for storage, pack horses and mules that died on the expedition, and all the missions that have helped with whatever amount they were able to contribute. Other expenses were not included along with those of the messengers and the wages of the boatmen who have been transporting people and various supplies. Neither were the expenses listed for the squadrons of friendly Indians who served as soldiers and came from missions near Loreto. This was all stated to the viceroy so that he might decide whether some pay should be given them for their labor, which would serve as a stimulus for them to do the same whenever there was need. This could be of great importance, especially at some time or other when one or more enemy ships might come to these shores. Experience has shown that if the Californians are kept faithful, other Indians from the opposite shore, who are more expensive and of less fortitude in their labors, would not be needed.

Starting in November, some squads were being sent out from mission Dolores so that on December 15, 118 men happened to be in La Paz. During the enemy attacks against our soldiers on November 14 and 29, they were of great assistance to the Spanish forces; nine of them were wounded.

On March 11, two squads left the missions of San Francisco Xavier and San Joseph de Comondú. There were fifty-six Indians who went with our soldiers to the very center of the rebel land, which was 130 leagues from the missions. They were very helpful in defeating the foe. Some of the enemy were killed, others were taken prisoner, and the rest fled.

At present on the frontiers of Dolores there are ninety-three Indians belonging to that mission who are under the orders of the commander, Don Francisco Cortés de Monrroy. There were also fifty-eight from the two missions of San Francisco Xavier and San Joseph de Comondú in two squads. From the mission of La Purísima there are sixty-five ready to start out tomorrow, June 23. These people are all being supplied with food and some clothing against the inclemency of the weather so far as can be judged at present.

It can be seen in the listings that surnames have not been given to various Indians. Some tribes do not use them at all. Others only use them when an Indian has performed some

memorable action like killing a tiger, lion, or wildcat and other similar feats. In such cases the name means "the one who killed that particular animal."

It can also be seen that of the thirty-five total military posts, fifteen are only partial posts because these fifteen men are not veterans nor have they had the training of the other twenty; it was not possible to get men with that same level of training. Even though they are a great help, they do not earn the same wage as the veterans until they are well trained in this type of service.

On the nineteenth of the present month, eighteen posts of Yaqui Indians who have been stationed in this presidio will be reformed. Tomorrow I will send a messenger to the frontier of Los Dolores asking the commander to send me forty-four men who are presently serving there. They are also Yaquis. As soon as they get here, they will be paid and dismissed, and I will send them back to their country. Together with the troops of California Indians that have been sent here, the Yaquis are no longer needed.

And because all said above is the truth, I certify it formally; and for still greater certitude I swear to it *as a priest* so that it may thus be proved to the most excellent viceroy of New Spain and to the judges, officials of the Real Hacienda and treasury of Mexico, so that they may deign to pay the expenses listed. I signed this in this royal presidio and pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Loreto on June 23 of this present year of 1735.

Captain Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo

Pedro de la Riva

Jaime Bravo

Miguel Cordero

As a precaution concerning the military officers of this royal presidio who have signed these lists, I hereby certify as to the truth that Captain Don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo is located here and that the others are away on a distant campaign and that the two men who signed in their stead are veteran soldiers who have been present on the expeditions of this war. Since this is the truth I have signed it as above.

Jaime Bravo

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, ff. 33-38.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Lista de la tropa de indios del Río Yaqui, del Fuerte y de Guaymas, que sirvieron en la sublevación de algunas misiones de California, y costo que tuvo su manutención.

CALIFORNIAS 1735, AÑO DE NUESTRO SEÑOR

Lista de las escuadras de soldados, e indios de los ríos del Yaqui, del Fuerte y de Guaymas, que han servido al rey nuestro señor, que Dios guarde, en la sublevación de algunas misiones de Californias desde 8 de octubre de 1734 hasta 8 de junio de 1735 años.

Lista de los Soldados

Don Francisco Cortés de Monrroy, alférez	Andrés Romero
Ignacio Romero	Juan María de la Peña
Ignacio de Acosta	Antonio de Silva
Francisco Xavier de Castro	Luis de Iribe
Don Pedro Jácome Induz	Matías de Silva
Joseph Gerardo	Pedro Romero
Nicolás López	Manuel de Urvina
Manuel Nuño	Juan de Aguilar
Don Tomás Moscoso	Nicolás Solorzano
Fernando de la Peña	Don Cristóval de Góngora

Medias Plazas

Ignacio de Valenzuela	Pablo de Haro
Manuel Morales	Fabián de la Isla
Miguel García	Luis de San Pablo
Juan de Dios de Morales	Mateo de la Cruz
Manuel de Miranda	Juan Antonio de Montes

Juan Rodríguez

Juan Onofre

Juan Anselmo Cobarrubias

Lucas Careaga

Jacinto Carabajal

Las veinte plazas internas a razón de cuatrocientos y cincuenta pesos al año parece importan los ocho meses la cantidad de 6,000 pesos. Las quince medias que corresponden dieciocho pesos y seis reales al mes importan 2,252 pesos.

Escuadras de Indios Yaquis, Guaymas y Sinaloas

Marcos, capitán

Agustín Ninanque Mea [Hinanque Mea]

Antonio, alférez

Mateo Matua Mea [Matuamea]

Pablo, sargento

Bartolo Alamea [Alame'a]

Clemente Ignacio, ayudante

José Noquia Mea [Nokiame'a]

Hipólito, ayudante

Bartolo Tasma [Tasme'a]

Ignacio de Osuna, cabo

Ignacio Macomea [Makomea]

Marcos, alguacil

Calisto Buite Mea [Vuiteme'a]

Benito Puite Mea [Vuiteme'a]

Francisco Xavier Mamea [Mamea]

Gonzalo Noquia Mea [Nokiame'a]

Ignacio Baumea [Vaume'a]

Pasa con 8,252 pesos

Por la suma de las dos partidas antecedentes 8,252 pesos

Antonio Jaemea [Haeme'a]

Tomás

Lucas Sisa Guiman [Sisawiman]

Luis

Mateo Bui Suai [Bwisua'i]

Pedro

Mauricio Alamea

Luis Guaimas

Esteban Tonomea [Tonome'a]

Hipólito

Ignacio Sitaba [Sitava]

Un hermano de Hipólito

Calisto Buicua [Bwikua]	Balthasar
Calisto Buite [Vuite]	Andrés
Hernando Imepuique [Imepuike]	Juan Teco [Teku]
Gregorio Buisua [Bwisua]	Andrés Guimas
Lorenzo Bricamaca	Bentura
Hipólito Goit [Woit]	Tomás
Benito Buite mea [Vuiteme'a]	Manuel
Calisto Garechi mea [Warechime'a]	Hernando
Lorenzo Ugicamea [Uhekame'a]	Vicente
Miguel Uita mea [Vitame'a]	Juan
Calisto Puite mea [Buiteme'a]	Bartholomé
Ignacio Noquiamea [Nokiame'a]	Juan Batué
Dionisio Pusacaquiai [Pusakakia'i]	Andrés Guasiguari [Wasiwar]
Joachuín Tonopoa mea [Tonopuame'a]	Gregorio Ahorne
Antonio Pessi mea	Mateo Yaqui
Bartolo Sietabú [Sietavu]	Santiago Jalisco
Martín Buire mea [Bwireme'a]	Eligio Nío
Calisto Baje boa [Pahevoa]	Francisco Xavier Tegueco [Te]
Francisco Goite mea [Woiteme'a]	Roque Moreno
Hipólito Teguinque [Tewainke]	Juan Rafael
Francisco Bobit mea [Vovitme'a]	Andrés Nicolás
Clemente Obomea [Ovome'a]	Jacinto Manuel
Mateo Toza Sey [Tosasei]	Juan Andrés Ahorne
Hernando Echua Pisuan	Joseph Antonio

Bartolo Cobabuan	Juan Francisco de Nío
Sebastián Viraca mea [Virakame'a]	Salvador
Ignacio Icuchucia mea [Kuchusiam'e'a]	Martín
Agustín Buicuamea [Bwikuame'a]	Marcos
Hipólito Buisua [Bwisua]	Pedro
Antonio Sancoari [Sankoari]	Plácido
Nicolás	Francisco de Sales
Agustín	Juan Hermenegildo
Hernando Belén	Antonio Manrique
Gerónimo	Joseph Ascencio
Sebastián	Antonio Peñato (100)

Los seis oficiales de las escuadras de los indios han ganado doce pesos al mes, e importan:	576 pes
Los noventa y cuatro a razón de a ocho pesos importan,	6,016 p
Los alimentos de estos cien hombres a cuatro pesos cada mes importan	3,200 p
Importan las 3 partidas,	9,792 p
Las dos partidas antecedentes de los soldados españoles importan	8,252 p
Se dio a las canoas de San Nicolás Gallardi y Joseph de Arroyo, por el transporte de gente y bastimentos hasta La Paz,	112 pes
Pasa a la vuelta con	18,156
Por la suma antes de atrás,	18,156

Bastimientos

De compra de trece arrobas de pólvora fina a dos pesos libra, seiscientos cincuenta pesos,	650 pes
Nueve quintales de plomo, a doce pesos el quintal, importan ciento ocho pesos,	
Una canoa que se perdió en la costa de los Dolores conduciendo bastimentos para las escuadras, tuvo	

costo trescientos cincuenta pesos,

Una canoa que se compró y se dió a los indios isleños de San Joseph por haberse mostrado muy fieles por haber perdido 2 que ellos tenían, por favorecer y amparar nuestras armas, tuvo de costo doscientos pesos,

A Joseph de Arroyo y a Manuel de Arroyo, que estuvieron ayudando con sus personas y armas por un espacio de cinco meses, se les dió de salario y ración, ciento cincuenta pesos,

En la misma forma a Juan María de Ulloa, y a un hermano suyo que asistieron 3 meses con sus armas, les dieron setenta y dos pesos,

Por un correo que se despachó a su excelencia por octubre del año pasado de 1734 por negocios del real servicio, se le dieron trescientos pesos,

Se gastaron para los heridos y enfermos, 3 tibores de aguardiente que costaron ciento ochenta pesos,

Hasta aquí los gastos que se han hecho en los ocho meses expresados, con el número y calidad de gente que tenía avisado a su excelencia, y aprobados los gastos que se hiciesen; sin haber puesto otros que podían pertenecerles, como gastos y consumos, como vasijas de cobre, costalarias, bestias caballares y mulares que han muerto en la expedición, y han ayudado todas las misiones con cuantas han podido contribuir. Ni tampoco se cargan varios gastos, con correos ni salarios de canoeros, que en todo este tiempo han estado conduciendo gente y víveres varios. Tampoco se puso por gasto las escuadras de indios amigos que han militado y son de las misiones cercanas a ésta de Loreto, y van expresadas por si el excelentísimo señor virrey determinare que se les dé algún pagamento por su trabajo, que les sirva de estímulo a ejecutar lo mismo siempre que se ofreciere, lo que podrá ser de mucha importancia, y más si en algún tiempo llegare a estas costas alguna, o algunas embarcaciones enemigas. Y la experiencia ha mostrado que teniendo fieles a los californios, no se necesitarán indios de la otra banda que son más costosos y de menos aguante en los trabajos.

Desde el mes de noviembre fueron remitiéndose algunas escuadras de la misión de los Dolores, de suerte que el día 15 de diciembre se hallaron en La Paz, ciento dieciocho, y en los asaltos que los enemigos dieron a nuestra gente de armas, los días 14 y 29 de noviembre, ayudaron mucho a nuestros españoles, y nueve quedaron heridos.

En 11 de marzo, salieron en dos escuadras de las misiones de San Francisco Xavier y de San Joseph de Comondú, cincuenta y seis indios que acompañaron a nuestros soldados hasta el centro de las tierras de los alzados en distancia de 130 leguas de sus misiones, y

ayudaron bien en el albazo que dieron a los enemigos en que algunos de estos murieron, apresaron otros, y huyó el resto.

Actualmente se hallan en las fronteras de los Dolores [once/do]ce indios pertenecientes a la dicha misión, noventa y tres debajo de las órdenes del jefe, don Francisco Cortés de Monroy. Fueron así mismo de las dos misiones, San Francisco Xavier y San Joseph de Comondú, cincuenta y ocho en dos escuadras. Y están para salir mañana, 23 de junio, sesenta y cinco de la misión de la Purísima. A toda esta gente se están manteniendo de bastimentos y de algún abrigo de ropa contra las inclemencias de los tiempos según la posibilidad presente.

Podrá repararse en las listas que a varios indios no se les pone apellidos. Algunas naciones no lo usan, otras sólo se lo ponen cuando hacen alguna acción memorable, como el matar un tigre, león, gato montés u otros semejantes, y el apellido se deduce a significar "matador de tal animal."

También se podrá reparar que del número de las treinta y cinco plazas militares, las quince son medias plazas; esto es porque los dichos quince hombres no son soldados veteranos, ni tan ejercitados como los veinte, porque no se pudieron adquirir otros de esta calidad. Y aunque ayudan muy bien, no merecen tanto sueldo hasta que estén bien habilitados en este modo de milicia.

A 19 de este presente mes, se reformarán dieciocho plazas de indios yaquis que se hallaban en este presidio, y mañana despacho correo a las fronteras de los Dolores para que el jefe me remita cuarenta y cuatro que se hallan militando allá, y son también yaquis. Que luego lleguen serán pagados y reformados, y los despacharé a sus tierras, pues con las escuadras que se han ido remitiendo de indios californios, no serán ya necesarios.

Y porque de todo lo expresado es verdad, lo certifico en toda forma, y a mayor abundamiento, lo juro *in verbo sacerdotis*, para que así conste al excelentísimo señor virrey de esta Nueva España y a los señores jueces, oficiales de la real hacienda y caja de México, y se sirvan de mandar pagar los dichos gastos. Y lo firmé en este real presidio y pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, en 23 días del mes de junio de este presente año de 1735 años.

El capitán Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo.

Pedro de la Riva.

Jaime Bravo.

Miguel Cordero.

Por cuanto se me previene el que estas listas vayan firmadas de los cabos militares de este real presidio, certifico en toda forma, como es verdad, que el señor capitán don Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo solamente se halla aquí, y que los otros se hallan en campaña en mucha distancia, y que los dos que en su lugar firmaron son soldados veteranos, y que han asistido en las expediciones de esta guerra. Y por ser así verdad lo firmé. *Ut supra*.

Jaime Bravo.

Note

[1](#). Yaqui transcriptions for many of these names are provided in square brackets in the Spanish document. The names were edited for contemporary spelling by Fernando Escalante, director of the Yaqui Family Literacy Partnership Program.

[III](#)

[Padre Miguel Venegas on the Governance of the Californias](#)

[\(1739\)](#)

Miguel Venegas comes closer than anyone to claiming the prize as "the documentary historian of California." The following section has been taken from the unpublished manuscript of the "Empresas apostólicas," a massive and detailed history of the founding of the California missions. Surrounded by stacks of correspondence from the missionaries, with access to their diaries and records in the Jesuit provincial archives of Mexico City, he constructed a narrative so detailed and so genuinely Californian that the manuscript was rejected for publication in Spain as not being sensitive enough to

European interests! The manuscript was intensely reworked by Father Andrés Burriel, who eventually published it as the Noticia de la California, a ponderous, informative work attributed to Venegas but bereft of the extensive, quoted documentation of the original writing. Venegas, a native of Puebla de los Angeles, earned a bachelor's degree in philosophy; in fragile health for most of his life, he spent time writing poetry and biographies of famous Mexican Jesuits. Documentary history owes him a debt of gratitude for his preservation of records that would otherwise have been lost.

The entire manuscript of the "Empresas apostólicas" is extremely lengthy and not germane to the theme of the military history of California. These paragraphs, nearly all of Book Ten of the "Empresas," provide as succinct a compendium of the relations between the Jesuit missionaries and the military as is available anywhere. It is impossible to fashion a good interpretation of the animosity of the Bourbon leadership toward the Jesuits without understanding the intricacies of Jesuit administration in California. Venegas provides both factual analysis and philosophical argument in these paragraphs, making them indispensable to the history of the peninsula.

Book Ten

On the Christian government of the Californias after their reduction to the faith.

CHAPTER ONE

On the royal presidio of the Californias and the reasons for its maintenance in that land.

1710. [From a discussion] of pagan California we move on to a discussion of Christian California. We have already seen the bad government that the Californians exercised because of their paganism; it affected spiritual affairs through their false religion as well as temporal matters through their disjointed political organization. We will now examine the current Christian government. In temporal matters governance is based on obedience to the royal presidio and its commander, who serves as judge and *justicia mayor* of the land. In spiritual matters governance comes under the instruction and direction of the missionary fathers. Beginning with the royal presidio, the first thing we should examine are the reasons why it had to be established, and then why it has had to be maintained in this newly converted land. Among pagan peoples, as it should be, choosing the Catholic religion should be free and spontaneous, because, as Saint Ambrose says, if faith is anything at all, it must be a voluntary act of the understanding made through the free exercise of the will that has not been affected by necessity or coercion: *Quoniam fides non necessitatis, sed voluntatis res est* (2 Corinthians).¹ Thus it seems that there ought not to be compulsion or force of any kind which would oblige the pagans to renounce their heathen life in order to embrace our holy faith. It would seem, moreover, that this liberty precludes the establishment and maintenance of a presidio in the Californias. With a presidio the new Christians would be restrained by the force of arms, and, furthermore, the pagans might think that they were being obliged to accept the faith simply out of fear of those arms.

1711. But, if the reasons we are about to discuss are thoroughly examined and pondered, it will be found and clearly seen that the maintenance of this said presidio in the Californias (and the same may be said of similar missions) not only does not oppose the freedom that is needed to embrace the Catholic faith, it actually enhances it. On the other hand, without the presidio the faith could never be introduced nor preserved in this new kingdom. This, then, is the primary reason put forth by the missionary fathers: that they could never safely enter a strange kingdom of savages without bringing with them a sufficient escort of soldiers for the defense of their lives. If they should enter to preach the Gospel without this precaution, they would be like cattle going to slaughter or like unsuspecting sheep among wolves, so they could be quickly ripped apart. Thus wrote Father Joseph de Acosta in his treatise when he wrote *de procuranda indorum*

salute ["procuring the health of the Indians"]. Entering into barbarous Indian territory to preach the holy Catholic faith without a sufficient escort to defend one's life is like wanting to go to live amicably among crocodiles, javelinas, and other wild beasts of the mountains. *Quam eodem qui horum Indorum se arbitrio commiserit, poterit his cum apris, et crocodilis amicitiam in ire* (book 11, chapter 8).²

1712. [section omitted]

1713. According to the writer Father Ferrer of the Society of Jesus, as well as various members of other religious orders, that is the way many lost their lives in those days. So it was with the fathers of Saint Francis, who attempted to enter among the Sucumbis to reduce them, but were soon obliged to flee at great risk of their lives.³ Afterward Fray Pedro Pecedor, the great imitator of the Seraphic Father, entered among them but he never came back nor was he ever heard from again.⁴ All were persuaded that he died at the hands of the savages. The same thing happened to some religious of the order of Saint Dominic who left Spain to go to Florida. They arrived there without an armed escort, thinking that by using love and gentleness they could bring the [unbelievers] out of the ferocity of their savagery. They trusted this method more than the fear and dread of arms; but they had no more than arrived than they were killed by the Indians.⁵ Moreover, this happened to the first missionaries of the Society who were sent to New Spain by our father Saint Francis Borja. Only a short while after arriving in Florida, they lost their lives at the hands of the Indians.⁶

1714. On the contrary, however, there have always been good outcomes and fortunate results in the conversion of infidels in the New World whenever a goodly complement of soldiers have accompanied missionaries to defend their lives by restraining the boldness of the savages. The Lord does not want the missionaries to be rash or precipitous in works done in his service, but rather, he wants them done with foresight and prudence. This is why Christ told his disciples that he was sending them out like sheep to live among wolves: *Ecce ego mitte vos, sicut oves in medio luporum* (Matt. 10:16). Then he added the rule that they would have to be on their guard to avoid danger in their midst. *Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae* ["Therefore, be as shrewd as snakes and as innocent as doves."] (Matt. 10:16). He asked them to have the simplicity of doves in their intention, pure and simple—with that they could procure the conversion of sinners; he also told them they would have to have the prudence of serpents in their wariness and precaution—because they would have to look out for their lives as snakes do. Thus they would preserve their souls from all guilt and their bodies from all danger. So he added: *Cavete autem ab hominibus* ["Beware of men: they

will hand you over to the sanhedrin and scourge you in their synagogues." (Matt. 10:17).

1715. True, it is a glorious action to give one's life for Christ due to another's hatred of the faith; to give one's life for the love of a friend is proof of the highest form of love, as Christ tells us: *Majorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis* ["Greater love has no one than this, that he lay down his life for his friends."] (John 15:13). But it is also true that in the text cited he ordered his disciples to flee from a city and seek refuge in another if they were being persecuted or if they were being sought out to be killed. *Cum persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam* ["When you are persecuted in one place, flee to another."] (Matt. 10:23). Thus it is neither in the service of the Lord nor praiseworthy, but rather disgraceful, indiscreet, and rash to enter into a strange kingdom of idolatrous pagans without any defense, without hope of converting them, and with the moral certainty of perishing at their hands. If one has perhaps seen similar actions on the part of some servants of the Lord, this does not mean that these actions should be imitated. They did what they did because of a special inspiration and impulse of the Holy Spirit who thrust them into the midst of danger so they might glorify God either with their lives or their deaths.

[1716. section omitted]

1717. From here it follows that although the pagans appear in the beginning to be tame and peaceful, when they receive the missionaries with kindness and bestow gifts on them, it soon happens that when the missionaries try to change their lives and customs prior to baptism, the pagans begin to resist and work against the minister who preaches to them. Principally, this is because they know they must obey him and also subject themselves to punishment for their crimes when they deserve it. This fear thus inclines them to contrive vengeance and to plot against his life to get out from under the yoke of Christian law if they have already received baptism, or not to accept it if they have not yet been baptized.

1718. On the contrary, none of this occurs when they see the evangelical ministers guarded by an adequate escort of soldiers who can be called to arms against them in case some rebellion is plotted against the ministers who preach to them. With their lives thus assured, the missionaries can win over the will of the pagans with favors, so that afterward, little by little, they can conquer their understanding with the light of Catholic truths, until the pagans freely embrace the faith through holy baptism. This is all that is intended by maintaining a presidio of soldiers; their arms are not offensive ones against the pagans but defensive ones to protect the priests who preach to them. Their

jurisdiction is coercive, but not to force the Indians or oblige them to embrace the faith; it is to defend those who have already embraced the faith.

1719. On this is based the second reason for establishing the presidio, a decision made on behalf of the new Christians who have received holy baptism. In changing their religion by embracing Christian law, they have renounced their pagan customs and superstitions, but this makes them abhorrent to the rest of the pagan peoples who stubbornly resist efforts in the preaching of the Gospel. Living among these pagans, they then find themselves among many enemies who are relatives, servants, and neighbors, and who conspire against the new converts so that their lives are in the same danger as the missionaries who made them Christians. This peril ends when the pagans realize that the newly converted are defended by and have the support of the escort that protects the missionaries, in whose shadow there is safety and defense against their opponents. We have seen this proven in many instances mentioned in this history; every time new Christians are molested or persecuted by the pagans, they appeal for help from the presidio, which comes to their defense with the force of arms. But if they did not have this recourse, they would not receive the faith, or if they did accept the faith, they would apostatize afterward. Thus a presidio of soldiers is not only not contrary to the propagation of the faith, it is absolutely necessary.

1720. The third reason for the establishment of a presidio is based on the need for newly converted peoples to have someone to govern them in civil and political aspects of human affairs. As they are converted to the faith, they become subject to the honorable servitude of Christ, together with giving their voluntary vassalage and obedience to the Catholic king who sends them ministers of the Gospel for the good of their souls. It is necessary that there also be someone who holds the power and royal jurisdiction to govern them as vassals of their king. But this power cannot properly be exercised by missionary fathers because their jurisdiction is spiritual and ecclesiastical just as curates over the faithful. The faithful for their part are subject to the secular jurisdiction of whoever governs in the name of the king. And unless grave inconveniences should arise between these two jurisdictions, priests should remain incapable of exercising secular jurisdiction in criminal cases and those involving capital punishment.

1721. Since all of this is required for the secular and civil governance of the new Christians of the Californias, it is also necessary that a royal presidio be maintained and preserved among these peoples. Such power and royal jurisdiction should reside in the person of the commander and captain of the presidio. He is the one who administers justice to the pueblos, governing them in a Christian manner in conformity with the

laws; he is the one who metes out just punishment to, delinquents. This has been the practice from the beginning of the conquest until now. This could never have been done in any other way except by maintaining a royal presidio where the captain as justicia mayor of the whole land, together with his soldiers as subordinate ministers, maintains justice.

1722. The fourth and last reason for the establishment of a presidio is the control that, by means of the spiritual conquest of these nations, his Catholic majesty has acquired not only over the land, but also over the sea and the coasts of the Californias, whose borders have been voluntarily offered by their vassals. For this reason, it is necessary that someone exercise royal jurisdiction over all the sea and coasts of the Californias. This same person is the one who executes the orders that from time to time are issued by the viceroys—sometimes to assist the Nao de Filipinas when threatened by pirates or in need of provisions or for the discharge of sick passengers and crew, and for whatever may concern pearl diving so that the king is not defrauded of his royal fifth.⁷ None of these things can be handled by missionary fathers because they are foreign to their religious state and incompatible with their apostolic ministries. On the other hand, there are not, nor could there be from what we have shown previously, any colonies or Spanish families here in the Californias among whom these responsibilities might be divided. Thus it is absolutely necessary to maintain a royal presidio in the Californias so that the universal jurisdiction over land and sea might reside in the person of its commander as the justicia mayor.

CHAPTER TWO

Concerning the rights and privileges conceded to the presidio of the Californias, its superior, corporal, and soldiers.

1723. In all human actions that are ordered as a means to some end, there must be, as Saint Thomas says, some proportion and relation, which have in themselves that which is intended as means to the desired end: *Actus perducentes ad finem oportet esse fini proportionatos* ["Acts leading to an end must be proportioned to the end."] (1.2, q. 109, art. 5 in corp.).⁸ Wherefore, as the saint says in another place, whatever operation is performed as a means toward some end ought to be determined by those forms and qualities that are fitting and conducive in order to achieve the intended end. *Omni rei qui est propter finem, forma determinatur secundum proportionem ad finem* ["Whenever a thing is for an end, its form must be determined proportionately to that end."] (1.2.q. 95, art. 3 in corp.).⁹ Father Juan María Salvatierra followed this prudent advice in founding the presidio of the Californias. He felt it was totally necessary for the introduction and spread of the faith in that kingdom for the reasons

we have expressed in the previous chapter. So that the means would not become an impediment or obstacle to that conquest, he resolved to establish it with the form and qualities that would be most conducive to its purposes.

1724. In order to achieve this proportion and conduciveness the father looked at three things. First, the presidio had to have legitimate jurisdiction and power, derived from royal authority, for the sound military and political governance of the kingdom. Second, all the presidio, together with the commander and the soldiers, would have to be subject to the obedience and disposition of the superior of all the missionaries, and the visitor of all the missions of the Californias. Third, the said superior of the presidio and of all the missions would have, by reason of his religious appointment, legitimate authority and jurisdiction over those missions with all the appropriate faculties for the good discharge of his responsibility and office.

1725. Leaving aside what pertains to the second and third points for other chapters, we will now address the first, which pertains to the legitimate power and royal jurisdiction enjoyed by the presidio of the Californias. This was solicited by Father Juan María in his first request, and he obtained permission from Viceroy Conde de Galves [Galve], to enter the Californias with the appropriate faculties for the foundation and maintenance of the royal presidio in those lands.¹⁰ And although later Viceroy Duque de Alburquerque¹¹ tried to impede the use of some of those faculties, Father Juan María opposed him, pointing out that his [the viceroy's] objections were raised after his majesty had confirmed the faculties by cédula.¹² The cédula ordered that nothing was to be changed regarding the government that the Californias had had up to that time. Of the faculties conceded in the cédula, some pertain to the visitor of the Californias, who is the superior of the presidio there; others pertain to all the presidio with its corporal and soldiers; and finally some others pertain only to the captain. Various faculties were afterward augmented by the viceroys as circumstances warranted.

1726. The faculties that pertain to the superior of the presidio are the following: First, he can bring to the Californias any armed persons or soldiers whom he can pay and supply at his own expense. And although his majesty now pays the salaries of the soldiers and sailors of the Californias, the faculty that was conceded from the beginning, that is, to bring over more people at his own cost, has not been rescinded; this faculty has always been employed during Indian insurrections in order to contain them. Second, he can name the commander of his choice to govern the presidio; the commander should be a fully experienced and valorous man, of proven virtue and Christianity. Third, the superior can remove the commander when he fails in his duties and can name another in his place, giving an account to the viceroy about whom he is naming and submitting it

for his approval. In the case of removal, he will also give an account in order to expedite orders in the service of the king.

1727. From this last point is derived the fourth faculty, which is implicitly contained in the third. Although it is not explicitly mentioned in the dispatch from the viceroy, it is said to be contained in the former faculty just as a minor privilege is included in a major one and derived from it. It is certain according to the rule of Canon Law that whatever is conceded, when greater, also extends to whatever is lesser. *Ubi magnus conceditur, minus concessum esse videtur* ["Where a greater matter is granted, the lesser would seem also to be granted."] (see Ecc. parte tua: de Decimo X). This faculty states that the superior of the presidio may approve admission of soldiers. Likewise, he has the power to remove men from their posts and dismiss them when they do not fulfill their duties. Fifth, the superior of the presidio can conscript people into service and hoist the colors whenever necessary for the good beginning and progress of the conquest. Sixth, for the sake of peace, observance, and good governance of all people in the Californias, the superior of the presidio can name persons to administer justice to whom everyone owes obedience and who can restrain the disobedient with just punishment.

1728. The faculties and privileges that apply to the soldiers of the presidio with respect to their captain are the following: First, the soldiers who came during the conquest and all the rest, including those who may be assigned to the Californias in the future, are subject to the commander whom the fathers may name for the presidio. They enjoy all the rights and privileges that his majesty has conceded to all the rest of the commanders and soldiers in the royal armies. Second, their services shall be considered to be the same as in actual war, just as has been conceded to the soldiers of Parral and the other presidios of this kingdom.¹³ Third, inasmuch as his majesty now pays the allowances of the California soldiers, these salaries will not be regulated according to the rates of the presidio of Veracruz but according to those paid to the presidios of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya, which receive larger salaries because of the greater distance at which [the soldiers] live.¹⁴ And the salaries of the sailors shall be regulated by those that are earned by the sailors of Acapulco and not by those of the Armada of Barlovento.¹⁵ Fourth, the certificates of military service that the soldiers carry, which are signed by the superior of the presidio, will be given full credit just as if they were confirmed by any authentic justice subject to the Real Audiencia of Guadalajara and higher government.

1729. Finally the rights and privileges that apply to the captain of the presidio as adjuncts to his office and distinct from those that have been given to the soldiers are the following: First, he will act as the *justicia mayor* for all the land of the Californias.

Second, he will be the judge of the soldiers not only in military matters, but also in political, civil, and criminal matters. Third, just as he will be the judge, he will be the governor of all the other people who live in the Californias, such as sailors and servants of the presidio or missions, as well as all the Indians. He ought to know about all litigation from its inception through sentencing and execution. Fourth, he will be the captain general not only of the land, but of the sea and the coasts of the Californias. For this reason the principal ship of the presidio will have the title of *Capitana*. As such, this vessel, flying its proper flags, will be able to enter into all ports; these flags will have to be furled only on entering the port of Acapulco where the ship of the Philippines is harbored. Fifth, [the captain] will supervise, in a manner we will describe, everyone who goes to the Californias to dive for pearls.

CHAPTER THREE

Concerning the superior of the presidio and the faculties he enjoys as a religious.

1730. From discussing the presidio, its commander, and its soldiers, let us go on to talk about the superior upon whom they depend and to whom they are subject. This is the father visitor of the missions and the superior of all the missionaries of the Californias. The office of the superior of the presidio for twenty years has been attached to the missionary at Loreto, which is the first mission that was founded and the one where Father Juan María Salvatierra resided the entire time.¹⁶ It was very convenient that this priest have charge of that office because it was he who at the cost of so many toils, labors, contradictions, and troubles finally embarked on the conquest of that land which according to human judgment was unconquerable. Because of his extensive experience, there was no one better qualified than that father who was able to apply energy to the arduous tasks that always present themselves in the beginning. Those tasks could not be managed solely through a speculative sense; rather, they required a practical one that comes only from experience—and this Father Juan María had.

1731. Another reason must be added to this one, [a reason] rooted in the preservation of the conquest. This relates to the alms that were given by benefactors to pay for presidial soldiers without whose escort no attempts at discovery could have been made. Just as it is necessary to bear the expense of the ships and to maintain people at sea, so too it is necessary to provision the missionary fathers and the soldiers of the presidio. These alms were given out of respect and veneration for Father Juan María, and they depended on a continual solicitation, which he maintained by correspondence with everyone. In it he recounted the needs of that conquest, and he asked for assistance with holy and discreet witticisms through which he stole their hearts. It was fortunate that this father was charged with the office of superior of the presidio and that he was

the one who managed all the affairs of the Californias—so well that he was able to secure real estate and sufficient funds for the preservation of that conquest.

1732. After the Lord saw fit to take his aged, meritorious, faithful servant to himself (he died in July 1717),¹⁷ the superiors of the province decided that the office of the superior of the presidio would not always be attached to that of the missionary of Loreto, but rather to whoever was named as superior and visitor of all the missions. And so, after the death of Father Juan María, Father Juan de Ugarte, the missionary of San Pablo, was named visitor.¹⁸ And since that time at each triennium a different visitor has been named for those missions by the province. He retains the office and powers of superior of the presidio for three years.

1733. In addition to this reason for alternating the office of visitor, there are three other very prudent ones. First, the need for benefactors, upon whom Father Juan María had so depended, had now ceased because such generous alms for the missions were given in his memory. After [the father's] death, his majesty began to pay the costs of the soldiers of the presidio. Likewise the king also paid for the sailors and some costs of shipping. Together with this aid, earnings from the mission properties added security because formerly they were used to pay for the salaries of soldiers and sailors. These earnings had never been sufficient, so the alms of benefactors whom Father Juan María had contacted were added. Meanwhile, the missionaries remained at their labors cultivating the land, and the missionaries on the other shore contributed to almsgiving.

1734. Second, other missions continued to be founded in the north and the south, and they were compelled to provide for the visitor, who was superior of all the missionaries, just as the other missions had to. This office was changed every three years; it would not be fitting to have a perpetual visitor. Because this is a three-year term, it ought to be held by different missionaries in the Californias, who should be named by obedience according to the merits and experience of each one. For this reason, the office cannot always be tied to that of the missionary of Loreto. Third, if one wanted to separate the offices, and if the missionary of Loreto remained superior of the presidio, and if the father visitor were only the superior of the missionaries, then it would follow that there would have to be two heads, each independent of the other, which would lead to jurisdictional disputes and other grave inconveniences. To avoid this, it was thought better that all governance—military, civil, ecclesiastical, and religious—be under one hand, one head, and one superior who would govern all.

1735. For the universal good governance of that land the superior of the Californias not only has the faculties he needs for secular government of the presidio and the people in the land, as we have seen in the last chapter, but he also has those faculties that the

order has been able to confer on him as superior of the missionaries. Father Juan María was not satisfied with seeking only the former faculties that deal with the secular arm, but he also procured the latter ones on behalf of the order—all of which he judged fitting so that the superior of those missions could exercise his office with complete freedom and authority, without difficulties or frustrations that might arise on the part of the domestic government of the Order.

1736. To acquire these faculties he wrote to our Father General Tirso González from the start of this conquest, informing him of the beginnings, the progress, and the present situation of it, and asking for three faculties for the superior of the missions of the Californias that he judged necessary at the time. Father General, acknowledging the accomplishments of that enterprise, graciously conceded all three. First, the visitor of the Californias might send any subject back to the missions of the mainland whenever he judged it fitting to send him or when he was ill, disheartened, or for any other just motive. Second, the province could designate a subject to his satisfaction to administer the haciendas of the Californias as their procurator in Mexico. Third, the said visitor could send any of his subordinates anywhere to engage in the business and undertakings of the missions.

1737. These same faculties were confirmed by Father General Miguel Angel Tamburini shortly after his taking office in response to a petition of Father Juan María.¹⁹ Moreover, he conceded another six faculties as follows: First, the procurators and administrators of the haciendas of the Californias would be under the direct supervision of the visitor of the Californias. Second, the father provincial alone could intervene in the inspection of accounts that were the responsibility of the procurator of the Californias. Third, the visitor of the Californias, as the immediate superior, could grant permission for all purchases and sales that might arise concerning the Californias. Fourth, the visitor, if he wished and judged it fitting, could come every three years to the province to inspect books, to go carefully over the accounts, and arrange whatever matters were fitting. Fifth, if any subject sent by the visitor were to come to Mexico to engage in business dealings concerning the Californias, he could exercise the office of procurator while staying there, as the one who was most knowledgeable about those missions. Sixth, the father provincial might not take into his charge, or that of the procurator of the province, responsibility for any property of the Californias.

1738. These are the principal faculties that are held by the visitor of the Californias as far as the Order is concerned. These faculties, together with those that deal with the presidio of soldiers, have been practiced without prejudice from the beginning until now; no one has ever complained about them or opposed them, because they are so

important for the spiritual and temporal welfare of those missions. Even though the fourth faculty, whereby the visitor can come to the province, has not been used because of the great distance involved and other inconveniences, it still remains in effect for whenever the visitor might judge it necessary to use it. In regard to the sixth faculty, as Father Juan María testified, it was the will of the founders that the missions' real estate would be administered by a separate procurator because any practice to the contrary would result in damage to and the ruin of the missions.

CHAPTER FOUR

Reasons for maintaining the presidio under the supervision of the father visitor of the Californias.

1739. As Saint Thomas says, those means that are efficacious and appropriate to achieve some end serve also to conserve it and to insure its stability. *Idem est, per quod aliquid conservatur in fine, et per quod movetur ad finem* ["A thing is maintained in the end and moved towards the end by one and the same cause."] (1.2,q.93, art. 6, ad 3).²⁰ We should say the same with regard to the present conquest of the Californias so that it will remain stable and secure, thus assuring the joyous progress of that Christianity. So will it be, as long as those same means continue to advance the conquest. To abandon them or change them, however, would be the ruin of that Christianity because all their effect would cease, and it would be destroyed. As the philosophers say: remove the cause, lose the effect: *Remota causa, removetur effectus* (*Summa* part 1, q. 76 art. 2, in 2).²¹

1740. The conquest of the Californias was achieved with two kinds of means, one spiritual and the other temporal. The spiritual ones are those employed by the missionary fathers in their apostolic ministries, accompanied by all religious virtues. We pray to God that they never fail, as long as the Society of Jesus is preserved in the purity of its institute. The temporal means can be reduced principally to two: First, which has been done from the beginning, to assure the necessary sustenance of the missionaries through ample properties that can provide all that is needed. No mission has ever been established without first securing its farm with 10,000 pesos.²² The second has been to establish a sound, Christian government in the presidio because the security of the conquest and the control of the natives depends on it.

1741. In order to insure that the presidio would always be well governed, Father Juan María arranged that the presidio, its commander, and its soldiers would be subject to the father visitor of those missions. He has always been responsible for the admission or removal of men from their posts. With this arrangement the presidio achieved the conquest of that land, and it has preserved and advanced that conquest for more than

forty years. Without it all would be in ruins. So that we can clearly see the truth of this, we will discuss the reasons that Father Juan María put forth for having the presidio be subject to the authority and disposition of the father visitor of the missions, adding some others that also confirm this.

1742. Let us begin with Father Juan María's reasons, which reduce to six. These were expressed by him in an official *memorial* to Viceroy Duque de Albuquerque in May 1705.²³ Using the excuse of complying with a royal *cédula*, the viceroy attempted some innovations to the government of the Californias. He stripped the superior of the presidio of the powers he held over the commander and soldiers of the Californias. In the aforementioned *memorial* Father Juan María expressed the serious difficulties that would follow and the almost certain danger of completely losing the conquest. To demonstrate his point, he presented these six reasons, which we will examine here, so that it can be seen how the conquest was accomplished. Heretofore, the Californias had resisted the full power of the Catholic kings, the riches of talented men, and the valor of the most spirited soldiers—even more, the valor and experience of the conqueror of all New Spain, Hernando Cortés. The fact that the success of the conquest has lasted for so many years is due to the Society's having power over the presidio; if that power is taken from it, that whole kingdom will be lost.

1743. The first reason is based on the harshness of the terrain. It is so harsh, as we have seen in the preceding books, that each mission establishment has had to overcome innumerable difficulties throughout its entire history. These problems never would have been overcome if the commander and the soldiers had been independent of the control of the Society. So Father Juan María asserts, "/ know for a fact that if I had not had that power during these last eight years, no one would have penetrated into California. We would have spent more and more, and we would still be on the beach where we first landed. The commanders, out of fear of being removed, have mounted expeditions and made discoveries in response to the effective persuasion of the fathers, reinforced by their authority."

1744. The second reason is the great covetousness for pearls found in the human heart. If the soldiers were independent of the Society, the last thing they would do, as Father Juan María says in his report, would be to comply with their duty to assist in exploration, to defend the land, and to serve as escorts to the missionaries. This is confirmed by so many fruitless expeditions in the 180 years that others tried to conquer California. All failed. Why? Because everyone stayed on the beach and engaged in pearl diving until hunger and the lack of supplies drove them from the land. The soldiers tried the same thing at the start of this conquest, even though they were subject to the order

and disposition of the fathers. But Father Juan María asserted his full authority to curb and stop this disorder.

1745. The third reason grows out of the preceding one. The soldiers, in order to better succeed in the business of pearl diving, took advantage of the Indians who are skilled and knowledgeable; they assigned this work in diving to both pagan and newly converted Indians. And as greed never says "enough," they wanted always to add work to work and task to task. If the soldiers had already started to do this during the days of Father Juan María, even though they were subject to his order and control, what might they have done if they were completely independent? Then, partly to satisfy their greed and partly to please and obey those persons to whom they owed their positions and upon whom they depended for their continuance, they would always have the poor Indians occupied in this task. "But in such a case," said Father Juan María, "when there is forced labor, an uprising surely follows. And once the land is in rebellion, it will be lost; it will be impossible to redeem it with horses and soldiers because of its harshness."

1746. Then he goes on to say what amounts to the fourth reason: "The power over the presidio is conducive to the well-being and tranquillity of the Spanish soldiers. They live less discontentedly, soldiering in a land far away and across the seas, because they recognize that they have recourse to and help from the fathers or the superior, who has the power to remove the commander. They have the assurance that no unjust ill-treatment will be inflicted on them, though the land lends itself to ill-treatment and there are many temptations to envy to be overcome. Let me give an example: If an Indian attempts to sell a fine pearl to a friendly soldier and does not sell it to the captain, the captain might bear a grudge against the soldier and the Indian; or if the Spanish soldier is unhappy, he may become desperate and seriously angry, as has been seen on many occasions during the time of Don Isidro de Atondo, who was at the point of losing his life at the hands of the soldiers and sailors."

1747. This is confirmed by a situation that occurred while Father Juan María was provincial and was visiting the Californias. At that time Father Juan de Ugarte, who had been put in his [Salvatierra's] place, held the office of superior of the presidio. The captain had ordered the arrest of a soldier for certain reasons that Father Juan de Ugarte, having examined the case, considered unjust. So he ordered the captain to set the soldier free. In order to exempt himself from this order, [the captain] appealed to Father Juan María to allow him the freedom to exercise his authority. But Father Juan María, who was well informed about the true situation, commanded him to obey the superior; the soldier was immediately released. Father Juan María always exercised this

same power in favor of soldiers as well as foreign divers whenever he saw that they were being handled more strictly than they should have been.

1748. The fifth reason the father found was the need of overseas missions for many benefactors and supporters for their preservation. If the superior of the missions were stripped of his power over the presidio, they would withdraw their support. But he puts it better in his own words: "And I say likewise that the generosity of the vassals of our king and lord, which is confirmed by their alms and the confidence they have in their achieving success, would dwindle at the sight of the fathers' losing this power; they would be fearful that what they were doing with one hand would be undone by the other." Also the personal assistance from the Spanish people and from the Indian warriors from Nueva Vizcaya would be cut off. Three years ago the fathers of the Californias, the Indians, and the Spaniards were of a single accord; they left their lands in boats, some filled by one group and some by another. One launch was filled with Spaniards from Sinaloa who came to help us. The same was true of Indian warriors from the faithful Yaqui nation, who, very well armed, filled a sailboat, and when they disembarked at Loreto in California, they struck terror among the Indian tribes of the Californias.

1749. In this way, the Indians as well as the Spaniards, seeing they were not being treated as sons according to the manner of the fathers, could become disheartened and lose confidence in our support and affection. This can be one of the harms that a new conquest might suffer. It is well known that Don Isidro de Atondo was not only the admiral of the Californias, but he was captain of the presidio of Sinaloa and governor of the province. With all this authority, as well as numerous other powers from his excellency the viceroy, he was not able to obtain even one Indian volunteer from Sinaloa or Sonora. The few he took with him were guilty of serious crimes, and they were the cause of the first uprising that occurred on his expedition. I insist that all these stated motives look to the security of the land and to the strengthening of the Christian religion in it.

1750. This is the extent of Father Juan María's report. He adds, as a sixth reason, the merit the Society has and can claim in appealing to his Catholic majesty to maintain the faculty conceded from the beginning to the superior of the missions. This new kingdom was conquered for his majesty, and its numerous vassals were subjugated without any expense to the royal treasury. Previously there had been six expeditions made at the order and expense of the Catholic kings; the total expenditure was about 1,500,000 [pesos] with no results. It should not seem, either to the king or his royal ministers, excessive remuneration that the [superior] appoint or remove the commanders and

soldiers of the presidio when this is an indispensable means of maintaining what has already been conquered and of preserving so many vassals in obedience to his majesty.

1751. What about the great amount the Society has expended in this conquest, together with the accomplishments, works, and travails of its fathers, for whose respect and in response to whose many prayers the benefactors have continued to contribute? This [expense] has been so great that in the first eight years, at the time Father Juan María presented his *memorial*, the Society had already spent 225,000 pesos; not included in this amount are 58,000 pesos that were contributed by the six mission properties [*haciendas*].²⁴ During all this time not more than 18,000 pesos was received from the royal treasury—6,000 pesos over each of the last three years. If everything is calculated that was spent over the twelve years up to 1717, when his majesty began to pay the entire cost of the presidio and the sailors, it will be found that up to that time more than 600,000 pesos were spent, as was testified to in the junta that was held at the order of Viceroy Marqués de Valero.²⁵

1752. If we add to this amount 130,000 pesos, which represents the income from the thirteen mission properties, as well as the great amount that has been contributed over the last twenty years by the benefactors of the Californias and all the missionaries of Sinaloa and Sonora, we can say without exaggeration that the Society has spent more than 1,000,000 pesos so that those souls could be gained for Jesus Christ and that this kingdom might remain subject to the Crown of his Catholic majesty. It is worth noting that in the other missions his majesty pays the maintenance of the various presidios as well as the sustenance of all the missionaries. But in the Californias he supports only the soldiers because the missionaries are maintained by the properties of benefactors. Taking all this into consideration, who would judge it an excessive favor on the part of his majesty to grant to the Society superintendence and rule over the commanders and soldiers of the Californias, since this is a necessary means lest the conquest be lost?

CHAPTER FIVE

Other reasons that confirm the same position.

1753. Even with all that has been said in the previous chapter, not everything has been said that could be said about this matter. Here we will add still other reasons that will confirm and clarify that the authority which the Society exercises over the presidio of soldiers is an indispensable means to maintain the success, preservation, and growth of this conquest. Consequently, if the order and governance of this conquest should be altered from what it was in the beginning and has continued to be until now, the good progress would stop, and each day it would go from bad to worse, leading to its final

ruin. In order to establish these reasons, we will review four factors: first, our Catholic king; second, the soldiers of the presidio; third, the California Indians; and finally, the missionaries.

1754. Beginning with our Catholic king, there are two principal reasons which show that it would not be fitting to change the government that the Californias have had until now. One is the greater security of royal dominion over these lands, and the other is the avoidance of greater expenses to the royal treasury. Looking at the first reason, it is certain that as long as the fathers have power over the soldiers, his majesty's possession of this land and all its vassals will remain stable and secure. This is because dominion depends on the obedience vassals give to their king, especially when this dominion is not achieved by force of arms, but by the willing vassalage that is offered by those who accept their king and lord. The vassalage and obedience of the California Indians toward their king depends on the careful selection of the soldiers and the commander. These men must administer justice to the natives and govern them with prudence and Christian discretion. They must not oppress them with annoyances and unjust exactions, nor employ them in toils and exercises for [the soldiers'] own benefit, separating them from seeking their own sustenance in the mountains. And finally they must insure that all live with one another in peace, justice, and harmony.

1755. But in order to achieve all this the soldiers require restraint, which is found in their submission to the fathers. They know that unless they fulfill their obligations and obey the fathers in whatever they are ordered to do, they will be removed from their posts and exiled from the territory to which they were admitted on this condition. On the contrary, if they were not subject to the fathers, they would live as they desired without any fear, and they would use the Indians for their private interests. From here follow the annoyances, the demands, and the oppression that result from using Indians for personal service. As all of this exasperates the spirit, the Indians would revert finally to rebellions and tumults, throwing off the yoke of obedience in favor of their freedom.

1756. The second reason asserts that, with the subjection of the presidio to the fathers, his majesty avoids great expenses that the royal treasury would otherwise have to bear. If the presidio were not subject to the obedience of the fathers, his majesty would have to provide the presidio with a vessel sufficient to ship and transport the soldiers' equipment, requests, and supplies. And he would have to continually maintain a ship with the necessary crew and all its costs—careening, repairs, and furnishings. All of this amounts to many thousands of pesos, which would be a new burden on the royal treasury. Nor could the boat that the fathers now have for the service of the missions be appropriated for this purpose because the boat and its crew are now subject to the

disposition of the fathers. They send it several times a year to the missions on the other shore to solicit supplies or to the other ports of the missions of the Californias to transport whatever the missionaries need. In such a case [that the boat were appropriated] the missionaries would not be free to use their boat because the presidio commanders would want to have it at their disposal and command not only for transporting their supplies, but especially for diving, which has always been the naked manifestation of their greed.

1757. What, then, shall we say about the missionary fathers? Either they have their own boat, which his majesty has permitted them and without which they cannot journey to regions overseas, or they will have to abide by submission and servitude to the boat that would serve the presidios. If they are to have their own boat, as they do now, it will be necessary that his majesty maintain another vessel separately for the presidios; but this would increase the expenses of the royal treasury too much. If they are to be subjects and provide for themselves with the presidio's boat, it would be a harsh servitude to which to condemn them, being always dependent on the whim and will of the commanders who, independent of the jurisdiction of the fathers, would do just as they wanted regardless of how many orders and instructions they had from the viceroys. Very serious difficulties would arise from all of this, to the harm and detriment of the missions.

1758. From here let us pass on to the second factor, the soldiers. Here we will find two more reasons that are no less compelling than the last ones. One is temporal and related to their salaries, which would be significantly affected. The other is spiritual and has to do with their souls, which would be more greatly harmed. As far as their salaries are concerned, it is certain that if the presidio were not subject to the fathers, the soldiers would receive less pay than they do now. The reason is that in such matters it is not fitting for the fathers to take charge of the payroll or the administration of presidial salaries due to serious improprieties that could arise from doing this. Thus it would be necessary for the commanders to appoint at least three commissioners to handle accounts: one in Mexico, another in Matanchel, and another on the coast of the missions for the receipt and administration of the payroll and purchases, for the dispatch of official communications, and for shipments of corn, flour, meat, and other supplies to the Californias.

1759. From this it follows that, as no *encomendero* will want to serve without pay, it would be necessary to pay the legitimate salaries of the commission as well as costs of the collection of duties and the administration of the payroll. All of this would be subtracted from the salaries of the soldiers and sailors. Thus, they would receive less

money than they now receive. At present, the procurator of the Californias administers the payroll, and he sends on to everyone whatever is theirs, reducing the sum only by the precise amounts charged for transport and shipping. The point will be reached, as has already happened many times, that the commissioners will buy items at low prices and send them on at inflated values. Thus, the soldiers would receive less because the commissioners will have profited instead, insisting that it is only the fruits of their labor. What can we say? If the commanders engage in marketing all those goods that serve the soldiers and sell them there at very high prices, we ask—at the expense of whose salaries? It is undeniable that the soldiers will suffer a notable loss.

1760. But this is the least of the problems because it results only in damage to the body. Their souls will suffer a worse fate, and this brings up the second reason relating to the soldiers. Now, with their submission to the fathers, the soldiers are restrained against many military excesses that would easily happen if they were independent. At present the fathers teach them through sermons and frequent discussions. They insist on frequent communion, attendance at Mass, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and the recitation of the holy rosary. They keep the soldiers from wildly pursuing those excesses that are common to the military in other places. Presently, all this is achieved through the soldiers' dependence on the fathers and the fear they have of losing their posts for not living Christian lives. But none of this could be accomplished if the soldiers were not at the disposition of the fathers, as can easily be seen when [the California presidios are] contrasted to the license and lack of military discipline in other presidios.

1761. The third factor involves the Indians of the Californias and suggests two reasons regarding the same matter. One is the many setbacks that will be experienced by the California Indians because of the poor civil and political government they will have. The other is the spiritual ruin that it will cause to their souls through scandal and bad example. Let us examine first one and then the other. All good governance consists in prudent direction, which is achieved through proper means by leading the governed to the desired goal that they ought to attain—which is the common good. Thus Saint Thomas teaches: *Gubernatio nihil aliud est, quam directio gubernatorum ad finem, qui est aliquod bonum.* ["Governance is nothing more than directing the governed to an end which is some good."] (1, q. 103, art. 3).²⁶ The right and proper end that Californians should seek, as vassals of their earthly king, is obedience and loyalty to their majesty through the observance of laws and ordinances that all look toward the common good. The goal they should seek as vassals of Jesus Christ is to be good Christians, to serve God, to love him, and to keep his commandments in order to attain eternal life. But these two ends can be frustrated by poor government and the even worse examples of free and independent soldiers.

1762. Later we will discuss the presuppositions underlying the first reason, which is that the soldiers who assist the missions act as lieutenants and agents of the presidial commander in all executions of justice. Although the father visitor now appoints all officials and governors in all the *rancherías*, the commander of the presidio confers jurisdiction on them. However, if the presidio were independent, the father visitor would have no part in these affairs. It would then follow that the soldiers, as well as the governors of the pueblos, would be subject only to the captain and not to the fathers. Neither the power of appointment nor removal nor punishment [would fall to anyone but the captain]. Consequently the political governance of the Indians would go as the captain and the soldiers wanted and not according to the dictates of reason nor the needs of a people so new in the faith and so new to a political life that they never knew before.

1763. But how can the governance of those people proceed when the governors consider only their own avarice? They are merely concerned with satisfying those upon whom they depend for appointment and continuance in their posts. All this is to say that everything will go badly without a principal goal, which ought to consist in the governing of Indians, and the appropriate means to that goal. In such a situation warnings and admonitions of the fathers will be of no avail in avoiding disorder among the soldiers. Independent of the fathers, they will pay no heed. Nor will appealing to the commander of the presidio be of any help because, being no longer dependent on the fathers himself, he would rather aid and abet the soldiers than judge them for their excesses in order to have them on his side. To seek recourse from Mexico City, so far away and separated by the sea, to inform the viceroy about what may be happening and to seek a remedy would result in a never-ending process. Nothing would get done. And while some resolution was being sought, the land could be lost or at least suffer irreparable damage.

1764. What shall we say with respect to the second point about the harm done to these Indians by the bad example of the soldiers? This says it all: Although these soldiers have been subject to the fathers up till now, they have had much reason to be ashamed, corrected, and made to amend their ways. The soldiers who assist in the missions are the fathers' greatest cross. What would happen if these soldiers were subject to no one? This needs little discussion to know the answer. It is apparent and morally certain that independent soldiers would then be the spiritual ruin of this new conversion because of their evil lives and perverse example. This is all that can be expected from the free and licentious lifestyle that soldiers are wont to live in other places. Even more, if one thinks about it, if the soldiers are not chosen and approved by the fathers, as is now the case, this duty will fall to the captain as an agent of the viceroy. Sometimes outlaws and

evildoers are sent from the prisons, as happens in the case of other presidios; they would be pressed into the king's service with no pay in the presidios of the Californias. What will such men do among new Christians? There is no need to explain since they are outlaws pressed into service.

1765. Let us conclude with two more reasons that are founded on the fourth point regarding the missionary fathers. First, they will not be able freely to order expeditions and discoveries for this conquest; second, the fathers will always be in danger of suffering infinite frustrations and griefs brought on by those same soldiers. With regard to the expeditions, it is certain that without the submission of the soldiers to the fathers the conquest of the Californias would never have come to pass—as Father Juan María says in his *memorial*, which we have discussed above in the first reason. It is also certain that even though they are subject to the fathers, it has been necessary to employ those means dictated by charity, prudence, and justice to accomplish what has been done in all the missions because of the reluctance of the soldiers to engage in the heavy labors demanded by the discovery of new lands and the foundation of new missions, especially when roads have to be opened in the rough mountain terrain. For this reason some soldiers were dismissed in the beginning, and others quit their posts before being dismissed. Finally, others wrote the viceroy that the fathers and one commander were inconsiderate men who engaged in the impossible and put the soldiers in clear risk of their lives.

1766. It can be inferred from this how the soldiers will react in the future to all military expeditions that will arise in new discoveries to the north if they should be excused from obedience to and the jurisdiction of the fathers, since the soldiers showed such unwillingness whenever they were subject to them. How can the missionaries make new discoveries and establish new missions if, whenever difficulties and hard labors are encountered, the soldiers oppose them, the captains resist them, and the necessary escorts are denied? These men would say that they had instructions and orders from the viceroy and that it is not in the king's service to engage in impossible ventures. They would say that it pertained to them as to governors of the land to organize expeditions when and how they wanted. They would say that for this reason they should not be subject to the inconsiderate resolves of the fathers cloaked as spiritual zeal. The commanders and soldiers will say this and much more; recourse to the viceroy, whom these men would ply with sinister *informes*, dictated out of passion, would be ineffective because of the distance.

1767. Who can say what infinite troubles and griefs would endanger the missionaries who, regardless, must deal with uncontrollable people who wish to rule everything and

to whom they cannot give orders? As we will show later, it is necessary that one or two soldiers assist at each mission. How will the priests tolerate their presence if even now with the soldiers as subjects they can hardly bear them? It is constantly necessary to rotate the soldiers to alleviate the burden of their work. But all of this is seen as very far off from here, and more so from the courts where calumnies and sinister accusations are much more easily registered as expressions in the name of the king's service than are manifestations of the greater service of God sealed and marked with the character of zeal for souls. But even in this matter the servants of the Lord bear the honorable character of being blessed when they are persecuted for truth and for justice. *Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.* ["Blessed are those who suffer persecution on account of justice because theirs is the kingdom of heaven."] (Matt. 5:10).

CHAPTER SIX

Concerning the procurator of the presidio of the Californias.

1768. Although the superior of the presidio for many years has handled the administration of the payroll of the soldiers and sailors and everything else that involves their government and maintenance, time showed that it was impossible for him alone to attend to the governance and administration of the presidio. We have already reviewed the reasons that Father Juan María set down during the twenty years of his administration. Following his holy death, the responsibilities of visitor and superior of the presidio no longer were attached to the missionary of Loreto, but to one who held this position as visitor of all the missions for three years. This arrangement continued in practice for ten years, but experience showed that the superior of the presidio, who was also the visitor of all the missions, needed some help if he were not to fail in his duty.

1769. After Father Provincial Andrés Nieto was informed of the tremendous work and weighty responsibilities that fell on the visitor of the Californias, he decided to alleviate some of the burden.²⁷ He realized that the visitor was performing three jobs at once—all difficult and demanding. One was being the missionary to his own particular mission, which demanded that he be continuously involved in the instruction, assistance, and ministry of the faithful. Another was being the superior of the presidio, which required him to care for its maintenance, to regulate its good governance, to dispatch and receive the ships, to distribute shipments, and to spend hours writing reports, together with all the other tasks attached to his job. All this required that the person in charge be almost always at Loreto so that he could attend to the proper governance of the presidio and the welfare of the soldiers. If his mission was quite a distance away, this assistance and care was incompatible with what he was expected to do at his own mission. The third

responsibility he had was being the visitor of all the missions and superior of all the missionaries, which obligated him not only to proper governance and good guidance of his subjects, but also to visit all the missions by traveling throughout the territory, which extends for almost 300 leagues. While he was on these journeys, it was not possible for him to give the prompt attention that good governance of the presidio required.

1770. Taking these difficulties into account, the father provincial decided to name a priest to serve as the procurator of the presidio of Loreto; this would be the same missionary who resided there, except for those times when it might seem better to appoint a different subject for this job so that one or the other might attend to all the necessary tasks pertaining to the good governance of the presidio and the prompt dispatch of the boats. With the creation of this new office in 1728 the father visitor of the missions was relieved of the previously bothersome, continual care of the presidio. But the presidio did not become exempt from his jurisdiction because of this; it remained under his command as before. The father visitor continued to enjoy all the faculties he had before, whether pertaining to the soldiers and their commander or to the political governance of all the inhabitants of the Californias. The creation of this new office only alleviated him of the work, not his power and jurisdiction.

1771. But when the moment came to put the various powers of the new procurator of the presidio into effect, some doubts arose about their implementation and extent. So the fathers approached the visitor general of all the missions, Father Joseph de Echeverría, in 1730 after he finished visiting the missions of the Californias.²⁸ Having presented their doubts and the difficulties that could arise in the execution of the new office, the fathers appealed to him to clarify and resolve them. This he did. A meeting of the three oldest missionaries was called at the mission of San Pablo. These were Fathers Juan de Ugarte, Julián de Mayorga, and Clemente Guillén, who had all been founders of their missions.²⁹ The father visitor asked them to propose all the difficulties that might occur. Having examined and conferred on all the issues that were involved, the visitor general, using the powers he was given by the father provincial, with the opinions and approval of the three consultants, decided on May 20, 1730, to declare, order, and establish the following points:

1772. First, the father who is or will be the visitor of the Californias, as it has been from the beginning of their reduction until the present, is the superior of the presidio and will continue to be so without any loss of authority or faculties. Wherefore, the captain, officers and soldiers, the boatswains, yeomen, and sailors remain subject to his orders in the same way as before.

Second, whoever is or will be the procurator of the presidio is completely subject to the father visitor, as is any other father or brother who resides in the Californias, not only in that which concerns the mission, if he should happen to be (as it is today) the missionary of Loreto, but also in everything that pertains to the office of procurator of the presidio—i.e., payroll, boats, and sailors—in the same manner that any procurator of a *colegio* of ours is subject to the rector and the provincial. In this regard whoever is the rector at the mission of Loreto will be the immediate superior of the aforementioned procurator.

Third, whoever holds the office of procurator will attend to the good governance of the presidio with the closeness it demands. He can dismiss or accept soldiers as it may seem fit to him and as necessity requires, and do likewise with the sailors and the people who serve on the boats, even without notifying the father visitor. However, when his reverence is in Loreto, then common courtesy demands that no soldier be admitted or dismissed without notice to his reverence.

Fourth, the selection of a captain, *alférez*, and squad leader will be the sole act of the father visitor, who will first consult the fathers, never excluding him who is the procurator of the presidio. He will choose as captain only the most meritorious man, and he will ask that the viceroy confirm the appointment.

Fifth, planning for necessary provisions to maintain the soldiers and the seamen will fall to the care of the procurator. Likewise, he will care for the equipment that is necessary to fully outfit the boats, which must always be ready to transport supplies and shipments on request. This obligation is not in effect during the months of August and September, which are very dangerous in these seas—unless there is some grave necessity.

Sixth, the father procurator will manage the accounts of the captain, soldiers, boatswains, and seamen. He will pay their salaries and wages in the accustomed way and will not contract more personnel than necessary, nor will he pay out wages to useless people, avoiding whenever possible any expenses that can be avoided.

Seventh, the procurator will not engage in any important matter nor incur extraordinary expense—such as the dismantling of a boat or the building of another or the laying of a new keel—without consulting the father visitor. In these affairs he will not follow merely the advice of the boatswains and sailors, but he will take into consideration the advice of the most knowledgeable persons in the realm, who will recognize the condition of the boats. He will zealously seek with all vigilance to make the boats last

because they are very difficult to acquire and because without them this Christianity could never survive.

Eighth, when it happens that a boat is lost, he will make as authentic a report on the occurrence as circumstances allow. He will not write the viceroy asking for a replacement without having the request accompanied by that report nor without having sought out the advice and consent of the visitor. If a boat is lost through the fault of the boatswain or the seamen, the captain of the presidio will take action against the guilty parties without allowing the procurator or anyone else, on the pretext of charity, to intervene in the deliberations that justice demands.

Ninth, since recourse to the father visitor will not always be easy, bad results could follow from the detention of soldiers, sailors, or others who are dismissed; certificates of service, which before could be given only by the superior, can now be given by the father procurator when the superior is absent.

Tenth, the father visitor of the missions of the Californias has full authority from the viceroys to appoint the captain, the officers of the presidio, and those persons who administer justice. But these persons should only execute justice in those instances when the captain is not able to be the judge, or in places where he cannot be personally present. Thus those occasions that might cause jurisdictional conflicts and unpleasanties should be avoided.

1773. These are the principal regulations that the procurator of the presidio ought to follow and can exercise, as established by Father Visitor Joseph de Echeverría on his visit to the Californias. On the one hand, all of them are directed toward relieving the father visitor so that he need not be concerned with the immediate governance of the presidio and the administration of temporal affairs. The jurisdiction and command over the presidio are, however, left to him, just as they were conceded from the beginning. On the other hand, these regulations were enacted in order to attend promptly to the governance of the presidio and to the management of temporal affairs, which the missionary of Loreto can accomplish better than the other fathers because of his proximity. Because of his habitual residence there, he can discharge the offices of the procurator without impairing his duties as a missionary, just as Father Juan María did for twenty years when he resided at that mission.

[Paragraphs 1774 through 1784 have been omitted.]

CHAPTER EIGHT

Concerning the governing of the presidio, the distribution of soldiers, and the activities carried out in the missions.

1785. We will now move on to relate what is observed in the governing of the presidio and of the soldiers, their distribution in the missions, and the occupations in which they are involved. First, we will examine what happens to the soldiers on entering and leaving the Californias when, either by renouncing their post or by their legitimate expulsion, they go to the other shore. It is certain that if it were left to the discretion of the fathers only the best soldiers that could be found on the mainland would be admitted to the Californias. But scarcity, distance, and the forlorn character of that land obliges them at times to accept men who would not be accepted under other circumstances. Venerable Father Juan María Salvatierra was of this opinion; even in calamitous times when he did not have the means to provide for the sustenance of the presidio, he proceeded to dismiss soldiers. He never wanted to replace them with villainous men nor with exiled criminals. The fiscal of the Audiencia of Guadalajara wrote to [Salvatierra] that, if he wanted, [the fiscal] would negotiate with the Real Audiencia to send exiles from the jails to serve without pay in the Californias for their crimes.³⁰ Father Juan María, after acknowledging his kindness, replied that it would not be advisable to admit such men because villainous and perverse people usually cause more harm than good; he felt it was less harmful to go undefended than to be poorly defended by such evil men.

1786. The subsequent superiors of the Californias have held the same opinion. They have not wanted to accept as soldiers any fugitives, exiled criminals, or outlaws, nor have they wanted to admit villainous people who were released from jail and forced to serve in the presidios. The superiors have admitted only those who have been summoned or who have spontaneously offered themselves when there has been a shortage of men in the presidio. Even though royal ordinance prohibits enlisting or admitting any non-Spaniard to serve as a soldier, the lack of soldiers in these remote regions and the sheer impracticality of raising enlistments in New Spain makes full compliance with this ordinance impossible. Hence it is necessary at times to accept mulattoes, *mestizos*, and other people of mixed color. Because it is only just that there be a distinction between them and legitimate Spaniards, they are advised when they enlist that they will earn only half wages. This is the understanding for the enlistees' first two years; if they do well, and if they are judged necessary and useful in the region after completing two years of experience, they are granted their full salary. With this policy, the fathers have found it useful to be able to increase the number of posts in the presidio by paying these half salaries. Now it is customary to have more soldiers in the presidio than are paid for by the king.

1787. It is presumed in the aforementioned prerequisites for the selection and enlistment of the soldiers that when any of them come to serve in the presidio for the first time, they are read the orders that were granted the superior of the missions so that they will understand the submission they owe him, the obedience they must render to the captain, and finally the privileges they enjoy as soldiers serving in the Californias. Then, the ordinances that the fathers visitor have set down for the good governance of the soldiers are explained to them. The most significant are the following: they may not engage in pearl diving, although they are not prohibited from buying [pearls] from the Indians; they are not to mistreat the Indians nor give them bad examples. If they have been married on the mainland, they are not to leave their wives behind but are to bring them, unless they have been legally divorced. If they have children, [the children] are to be sent to the school at Loreto where they can learn to read and write, and [the soldiers] are to pay a just wage to the schoolteacher. Every soldier, in addition to his arms, must maintain two horses of his own, which are to be sold to another soldier in the event he leaves. Each soldier shall take his turn in caring for the horses of all, in conformity to what the captain indicates. They must report promptly for all military expeditions when occasion arises or when so ordered. Those soldiers who are assigned as escorts in the missions must remain obedient to the missionary fathers and perform whatever is ordered according to the custom and need of each mission. Those who are assigned to the presidio must be prompt in fulfilling the military discipline that is followed there. Finally, they are to live there in a Christian manner, maintaining union among themselves in mutual peace and harmony.

1788. The fathers are careful to instruct the new soldiers about other policies similar to these so they can fulfill their military obligations as well as their Christian ones. To this purpose those who live in the presidio are to be given spiritual instruction in Castilian apart from that given in the native language. Care is taken that they keep a Christian schedule, i.e., that they hear Mass each day with proper attention and reverence, that they recite the rosary of Mary most holy in unison and with devotion, and at the end of the rosary, her litany. After this recitation on Saturdays they hear a talk on some aspect of devotion to the Virgin, exhorting them to live as Christians and to frequent the sacraments on the feasts of the year.

1789. The military schedule of the presidio is kept exactly as in all other well-regulated presidios. The captain sees to the punishment of any who fail in their duty. If it should happen that some do not want to perform their duties, whether military or Christian, and they do not respond to threats, reprimands, or punishment to correct their errors, then the ultimate action is taken to dismiss them; the same is done with the sailors. Passage to the mainland is provided in the boats to anyone who leaves the region,

whether by expulsion or by resignation. All must carry with them certificates of military service signed by the superior of the presidio, or in his absence, by the father procurator who lives in Loreto.

1790. The fathers will take care in the preparation of these certificates to give due credit and to recommend those soldiers who have served well and who leave because they have resigned their posts. But in the case of those who are dismissed, the fathers will charitably give credit where it is due and preserve [the soldiers'] good name by concealing whatever might harm their reputations. The fathers will prepare the certificates with general words that are sufficient to recommend [these men] as soldiers who are obedient to their captain and punctual in their presidial service and on military expeditions without mentioning that they were dismissed. Furthermore, the fathers sometimes have to be careful in wording a resignation in order to keep certain faults secret, so that the soldier's honor can be saved.

1791. Concerning the soldiers' daily schedule, care is always taken that the majority serve at the *real* of Loreto so that they can leave from there on the necessary patrols and operations. The rest of the soldiers are divided among the missions in this way: when a new mission is established, six or eight soldiers accompany the missionary for some months, and with the aid of the Indians they build the church, house, and necessary facilities. In the missions already founded on the frontier of the pagans, two and occasionally three soldiers ordinarily will be on duty, according to need or because of some danger that threatens. But where that danger has passed, as in the oldest missions, ordinarily only one soldier is on duty to accompany the missionary. Although Father Provincial Joseph de Arajó [Arjó]³¹ permitted the older missions to excuse the soldier escort when there was no danger of an uprising, in order to increase the number of soldiers at the presidio, this has been difficult to do because of the extreme needs that exist, and so the policy of stationing one soldier at each mission has continued.

1792. The fundamental reason for this practice is that the soldier has to assist the father at certain times and the captain of the presidio at others. He assists the father in all household matters, in the care of the house, and in the provision of foods for those who are maintained at the mission headquarters. The father missionary is not always able to do all this because he is ordinarily absent hearing confessions of the sick, visiting rancherías, and performing other ministerial duties. To leave the house alone is merely to invite the Indians to steal the mission's provisions and supplies. Each day the house servants, the governor, the fiscal, the aged, the invalids, and the members of ranchería communities who have to come to the mission each week for catechism must be fed. It is necessary that someone look after the foodstuffs that have to be doled out—

atole, pozole, or cooked corn. Sometimes the soldier also has to aid the captain of the presidio in apprehending and punishing Indians in those cases that the father himself cannot handle and that are not serious enough to require an Indian to be sent to the commander of the presidio because of the distance.

1793. For these reasons and because of the current situation in the missions, it is necessary that there be a soldier at each mission. There are no other people there to depend on, nor are servants from the mainland permitted in California because of the various difficulties the fathers have experienced. Thus Father Visitor Joseph de Echeverría ordered that only in the case of new missions can a few servants from the mainland be permitted for a short time, so that they can teach the natives to work the land. Having accomplished this, they must return to the place from which they came, except those who have married Indian women in the region. This being the case, the soldiers' presence is necessary in the missions, and so that there will be no lack of men in the presidio, the fathers have followed the policy of increasing the number of posts by paying half salaries to non-Spaniards, as we have discussed above.

1794. Governing the soldiers in political and military matters belongs to the office of the captain of the presidio. He is the one who gives the orders about what they must do within or outside the presidio. He is the one who sends them out on expeditions for exploration, for war, or for the pacification of uprisings and rebellions. Finally, it is he who indicates who will be stationed at each mission. If any of these men are not suitable to the fathers because they do not fulfill their duties, the captain will recall them to serve at the presidio and will send others in their place—all this being subject to the father visitor as his superior. Although the father visitor customarily leaves the exercise of ordinary powers to the captain, if he sees that [the captain] is seriously failing in some duty, then he will caution him with gentle persuasion. But if this is not enough, he will use his absolute power. In this way it is assured that the governance of the soldiers, as also that of the Indians of the region, will proceed in total harmony with the law of God and the laws of soldiering and civility.

CHAPTER NINE

Rejoinders to the soldiers' complaints against the missionaries.

1795. No one can be a good judge of unfamiliar issues if one ear is wide open to accusations and quarrels while the other ear is closed to defenses and exonerations. This is what might happen in the present case concerning the soldiers of the Californias. If one listens to the soldiers complain about the fathers when the soldiers return to this kingdom, it might be easy to listen to the complaints but rash to give them credence.

Would it not be thoughtful and prudent at least to suspend judgment when there is no one who can come to the defense of unknown merits? It is true that many soldiers who have served in the Californias, after they have returned to their homeland, have given little credit to the great good they received from the fathers there. They have come to spread many complaints and calumnies against [the fathers] in the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, as well as in Guadalajara and Mexico, indeed throughout all New Spain. Although discreet and knowledgeable men do not pay any heed, nevertheless there are many indiscreet, rash, and credulous men who are quick to spread anything they hear having to do with the honor of others. It will be necessary to come to the defense of the missionaries and to show how much more the fathers should complain about the soldiers than the soldiers about the fathers.

1796. In order to speak with confidence and not to offend those good men, we will have to suppose two things. First, it cannot be denied that some good soldiers have served in the Californias; they were very Christian in their practices; very circumspect, industrious, and disciplined in their military duties; and thorough in the discharge of all that was entrusted to them. But these good men have been in the minority; and, as always in any crowd, the good are few in comparison to the bad. But we are not talking about the good here because they deserve only recommendation and praise for their laudable behavior and for their zeal and good intentions in applying themselves in the service of their king and in aiding the fathers in that conquest. We are only speaking of the majority and, more explicitly, about those who complain against the fathers. They are the ones who were unable or unwilling to suffer the yoke of military submission or the discipline of a Christian life with which the fathers wanted to restrain them. After they left the Californias, they vented their anger and resentment with ill-founded complaints and at times even with false accusations aimed at discrediting the fathers.

1797. Secondly, it must be supposed that the majority of those about whom we are speaking are the scum of the earth and the offal of the rabble. Although the fathers would like to choose the best that can be found for soldiers, because they are in an overseas region and so far removed from these kingdoms, they are forced by necessity to accept whoever chances along. One must realize that mulattoes, mestizos, *lobos*, *coyotes*, and the like—of whatever color and foul mix of blood—immediately reveal the lowliness of their station. One should consider that some of these persons are fugitives from New Spain or Nueva Galicia and that in order not to fall into the hands of justice for their crimes, they voluntarily exile themselves from their homelands and retire to the most remote of our missions. Furthermore, since they have not found a place for themselves there, nor protection, nor an occupation with which to support themselves, they enlist at the first opportunity as soldiers in the Californias.

1798. These men are the very ones who have complained against the fathers and whose complaints immediately expose their vile behavior. They embody the common adage that says: "Do you want to recognize a despicable person? Then give him some responsibility." To them there is no difference between being soldiers in the king's service in the Californias and manifesting their ordinary vile behavior. The soldiers are sent under orders from the viceroy issued on behalf of the superior of the presidio so that they will understand their duties as well as the military rights they enjoy as soldiers there. But these men, paying little attention to, and at times, even forgetting their duties, value and remember well the honorary and favorable aspects of their military privileges. In this way they become as haughty as if they were already great captains equal to no one. There have been soldiers who were so insolent and shameless that they have dared to tell the father whom they assist that there is no distinction between them except the cassock.

1799. The fathers have recognized that they must deal continuously with such people for the good of their flock. Whoever looks at these things from afar will think that the fathers are fortunate to have a soldier to help look after each mission, but ordinarily they don't have help, only torment. The saying of Saint Ignatius about the ten soldiers who took him prisoner to Rome is equally applicable to these men; that is, that he was bound by day, and at night he was in the company of ten leopards that became more bloody and cruel when he stroked them.³² These soldiers about whom we are talking reveal themselves like leopards; they are a fierce bunch—unruly, brutal, idiotic, ignorant and, above all, haughty. They think that any consideration the fathers show them is well deserved. They are given to wanton and dissolute conversations among themselves as soldiers, and since they are obliged to deal continuously with the fathers whom they assist, they find their modest, religious, and Christian conversation intolerable. On the contrary, what must the fathers think about being obliged to deal with such coarse, gross, and ill-bred people?

1800. To confirm all of this Father Juan María finally came to say that he had never encountered people more perverse or incorrigible. Even so, the soldiers are needed in those missions because the administration is so dispersed and the fathers ordinarily are absent performing their duties. Someone must care for the house, provide for temporal sustenance, and represent the captain of the presidio in those matters that cannot be delayed while seeking recourse from the presidio. It is true that Father Juan de Ugarte was reduced to living without soldiers at his mission, but he was able to do this because he had some Sinaloan Indians with him who cared for the house, the crops, and the cattle. To pay for their expenses he had the produce of the pueblo of San Miguel, as explained elsewhere.³³ Other missionaries cannot do this—some because they have

nothing with which to pay expenses, and others because, as mentioned, servants from the mainland are no longer permitted in the Californias. It so happens that the mission of Father Ugarte was the closest of all to the presidio, and it was thus easy to make up for the absence of a soldier by having recourse to the captain, but this is not the case with the other missions.

1801. Nevertheless, Father Ugarte, knowing the need for soldiers in our missions, used to say, applying to them a verse from Marcial: *Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te* ["I can't live with you, and I can't live without you"].³⁴ So it is with the missionary fathers—they can neither live with the soldiers nor without them. They cannot live with them because they are so obstinate and uncouth in their manners, and they cannot live without them because of the indispensable need for them at each mission. It is uncommon for any soldier to last a year at any mission. After a year the father is weary because of the soldier's carelessness, his scandals, or many other things that pertain to his duties. He finds himself obliged to write the captain to send another soldier and return the one he has to the presidio. But this is nothing more than exchanging troubles. Usually the one sent is worse than the one before, and sometimes a soldier who has just been removed from one mission for bad conduct is assigned to another. Since every soldier is a heavy burden to the father to whom he is assigned, each priest finds himself obliged to carry the burden that another found intolerable. Thus they follow the counsel of the apostle: *Alter alterius onera pórtate* ["Let each one carry the other's burden"].³⁵ Burdens are shifted, but nothing improves in the exchange. Only the spirit was benefited because the new soldier, once received, occasioned an exercise of charity: *Supportantes invicem in caritate* ["Support each other in turn through charity"].

1802. From what has been said, it can be inferred that if this happens now while all the presidio is subject to the superior, what would happen if it were independent? We have already weighed this before, and it is enough to note that in such a case a presidio in the Californias would not last long because the soldiers would mistreat the Indians to such an extent that they would rebel and kill the soldiers or they would throw them out of their land. And if this doesn't happen, then hunger will drive them out as it did before. At present, all provisions there depend on the industry and work of the fathers and on the providence by which they manage the ships and seamen. With this in mind Father Juan María wrote Señor Miranda: "If the expedition to and the conquest of the Californias had not been carried out as they were, and if Mary most holy, in the image of Our Lady of Loreto, had not been the conquistadora of that land, it would have been impossible for any royal arms, no matter how powerful, to conquer that kingdom."³⁶

CHAPTER TEN

Replies to particular complaints of the soldiers.

1803. But now let us direct ourselves specifically to shut the mouths of those quarrelsome soldiers whose complaints are quite baseless. We have already shown in the previous chapter who the complaining soldiers are and against whom they lodge their complaints. It is fitting to recall that they are wanton soldiers of low station—perverse, undisciplined, and incorrigible men. They gripe about the missionary fathers—priests, religious, and servants of Jesus Christ—who accept exile and abandonment in that land out of obedience, without help, and who are employed out of love of the Lord in procuring the salvation of souls. The reason for the quarrel is based on the opposition between a holy and religious life and the dissolute life of soldiering, and the opposition between the spiritual goals that apostolic zeal longs for and the temporal, earthly gain to which worldly greed aspires. Now we will examine in detail what the soldiers complain about and what they say against the fathers.

1804. First, they say that having enlisted as soldiers in the Californias, they are afterward obliged to work as cowhands. They say this because sometimes a soldier in a mission has to bring in a steer that will be slaughtered for eating; he also has to help in the roundup when cattle are branded. How wrong and baseless are their complaints? In the first place, the soldier is sent only if there is no servant at the mission who can do it. Nor does this happen everywhere, because in many missions the cattle are close by and within sight. Moreover, when the soldier goes out, he does not go alone but is accompanied by the mission Indians. This is properly the work of the Indians, and the soldier is there only to choose the steer and to direct them; this is not being a cowhand. If one considers the fact that the cow is brought in for the sustenance of the father and the soldier, how hard is it for the latter to do a few things to bring in food to eat? Or is it that he wants the priest to wait on him as a servant who brings meat for him to eat? That is placing oneself high above one's superior.

1805. What shall we say about branding? Here they have even less cause for complaint. When there are some animals that need to be branded, it is true that the soldier assists. But in what way? To watch and direct. If he likes it, it is fun because among field hands this serves as a great diversion. We see that they come willingly from all the cattle ranches in the surrounding area without having to be asked. They help at branding with no more reward than the enjoyment they get from doing it. Even if the soldier does not like it, he goes at least out of sheer curiosity; he may bulldog three or four calves for the exercise, and when he is tired, he goes home, leaving the hard work to the Indians. That is what these people call being cowhands in the missions. According to this norm we would also call the owners of haciendas cowhands when they go out to brand their

cattle, together with all those who go to the roundups for sport and entertainment. Let's continue to hear more complaints!

1806. Second, the soldiers maintain that in the missions they are the fathers' foremen. Why? Because they hold the keys to all the provisions the father has; it is their job to watch and distribute them. It will certainly be remembered that in Loreto, as in other well-ordered presidios, some soldiers are assigned as quartermasters who are in charge of attending to and distributing the provisions for everyone. In order to save one of these complainers part of the work that he had to do, one missionary father tried to put the greater part of the provisions in a separate room, leaving the soldier enough for ordinary consumption. Because the father kept the key the soldier was so hurt that he asked to leave the mission. Yet how would they feel if their keys were taken away and given to the Indians? This is the kind of foremanship about which they complain so much. In essence, it is nothing less than being the owners of everything the mission has and being able to dispose of it at will.

1807. Third, they complain that in the missions they are cooks rather than soldiers. They have no more basis for saying this than that they look after the ordinary provision of food, which they give each day to the cook who prepares and serves it. This meal is equally for the father as for the soldier. The soldier not only eats the same as the father, but all the provisions are in his hands, and he partakes of them at his own will for meals and snacks. In the first place he cannot be called a cook but a quartermaster, which post exists in all presidios. He has no reason to complain. In the second matter regarding going into the kitchen to prepare snacks that he eats outside the assigned time, this is done not by order of the father, but by his own choice. So let him complain about himself; he cooks according to his own fancy. If the father were to assume his duties and take away the keys to the storehouse, what would he say? Would he stop complaining? No, he would complain about just the opposite, claiming that the father was starving him to death and that he was taking over his job because there was no one there who could do the job better than the father. But this is characteristic of malcontents—to seek out every pretext for complaint.

1808. Fourth, they say that in the missions they are more galley floggers than soldiers because whenever an occasion presents itself they punish the Indians for their little thefts. The soldier is usually a good deal to blame because of his own carelessness about things in his charge. But it is certain that the soldier does not intervene in any way in anything that the Indians do at the order of the father or the governor of the pueblo. Those who have so complained ought to remember that in the presidios of Parras, Sinaloa, and Sonora, the soldiers are the ones who round up misguided Indians and go in

search of fugitives, which is a big job. They are not assigned this duty in the Californias because the father sends Indians to search for fugitives except when murder is involved. In that case it falls to the soldier, helped by the Indians, to hunt and apprehend the guilty party. This is not being a galley flogger or hangman either, but rather a minister of justice in the name of the captain from whom he has authority in such cases.

1809. Finally they say that in the Californias they are hardly even soldiers because they are only servants of the fathers and also the Indians. The only basis they have for this complaint is that they watch over the cooking of the corn that they eat and see that the atole that they drink is made for them. But this task is more suitable for Indians because the soldier only distributes it. He would not even be involved in doing this if he were smart enough to have an Indian do it. If a soldier is just present during the distribution, any Indian could do it well by following the soldier's orders. This is the real difficulty: at times the same one who complains about this work doesn't want to give it up or entrust it to another. When he distributes food by his own hand, he measures it out according to his own whims without fairness, favoring certain persons. He gives some more, others less, according to the dictates of his passion—love, hate, interest, or shame. The worst thing is that at times this is born of lustful inclinations.

1810. For this reason Fathers Juan María Salvatierra, Juan Ugarte, Francisco María Piccolo, and Pedro de Ugarte almost always took care to distribute the sustenance of the poor by their own hands in order to avoid unfairness and the harm that can result. This was possible at a time when the missions were closer together and there was less to do. Now it is no longer possible because of the extensiveness of each mission's ministry. Now the fathers spend the greater part of the day away from the house. Meanwhile, let those who complain state how this charitable ministry contradicts their military duties. Is the distribution of provisions to soldiers not practiced in all armies? Very much so. How much of what they are complaining about has been done by Indians who voluntarily help on expeditions against the enemy on the frontiers, or who, armed, accompany the soldiers on new discoveries, facing the same dangers?

1811. In addition to this they should remember that the conquest of the Californias has not been attained with the arms of an earthly army, but with the arms of the spirit. It is good to realize that the light of the word of God and the darts of his goodness did it. By doing good to poor, abandoned, and unfortunate people and by performing spiritual and corporal works of mercy they have allowed themselves to be conquered and won for Christ. All these effects are inherently maintained by the very causes that produced them in the first place, so it is necessary to say that the conquest of the Californias, which was achieved from the beginning through charitable efforts, will be preserved the

same way in the future. This is what it is to be a soldier in the Californias: to show compassion, together with the missionary fathers, for these new Christians in order to keep them subject to Christ and his holy law.

1812. For this reason among their privileges it was conceded that any service performed for the good of that conquest is considered of equal rank with the service that soldiers perform in actual combat for the king. Whatever the soldiers have done in the Californias—be it serving in the presidio, accompanying the missionary, building churches or houses, opening roads, guarding cattle, or distributing alms to the poor—all these his majesty has seen fit to reward as if they were services done in battle. All of this redounds to aid in the conquest. This is what it means to be a soldier in the Californias. The fathers perform works of spiritual mercy for the souls of those new Christians, and they perform corporal works for their bodies. Is it so much to ask a soldier to carry out a small part of those corporal works by giving food to the hungry? To state it more exactly, he is not giving away anything of his own, but rather distributing what the mission is giving to the poor, is he not?

1813. They should also consider a rule of law that states: *Scienti, et volenti non fit injuria* ["Harm will not happen to the knowing and the willing"]. No harm is done to one who holds an office and is asked only to fulfill his duty since he is so obliged. The soldiers who went to the Californias did not go there blindly; from the outset they were told about what they would be doing at the presidio and in the missions. Why do they complain afterward when they are asked to do what they voluntarily accepted to do and for which they are earning their royal salary? With much more reason the fathers could complain about the soldiers' poor assistance and carelessness about the things placed in their charge. It is also true that through scandal the soldiers destroy what the fathers have built up by their ministries among those little ones. But this is a very lengthy subject and something about which the fathers would have a lot to say if they wanted to complain. We make our point in concluding here that the complaints of such soldiers are false, baseless, and vain.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Concerning the management of the ships and the jurisdiction held by the captain over the sea and coasts of the Californias.

1814. Just as the presidio, all the soldiers and their commander are subject to the superior of the Californias, so also are the ships and seamen dependent on his command and disposition. Before the procurator was separately appointed for the presidio of Loreto, the superior of the Californias exercised immediate control over the presidio and

the ships. This was an impossible job for anyone; he neither lived permanently at Loreto, nor could he reside at his own mission because he was always out visiting the others. But now this material and mechanical burden has been lifted from the superior; the procurator of the presidio now has immediate jurisdiction. Being the missionary of Loreto, his jurisdiction does not extend very far, and he can more conveniently assist in the care of the presidio and the management of the ships. The procurator receives all shipments and provisions for the fathers as well as the soldiers and sailors. He is responsible for whatever is sent by the procurator of Mexico including the revenues of the missions and the payroll that his majesty provides for forty-six soldiers and sailors. This does not include the payroll for the new presidio that has been established at Cabo San Lucas, which consists of thirty soldiers.

1815. In addition to the shipment that is received each year from Mexico via the port of Matanchel and is carried from there to California by ship, the fathers procure supplies and other items the missions need from the mainland. Sometimes they go to the port of Yaqui, sometimes to Ahome, and sometimes to Guaymas, where they receive provisions in exchange for products from the Californias—wines, sugar, incense, and similar things. In order to maintain this commerce two ships are ordinarily maintained in the Californias, one large ship and one launch. The launch serves for ordinary shipments of supplies which are solicited from the mainland; the ship is used on longer, more dangerous voyages to Matanchel or Acapulco. It also is used for the transport of cattle and people from the mainland whenever there is need, when the smaller craft is lost, or when a voyage cannot be made because of some problem.

1816. These two ships are operated at the expense of his majesty. Just as the original fabrication or purchase was done at his expense, so too are the careening and refitting in accordance with the decree of the royal accord that was held by Viceroy Marqués de Valero, in September 1717. It is certainly true that there has always been need for a new ship, and acquiring one from the viceroys has created great difficulty. It has been necessary that the office of the Californias set aside no small sum for its costs. What has been obtained and is presently being carried out under a decree from Viceroy Marqués de Casafuerte is that regularly every two years the ships go down to the port of Acapulco where the señor castellano and the royal officers careen them at his majesty's expense.

1817. All seamen who sail on the ships are subject to the captain of the presidio as the justicia mayor of land and sea. Not only does he have jurisdiction over these seamen, but also over all those who ply the sea and coasts of the Californias. Since that region belongs to the domains of his majesty by the willing submission of its inhabitants, there

ought to be some person who exercises royal authority in administering justice among the people, executing his majesty's orders and those of his ministers, the viceroys of New Spain. But in all this new kingdom there is no other person who can discharge this office except the captain of the presidio of the Californias, who has jurisdiction over the soldiers. [The soldiers] are the only persons there who, under [the captain], can effectively administer justice among the peoples. Equally, the captain is the only one who has effective jurisdiction over affairs in service of the king on the high seas and along the coasts of the Californias.

1818. This office could not be discharged by any other person because of the serious disadvantages that would arise. This jurisdiction cannot be exercised by the governor of Sinaloa, nor the *alcalde mayor* of the Province of Acaponeta, nor by any other *alcaldes mayores* of Nueva Galicia because they could only poorly care for another extensive foreign province across the seas while their own provinces and *alcaldías* demand so much attention. Moreover, they would need serviceable ships to cross the seas and visit the coastal regions of the Californias. They neither could nor would pay for these ships and their required crews; thus, whatever they might do and whatever they might maintain would be done at his majesty's expense. This would be a superfluous and very costly venture for the royal treasury because it is necessary for his majesty to maintain the California ships at his expense. These now operate at the king's expense; it is also very natural for the person who holds jurisdiction over the ships and crews to hold also royal jurisdiction over the seas.

1819. Nor could any other person named by his majesty live in the Californias and manage this jurisdiction over land and sea. First, would this new governor be subject to or superior to the captain of the presidio? If he were subject, he would not be the supreme commander of land and sea, nor would he want anyone else to be admitted to the office with higher powers. If he were superior, it would be necessary that the captain of the presidio and his soldiers be subject to his orders, and consequently all the seamen as well. In such a case the governor would have to be subject to the superior of the presidio as the captain now is, or he would be superfluous because what need would there be for something that already exists inasmuch as the captain more easily exercises this jurisdiction with his soldiers? Or what would happen if he were not subject, but had absolute power and independence from other superiors? From this serious difficulties would follow.

1820. Let us examine some of these. First, there would be continual jurisdictional competition between the captain and the governor, which would result in very pernicious harm and setbacks for this conquest. Second, it follows that the soldiers

would not do anything beneficial on their military campaigns or discovery expeditions because the governor, with the absolute power that he would have, would meddle in everything. He would disturb the operations of the captain and the soldiers under the guise of performing a higher service for his majesty. Third, it would be necessary for his majesty to assign a salary appropriate to a governor's position together with ministers who would execute justice and who would also require their own salaries because the land does not offer anything from which they could extract their sustenance. This would needlessly multiply expenses to the Crown.

1821. Fourth, if this salary were not conceded to the governor and his ministers, they would try to recover it through pearl diving, with endless mistreatment of the Indians; it would set this Christianity back. Fifth, if the governor were not given ministers but soldiers from the presidio were assigned instead, there would be no one who would want to serve as captain under such conditions: to be and not be at the same time the superior of the soldiers. If, on the other hand, the governor were subject to the captain, there would be no one who would want to be governor because he really would be subject while not being subject! This would result in many anxieties. Sixth, such an independent governor would want to have all the ships and seamen at his disposition. Then the superior of the missions would not be able to send the fleet out in search of provisions and supplies whenever it was necessary. This would have to be done at the behest of the governor, with no small detriment to the missions. Seventh, he would also want to employ the ships for pearl diving, which has always been the ultimate goal of the would-be rulers of the Californias. This is the reason that its conquest was not accomplished for so many years; what has now been conquered would be lost if the governor should dedicate himself to pearl diving.

1822. In order to understand the truth of this, it will be enough to reflect on a demand that was made by one of these pearl seekers in 1715 or 1716. This petition was presented in the Royal Council of the Indies, suggesting that [the applicant] would tender his majesty 80,000 pesos if he would bestow on him the government of the Californias and the alcaldía mayor of Acaponeta and Santipac.³⁷ But his majesty considered the purpose of that petition and replied that in order to process the petition, [the applicant] should first bring certification from the prelate who was in charge of that new Christianity. The religious superior would have to certify that the petition did not jeopardize the growth of that conquest nor hinder the propagation of the faith in that new kingdom. With that decree the petitioner desisted, thinking that it would be impossible, as it was, that the said superior would give a certification opposed to the truth and detrimental to the welfare of those missions.

1823. But let us now suppose that his majesty, influenced by sinister reports, did not give such a prudent and Christian response but conceded the government of the Californias to the petitioner. It is probable that the new governor would not be content with extracting from his administration the 80,000 pesos that he paid for his position, for if he were satisfied with this, he would lose his chance to profit. Leaving the capital untouched, 80,000 pesos once invested should earn 4,000 pesos in interest each year. Thus the governor would have to recover at least 100,000 in the five years of his administration—80,000 as capital and 20,000 in interest. But viewed through the eyes of human prudence, this is senseless stupidity since all these gains would go against his own interests. If he were to invest his fortune securely, why would he want to be bothered with personal labors and the anxieties brought on by governing merely to earn the same return? He could remain quietly in some city where he could enjoy his profits free from care and work.

1824. From this it follows that such an official during the five years of his administration would have to want to recover much more than 100,000 pesos. But let us see, from where will these pesos have to be taken? Not from the earth, which has no produce nor mines. Not from commerce with the Indians, because they don't have any, nor do they have anything of value in their extreme poverty and nakedness. And so it would be necessary for him to extract the sum in pearls, which would have to be recovered by employing Indians in the harsh servitude of diving. Would not even more pernicious consequences result from this? The missionaries would no longer find them disposed for instruction or learning; nor would there be time left for them to search the mountains for their scarce and precious food—for seeds, roots, and the wild fruits of the land. On the other hand, seeing themselves mistreated, oppressed, and working for foreign interests, they would rebel and throw off the yoke not only of obedience to the king, but also of the faith of Jesus Christ. By following this course the new governor, as punishment for his avarice, would leave the land naked—should he have the luck to escape with his life.

[Paragraphs 1825 through 1836 regarding the regulation of pearl diving and paragraphs 1837 through 1868 were omitted because they are irrelevant to the military governance of California.]

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The jurisdiction of the captain of the presidio over the tribes of the Californias.

1869. The most extensive and important matter over which the captain of the presidio exercises jurisdiction is his authority over all the tribes of the California Indians that

have been discovered and conquered. As the justicia mayor of all that new kingdom, by means of the commission which he holds he not only exercises his jurisdiction over them but also over all outsiders who go there for pearl diving. He has authority over the soldiers of the presidio as the immediate agents of his jurisdiction and also, through them, over all the Indians of the territory. Although the father visitor as the superior of the presidio has the power to bestow canes of office and to name governors in all the pueblos according to the faculty he has had since the beginning of the conquest and which has been confirmed by royal cédula, nevertheless the captain of the presidio bestows on those already chosen or named as governors the faculty to apprehend guilty parties in cases of serious crime. They may hold the criminals in jails that are designated for this purpose at the mission headquarters, where there are the necessary shackles to hold the criminals securely.

1870. This is understood to be the situation when there is no soldier at the mission, because where there is a soldier, he has the authority from the captain to exercise justice. The governors of the other pueblos that belong to the mission where he resides assist him so that justice may be dealt to the delinquents. The soldiers exercise this authority only in those cases in which the crime demands some punishment that the missionary himself cannot perform. But if the crime calls for the death penalty or is of such magnitude because of its evil consequence that a moderate public punishment would not suffice (as in the case of uprisings, rebellions, conspiracies, or wars and hostilities between rancherías), then the soldier, or in his absence the governor of the pueblo, has the obligation to detain the criminal or criminals in jail and to give an account to the captain of the presidio. In such a case, if he can, [the captain] will go immediately to the mission where the criminal is. If he cannot go, he will order the criminal to be brought to the presidio. In either case he will proceed with authority as the sole judge in the region. He will examine the criminal, listen to the charges, and ascertain any accomplices. Having substantiated the case, he will pronounce sentence either of death, of whipping, or of banishment according to the nature of the crime.

1871. Carrying out [of the sentence] will follow immediately upon sentencing. If this is death, it will be done according to military custom. Before a death sentence is carried out, the missionary who is responsible [for the criminal] will be notified; the criminal will be given enough time for confession and to prepare to die as a Christian. If the sentence is banishment, the criminal will be removed from his own so that he cannot foment further discord, treason, or vengeance; he shall not be thrown out of the Californias because, although this was done in the beginning, experience has shown that exiles only return afterward worse than when they left. Therefore, those who are condemned to exile should serve for a time on the ships at half pay unless the gravity of

their crime is such that they ought to serve out the length of their exile without any pay. Those who are condemned to flogging will be given twenty-five lashes the first time; if they are sentenced again, they will be given up to forty lashes. Because of the delicacy of their sex, this punishment will be much more moderate when dealt to women, realizing that the aim of chastisement should be a warning rather than the painful punishment of guilt.

1872. Before any sentence is executed, whether at the mission where the criminal resides or at the presidio of Loreto where the criminal may have been brought, it shall be seen that the Indians of his pueblo or those from his pueblo who may be in Loreto will be in attendance. In this way news of the punishment will spread among his relatives, and the news will serve as a deterrent to the rest. For this purpose the cause of the punishment will be explained through an interpreter, as well as why the party was imprisoned, the crime or crimes of which he was judged guilty, and the punishment to which he was condemned. This done, the guilty party will be punished for his crime, and the others will be taught a lesson through his punishment. This justice will be meted out by the captain or by the soldiers with his authorization; in this way the whole land will be made subject and all will remain submissive and obedient to him who governs and corrects them and whom they recognize as his majesty's minister. But in those cases of little moment it will suffice that the missionary correct and punish the guilty party through the officials and governors. This is no different from the way a father treats his family or a curate, the faithful.

1873. The captain not only exercises his authority over the Indians in judicial and punitive matters, but also in political affairs for the good governance of the pueblos. It is true that it pertains to the superior of the presidio to name the governors of the pueblos, the officials in the churches, and the teachers of Christian doctrine. With his permission the fathers in each mission exercise this authority. But the captain at times confers on designated parties his responsibility and authority to command and govern others, to make certain that all obey the missionary and execute his orders. It also pertains to the captain to name those who must go on expeditions for the advancement and conservation of the conquest. This means not only the soldiers of the presidio but also the Indians of the land who have to accompany and assist in discoveries, in battles, in capturing fugitives, or in other tasks that arise in opening roads, clearing land, and similar things.

1874. Because there is no reason to burden the poor Indians with personal labors that do not redound to their own benefit, it is understood and so ordered that when Indians serve on expeditions that the captain, or the soldiers who exercise his authority or

commission, may order, the Indians will obey them in everything. If the tasks they will perform should result in a benefit to their welfare or that of their tribe or pueblos, then they are not paid any salary except for the supplies they need for the entire time they are engaged in the expedition, as is done in all well-ordered countries. But if the expeditions take place in very distant nations and are not immediately beneficial to those conducting them, then a moderate salary of 4 or 6 pesos a month ought to be paid each one according to the work he does on the expedition. Thus, the Indians are not obliged to go on expeditions unless they are close by and the expedition is in their own interest. In all these matters the captain acts as the solitary judge and governor general of all the region—but always with proper subordination to the father visitor as the superior of the presidio. With his advice and consent [*margin*: it is assured that the military, judicial, and political governance in that land] will function properly, conforming to reason and to the law of God—for his glory and the great good and increase of that Christianity.

“Empresas apostólicas,” manuscript. The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Libro X

Del gobierno cristiano de las Californias después de su reducción a la fe.

CAPÍTULO I

Del real presidio de Californias, y razones, que hay para mantenerlo en aquella tierra.

1710. De la California gentil, pasamos a la California cristiana. Y habiendo visto ya el mal gobierno que tenían los californios en su gentilidad, así en lo espiritual por lo tocante a su falsa religión, como en lo corporal por lo tocante a su descuadrado gobierno político. Ahora veremos el gobierno cristiano, que ya tienen: en lo corporal debajo de la obediencia del real presidio y de su cabo, que es allí el juez y justicia mayor de la tierra; y en lo espiritual debajo de la enseñanza, y dirección de los padres misioneros. Y comenzando por el real presidio, lo primero que ocurre, es ver, y examinar las razones que había para fundarlo, y para mantenerlo después en aquella nueva cristiandad. Porque, como deba ser en los gentiles, libre, y espontánea la elección de la religión católica, por ser la fe, como nota San Ambrosio, acto voluntario del entendimiento, obrado por el imperio libre de la voluntad, no se compadece con necesidad, y coacción. *Quoniam fides non necessitatis, sed voluntatis res est* (In ep.2. ad Corinth.). Y así no parece, que debe haber apremio, ni fuerza alguna que los obligue, a renunciar la vida gentilica, y abrazar nuestra santa fe. Mas a esta libertad parece que se opone la

erección, y manutención del presidio en Californias, pues con él se tienen sujetos por fuerza de armas los nuevos cristianos, y aún pueden pensar los gentiles, que con el temor de ellas pretenden obligarlos a recibir la fe.

1711. Pero si bien se pesan, y examinan las razones que ahora diremos, se hallará, y conocerá claramente, que el mantener el dicho presidio en Californias (y lo mismo es con proporción en otras misiones semejantes) no sólo no se opone a la libertad con que se debe abrazar la fe católica, sino que antes la favorece. Y que por otra parte sin este presidio no pudiera jamás introducirse, ni conservarse la fe en aquel nuevo reino. Es pues la primera razón, tomada por parte de los padres misioneros; porque no pudieran entrar con seguridad en un reino extraño de bárbaros, sin llevar consigo suficiente escolta de soldados para defensa de sus vidas. Si entraran a predicar el evangelio sin este resguardo, fuera lo mismo que irse a meter como reces al matadero, y entregarse como incautas ovejas a los lobos, para ser despedazadas de ellos. Y así dijo el padre Joseph de Acosta en el tratado, que escribió *De procuranda indorum salute*. Que el entrar a las tierras de indios bárbaros a predicarles la santa fe católica, sin suficiente escolta para defensa de su propia vida, es tanto como quererse ir a vivir amigablemente entre cocodrilos y jabalíes, y otras fieras bravas de los montes. *Quam eodem qui horum Indorum se arbitrio commiserit, poterit his cum apris, et crocodilis amicitiam in ire* (Lib. 2. c.8).

[Se omite 1712.]

1713. Así las perdieron por aquel tiempo, dice el citado escritor, el padre Ferrer de la Compañía de Jesús, y varios religiosos de otras órdenes. Así también los padres de San Francisco, que emprendieron entrar a la reducción de los sucumbios, se vieron luego obligados a salir huyendo con mucho riesgo de la vida. Y entrando después el padre fray Pedro Pecedor, grande imitador de su seráfico padre, no salió, ni se supo más de él; y así se persuadieron todos, que había muerto a manos de los bárbaros. Lo mismo sucedió a algunos religiosos de la orden de Santo Domingo, que salieron de España para ir a la Florida. Y entrando allá sin escolta de armas, por pensar que podrían, usando de amor y blandura, reducir la fiereza de aquellos bárbaros, más que con el temor, y espanto de las armas, todos ellos, apenas llegaron, fueron despedazados de los indios. Otro tanto sucedió a los primeros misioneros de la compañía, que envió nuestro padre santo Francisco de Borja a la Nueva España. Porque a poco tiempo de haber entrado en la Florida, perdieron sus vidas a manos de los indios.

1714. Por el contrario siempre han tenido buenos progresos, y felices fines, los que han venido a procurar la conversión de los infieles en este Nuevo Mundo con buena prevención de soldados para defensa de sus vidas, refrenando con ellas la audacia de los

bárbaros. No quiere el Señor a sus ministros temerarios, y precipitados en las empresas de su servicio, sino cautos, y prevenidos; por eso cuando dijo Cristo a sus discípulos, que los enviaba como ovejas a vivir entre lobos: *Ecce ego mitto vos, sicut oves in medio luporum*, añadió luego la regla que habían de guardar para no peligrar en medio de ellos. *Estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbe* (Math. c.10.v.16). Les pide, que tengan la simplicidad de palomas en la intención pura, y sencilla, con que han de procurar la conversión de los pecadores; y que tengan también la prudencia de serpientes en la cautela, y resguardo, con que han de cuidar, a imitación de las serpientes, su propia vida. Así la del alma preservándose de toda culpa, como la del cuerpo, precautelándose de todo peligro de perderla. Y así añade: *Cavete autem ab hominibus*.

1715. Es verdad, que es acción gloriosa, el dar la vida por Cristo en odio de la fe, por ser prueba de la más fina caridad, el perder la propia vida por amor del amigo, como nos dice Cristo: *Majorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis* (Joan. 15.13); pero también es verdad, que en el lugar citado les manda a sus discípulos, que en viéndose perseguidos en una ciudad, y buscados para la muerte, huyan de allí y se vayan a refugiar en otra. *Cum persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam* (Math. 10.23). Y así ni el servicio del Señor, ni acción laudable, sino vituperable, por indiscreta y temeraria, el irse a meter sin defensa alguna en un reino extraño de gentiles idólatras, sin esperanza de convertirlos, y con peligro moralmente cierto de perecer a sus manos. Y si tal vez se ha visto semejante acción en algunos siervos del Señor, esto no funda regla para la imitación. Pues lo han hecho por especial instinto, y moción del Espíritu Santo, que los ha metido en el peligro, para que glorifiquen a Dios, o con su vida, o con su muerte.

[Se omite 1716.]

1717. De aquí se sigue: que aunque a los principios se muestren los gentiles mansos y pacíficos mientras los misioneros los agasajan, y regalan con beneficios; pero en llegando el caso de intimarles la mudanza de vida, y costumbres, necesaria para ser admitidos al bautismo, comienzan ellos a recalcitrar, y a exasperarse contra el ministro que les predica. Y principalmente sabiendo, que han de vivir sujetos a su obediencia, y también al castigo, cuando lo merecieren, por sus delitos. Este temor los inclina luego, a maquinar venganzas, y a tramar conjuraciones contra su vida. O para sacudir el yugo de la ley cristiana, si ya la han recibido; o para no admitirla, si aún no se han bautizado.

1718. Por el contrario a nada de esto se atreven, cuando ven resguardados a los ministros evangélicos con buena escolta de soldados. Los cuales se pondrán en arma contra ellos, si maquinaren alguna rebelión contra los ministros que les predicán. Con

este seguro de sus vidas pueden los padres misioneros, ir ganando la voluntad de los gentiles con beneficios, para poder después ir conquistando poco a poco sus entendimientos con la luz de las verdades católicas, hasta que ellos voluntariamente abracen la fe con el santo bautismo. Pues esto es sólo, lo que se pretende con mantener el presidio de los soldados; porque sus armas no son ofensivas contra los gentiles, sino defensivas de los sacerdotes que les predicán. Ni su jurisdicción es coactiva, para compelerlos, y obligarlos a abrazar la fe; sino defensiva de aquellos que la abrazan.

1719. Aquí se funda ya la segunda razón, tomada de parte de los nuevos cristianos, que han recibido el santo bautismo. Porque estos sin más causa que la de mudar de religión, abrazando la ley cristiana, y renunciando las costumbres y supersticiones gentílicas, se hacen aborrecibles a los otros gentiles, que resisten protervos, a la predicación del evangelio. Y como viven entre ellos, hallan luego otros tantos enemigos contra sí, cuantos son sus parientes, sus domésticos, sus vecinos; los cuales a una conspiran contra los nuevamente convertidos. Y así entonces peligrá su vida, no menos que la de los misioneros que los han hecho cristianos; pero este peligro cesa del todo, cuando saben, los que se convierten a la fe, que tendrán defensa y amparo, en la escolta que defiende a los misioneros, a cuya sombra estarán seguros, y bien defendidos de sus contrarios. Así lo vemos comprobado en muchos casos que se han referido en esta historia. Pues los nuevos cristianos, siempre que se veían atribulados o perseguidos de los gentiles, acudían a pedir favor al presidio, y con sus armas eran defendidos, y asegurados. Y si no tuvieran este recurso, o no recibieran la fe, o después apostataran de ella. Y así en orden a esto el presidio de los soldados no sólo es contrario a la propagación de la fe, sino que es del todo necesario.

1720. La tercera razón se funda en la necesidad, que hay, de que los nuevamente convertidos tengan quién los gobierne en lo civil, y político de las costumbres humanas. Porque como los que se convierten a la fe, sujetándose a la honrosa servidumbre de Cristo, abrazan juntamente el voluntario vasallaje y obediencia al rey católico que les envía ministros evangélicos para bien de sus almas, es necesario que haya también quien tenga la potestad y jurisdicción real para gobernarlos como a vasallos de su rey. Pero esta potestad no la pueden tener, ni conviene que la tengan los padres misioneros; porque su jurisdicción es espiritual, y eclesiástica, como la que tienen los curas sobre sus feligreses. Los cuales por otra parte están sujetos a la jurisdicción secular de quien los gobierna en nombre del rey. Y fuera de haber graves inconvenientes, en que concurran en uno estas dos jurisdicciones, por otra parte son inhábiles los sacerdotes, para ejercitar la jurisdicción secular en causas criminales, y de muerte.

1721. Siendo pues del todo necesario el gobierno secular, y civil de los nuevos cristianos de Californias. Es también necesaria la manutención, y conservación del real presidio entre aquellas gentes, porque así pueda residir en él, cabo y capitán del dicho presidio, la potestad y jurisdicción real. Para administrar justicia a los pueblos, gobernarlos cristianamente conforme a las leyes, y reprimir con el justo castigo a los delincuentes. Así se ha practicado desde el principio de la conquista hasta ahora. Y esto no pudiera de otra manera practicarse, sino manteniendo allí el real presidio. Donde el capitán es justicia mayor de toda la tierra, y los soldados son sus ministros subordinados para todas las ejecuciones de la justicia.

1722. La cuarta, y última razón se funda en el dominio, que, por medio de la conquista espiritual de aquellas naciones, adquirió su majestad católica, no sólo sobre la tierra, sino también sobre el mar, y costas de Californias. Como sobre términos, pertenecientes a los que voluntariamente se han ofrecido por sus vasallos. Pues para esto es necesario, que haya, quién ejercite la jurisdicción real en todo el mar, y costas de Californias. Y asimismo, quién ejecute las órdenes que a tiempos suelen enviar los señores virreyes; ya para que favorezcan a la nao de Filipinas, cuando le amenazan piratas; ya para que la provean de refresco, y reciban sus enfermos; ya para lo tocante a la disposición del buceo de las perlas, porque no se defrauden los reales quintos. Nada de esto pudieran ejecutar los padres misioneros, por ser ajeno de su estado religioso, e incompatible con sus ministerios apostólicos. Y como por otra parte en Californias no hay, ni puede haber, según ya queda mostrado en otra parte, colonias, ni familias de españoles, entre quienes se pudieran repartir los cargos de la jurisdicción real, es del todo necesario, mantener en Californias el real presidio. Para que en su cabo, como en justicia mayor, resida la jurisdicción universal sobre mar y tierra.

CAPÍTULO II

De los fueros, que están concedidos al presidio de Californias, y a su superior, cabo, y soldados.

1723. En todas las operaciones humanas que se ordenan como medios para conseguir algún fin, se ha de atender, dice Santo Tomás, la proporción, y conducencia, que en sí tienen, para que por medio de ellas se consiga el fin, que se pretende. *Actus perducentes ad finem oportet esse finí proportionatos* (1.2. q. 109. art. 5 in corp.). Por eso, como dice el santo en otra parte, cualquier operación que se establece como medio ordenado para algún fin, debe determinarse con aquella forma, y calidades, que la hacen proporcionada, y conducente, para conseguir el fin pretendido. *Omni rei qui est propter finem forma determinatur secundum proportionem ad finem* (1.2 q.95. art. 3. in corp.). Con este prudente dictamen se gobernó el padre Juan María de Salvatierra en la

fundación del presidio de Californias. Mirábalo como del todo necesario para la introducción, y dilatación de la fe en aquel reino por las razones, que hemos dicho en el capítulo pasado. Mas para que el medio no se convirtiese en impedimento, y estorbo de aquella conquista, determinó establecerlo con aquella forma, y calidades, que más lo proporcionaban con su fin.

1724. Para darle pues esta proporción, y conducencia puso el padre la mira en tres cosas: la primera fue que el presidio tuviese legítima jurisdicción, y potestad, dimanada de la autoridad real para el buen gobierno militar, y político de aquel reino. La segunda, que todo el presidio con su cabo, y soldados estuviese sujeto a la obediencia, y disposición del superior de todos los misioneros, y visitador de todas las misiones de Californias. La tercera, que el dicho superior del presidio y de todas las misiones tuviese por parte de la religión la legítima autoridad, y jurisdicción sobre aquellas misiones con todas las facultades convenientes, para el buen expediente de su cargo, y oficio.

1725. Dejando pues para otros capítulos, lo que pertenece al segundo, y tercero punto, ahora hablaremos del primero, que pertenece a la legítima potestad, y jurisdicción real que goza el presidio de Californias. Esta procuró impetrar el padre Juan María en el primer despacho, que obtuvo del señor virrey, conde de Galves, con la licencia, para entrar en las Californias, y las facultades convenientes, para la fundación, y conservación del real presidio en aquellas tierras. Y aunque el señor virrey, duque de Alburquerque, quiso después impedir el uso de algunas de ellas, pero reclamando el padre Juan María, vinieron después confirmadas por cédula de su majestad, en que mandaba que nada se innovase, cuanto al gobierno que habían tenido hasta entonces las Californias. De estas facultades que entonces se concedieron, unas pertenecen al padre visitador de Californias, que es allí superior del presidio; otras a todo el presidio con su cabo, y soldados; otras finalmente a sólo el capitán. Unas y otras se fueron después aumentando por los señores virreyes, según pedían las circunstancias ocurrentes.

1726. Las facultades, que pertenecen al superior del presidio, son las siguientes. La primera: que pueda llevar a las Californias la gente de armas, y soldados que pudiere pagar, y municionar a su costa. Y aunque ahora su majestad paga ya los sueldos de los soldados, y marineros de Californias, no se quita por eso la facultad concedida desde el principio de llevar más gente a su costa, como se ha practicado siempre en las sublevaciones de los indios, para contenerlos. La segunda: que pueda nombrar cabo a su satisfacción para el gobierno del presidio; que sea hombre de entera experiencia, y valor, como también de probada virtud, y cristiandad. La tercera: que pueda remover al dicho cabo, cuando faltare a su obligación, y nombrar otro en su lugar. Dándole cuenta

al señor virrey, del que nombrare para su aprobación. Y también en caso de removerlo, para expedir las órdenes al servicio de su majestad.

1727. De aquí se deriva la cuarta facultad que va implícitamente embebida en la tercera, aunque en el dicho despacho del señor virrey no se hizo de ella expresa mención. Porque se supone embebida en la antecedente, como privilegio menor, incluido en el mayor, y derivado de él. Pues es asiento, que según regla del derecho canónico, al que se le concede, lo que es más, se entiende también concedido, lo que es menos. *Ubi magnus conceditur minus concessum esse videtur* (Ex. parte tua: de Decimis X). La facultad es, para admitir por soldados del presidio a las que aprobaré el superior de él. Y asimismo, para quitarles la plaza, y despedirlos, cuando no cumplieren con lo que es de su obligación. La quinta: que pueda hacer levas de gente, y enarbolar banderas, siempre, que fuere necesario para el buen principio, y progreso de la conquista. La sexta: que para contener en paz, observancia, y buen gobierno a toda la gente de Californias, pueda el superior del presidio nombrar personas, que administren justicia, a quienes todos obedezcan. Y que pueden contener con el justo castigo a los inobedientes.

1728. Los fueros, y facultades que tocan a los soldados del presidio con su capitán son los siguientes. El primero: que los soldados, que fueren a la conquista, y todos los demás que en adelante militaren en Californias, sujetos al cabo que los padres nombraren para el presidio, gocen de todos los fueros, y privilegios que su majestad concede a todos los demás cabos, y soldados de sus reales ejércitos. El segundo: que sus servicios se reputen, como hechos en guerra viva, del mismo modo con que se han concedido a los soldados del Parral, y de los demás presidios de este reino. El tercero: que por cuanto ya su majestad paga el situado de los soldados de Californias, que se regulen sus sueldos, no por los del presidio de la Vera-Cruz, sino por los que están concedidos a los de Sonora, Sinaloa, y Nueva Vizcaya, a los cuales se dan mayores sueldos, por la mayor distancia en que viven. Y que asimismo los de los marineros se regulen por los que ganan los marineros de Acapulco, y no por los que tienen los de la armada de Barlovento. El cuarto: que a las certificaciones de sus méritos militares, que trajeren los soldados, firmadas del superior del presidio, les den entero crédito, como si fueran auténticas todas las justicias sujetas a la real audiencia de Guadalajara, y al superior gobierno.

1729. Finalmente los privilegios, y fueros que tocan al capitán del presidio, como anexos a su cargo, fuera de los dichos que son comunes a los soldados, son estos. El primero: que sea justicia mayor de toda la tierra de Californias. El segundo: que sea juez de los soldados, no sólo en lo militar, sino también en lo político, civil, y criminal. El tercero:

que asimismo sea juez, y gobernador de todos los demás, que viven en Californias, como son los marineros, y sirvientes del presidio y de las misiones, y también de todos los indios. De cuyas causas deba conocer, procediendo en ellas hasta la sentencia, y su ejecución. El cuarto: que sea capitán general, no sólo de la tierra, sino también del mar, y costas de Californias. Y que por eso el navío principal del presidio tenga título de capitana, y como tal pueda entrar en todos los puertos con las banderas proporcionadas; las cuales sólo deba recoger al entrar en el puerto de Acapulco, cuando allí se hallare la nao de Filipinas. El quinto: que sea superintendente real sobre todos los que van a Californias al buceo de las perlas en la forma que después diremos.

CAPÍTULO III

Del superior del presidio, y facultades, que goza por parte de la religión.

1730. Del presidio con su capitán, y soldados pasamos, a hablar del superior de quien depende, y a quien está sujeto; que es el padre visitador de las misiones, y superior de todos los misioneros de Californias. Este cargo de superior del presidio estuvo por veinte años anexo al misionero de Loreto, que es la primera misión, que se fundó, y donde residió todo ese tiempo el padre Juan María de Salvatierra. Y fue muy conveniente que siempre estuviese el padre con este cargo, así por haber sido, quien a costa de tantos afanes, y trabajos, contradicciones, y pesadumbres, llegó a emprender y conseguir la conquista de aquella tierra, que era según el juicio humano inconquistable; como porque por su mucha experiencia ninguno mejor que el padre, pudiera dar buen expediente a los negocios arduos, que ocurrían en aquellos principios. Estos no pudieran entonces manejarse con solos los dictámenes de una prudencia especulativa, porque necesitaban de una prudencia práctica, adquirida a fuerza de experiencias. Y éstas las tenía el padre Juan María.

1731. A ésta se añade otra razón, fundada en la conservación de aquella conquista. Esta dependía entonces de las limosnas con que concurrían los bienhechores, así para pagar los soldados del presidio, sin cuya escolta no se podía dar paso en los descubrimientos de la tierra, como para costear las embarcaciones, mantener la gente de mar, tan necesaria para proveer de bastimentos a los padres misioneros, y a los soldados del presidio. Y como estas limosnas las hacían por respeto, y veneración del padre Juan María; y dependían de la continua correspondencia, que por cartas mantenía con todos, representándoles las necesidades de aquella conquista, y pidiéndoles socorro, con aquel gracejo santo, y discreto, con que robaba los corazones, era forzoso mantener al padre con el cargo de superior del presidio, y con el manejo de todos los negocios de Californias, hasta tanto que pudiese el padre asegurar con fincas, y situados suficientes la conservación de aquella conquista.

1732. Pero después que el Señor quiso llevarse para sí a su fiel siervo, colmado de años, y merecimientos (lo cual fue por el mes de julio del año de 1717) determinaron los superiores de la provincia, que el cargo de superior del presidio no estuviese siempre anexo al misionero de Loreto, sino al que fuese nombrado por superior, y visitador de todas las misiones. Y así entonces, por muerte del padre Juan María, fue nombrado visitador el padre Juan de Ugarte, misionero de la misión de San Pablo. Y desde entonces consecutivamente en cada trienio se ha ido nombrando por la provincia, distinto visitador de aquellas misiones. Y en él reside por tres años el cargo, y la potestad de superior del presidio.

1733. Hubo también, para establecer esta alternada mudanza de visitadores, otras tres razones muy prudentes. De las cuales la primera fue: porque ya cesaba la indispensable necesidad de bienhechores que dependían del padre Juan María, y por su respeto hacían gruesas limosnas a aquellas misiones. Y cesaba esta necesidad, porque ya desde entonces se comenzó a pagar por entero a costa de su majestad el situado de los soldados del presidio, como también la gente de mar, y algunos costos de las embarcaciones. Y con este alivio quedaron aseguradas las fincas de las misiones. Cuyos réditos se aplicaban antes, para pagar los sueldos de mar, y tierra. Y no bastando, se añadían las limosnas de bienhechores que recogía el padre Juan María; quedando entretanto los misioneros a las industrias de sus afanes, en cultivar la tierra, y a las limosnas que contribuían los padres misioneros de la otra banda.

1734. La segunda fue: porque también se iban extendiendo ya las fundaciones de otras misiones hacia el norte, y hacia el sur. Y así era forzoso proveer las de visitador, que fuese superior de todos los misioneros como lo tienen las otras misiones. Este cargo se muda en cada trienio; y no fuera conveniente que hubiese visitador perpetuo. Y siendo trienal este cargo, lo deben ir obteniendo los demás misioneros de Californias, según los fuere nombrando la obediencia, conforme a los méritos, y experiencias de cada uno. Y por eso no puede estar aligado siempre al que fuere misionero en Loreto. La tercera razón fue: porque si quisieran separar los oficios, y que el misionero de Loreto fuese superior del presidio, y el padre visitador fuese sólo superior de los misioneros, se siguiera que hubiera entonces dos cabezas independientes una de otra. De donde pudiera nacer competencia de jurisdicción, y otros graves inconvenientes. Y para evitarlos, se tuvo por mejor, que todo el gobierno de aquella tierra en lo militar, civil, eclesiástico, y religioso vaya siempre debajo de una mano, de una cabeza, y de un superior, que lo gobierne todo.

1735. Para este fin al buen gobierno universal de aquella tierra tiene el superior de las Californias no sólo las facultades que ha menester para el gobierno secular del presidio,

y gente de la tierra, como ya vimos en el capítulo pasado, sino también las que le puede conceder la religión como a superior de los misioneros. No se contentó el padre Juan María, con impetrar las primeras por lo tocante al brazo secular, sino que también procuró solicitar por parte de la religión las segundas, que son todas aquellas, que juzgó convenientes, para que el superior de aquellas misiones pudiese ejercitar su cargo con toda libertad, y autoridad sin las dificultades, o embarazos, que le pudieran sobrevenir por parte del gobierno doméstico de la religión.

1736. Para impetrar estas facultades, escribió desde el principio a nuestro padre general Thyrso Gonzales, informándole del principio, progreso, y estado presente de la conquista, y pidiéndole para el superior de las misiones de Californias tres facultades, que por entonces juzgaba necesarias. Y su paternidad muy reverenda, agradeciéndole con paternal afecto y amor, cuanto había hecho en aquella gloriosa empresa, le concedió benignamente las facultades, que le pedía, que eran las tres siguientes. La primera: que pueda el visitador de Californias, enviar a las misiones de la otra banda, a cualquier sujeto que juzgare conveniente remitir, o por enfermedad, o por hallarse desconsolado, o por cualquier otro justo motivo. La segunda: que la provincia le conceda, y señale un sujeto de toda satisfacción, para que administre las haciendas de Californias, como procurador de ellas en México. La tercera: que pueda el dicho visitador enviar a cualquiera de sus súbditos, para tratar los negocios, y agencias de aquellas misiones en cualquier lugar donde se ofreciere.

1737. Estas mismas facultades confirmó después a los principios de su gobierno nuestro padre general Miguel Angel Tamburini, a petición del mismo padre Juan María. Y a más de éstas, le concedió de nuevo otras seis, que son las siguientes. La primera: que el procurador, y administradores que fueren de las haciendas de Californias, sean súbditos inmediatos del dicho padre visitador. La segunda: que el padre provincial sólo intervenga en la visita de los libros de cuentas, tocantes al oficio del procurador de Californias. La tercera: que el visitador de las Californias, pueda como superior inmediato, dar las licencias para todas las compras, y ventas, que se ofrecieren, tocantes a las Californias. La cuarta: que pueda el visitador, si quisiere, y lo juzgare conveniente, venir cada trienio a la provincia, a visitar los libros, tomar cuentas, y disponer, lo que conviniere. La quinta: que si viniere algún sujeto a México, enviado del padre visitador, a tratar negocios de Californias, pueda estando allí, ejercer el oficio de procurador, como más inteligente en los negocios de aquellas misiones. La sexta: que no pueda el padre provincial, agregar al oficio, y procuraduría de provincia el ramo de bienes, que tocan a las Californias.

1738. Estas son las principales facultades, que tiene el padre visitador de Californias, por parte de la religión. Las cuales, juntas con las que tiene tocantes al presidio de los soldados, han estado en práctica desde el principio hasta el tiempo presente sin perjuicio, ni contradicción de persona alguna, como tan importantes al bien espiritual, y temporal de aquellas misiones. Y aunque la cuarta, de venir el visitador a la provincia, no se ha practicado por la suma distancia, y otros inconvenientes, pero queda siempre en su vigor, para cuando se juzgare necesario el practicarla. Quanto a la sexta testificaba el padre Juan María, haber sido voluntad de los fundadores, el que las fincas de las misiones se administrasen con procurador separado, porque lo contrario redundaría en daño, y ruina de aquellas misiones.

CAPÍTULO IV

Decláranse las razones, que hubo, para pretender, que el presidio estuviese sujeto al padre visitador de las Californias.

1739. Aquellos medios, dice Santo Tomás, que tuvieron eficacia, y proporción, para conseguir algún fin, sirven también, para conservarlo, y asegurar su estable posesión. *Idem est, per quod aliquid conservatur in fine, et per quod movetur ad finem* (1.2. q. 93. art. 6. ad.3). Lo mismo debemos decir al presente de la conquista de Californias, que permanecerá estable, y segura con felices progresos de aquella cristianidad, mientras se llevaren, con la ejecución, adelante aquellos mismos medios con que se consiguió su conquista; pero en quitándolos, o alterándolos de su primera institución, será la ruina de aquella cristiandad. Porque todo efecto cesa, y se destruye, como dicen los filósofos, en faltando la causa que lo conserva. *Remota causa, removetur effectus* (D.Th. 1.2. q. 76. art.2. in 2).

1740. Con dos clases de medios se consiguió la conquista de Californias, unos espirituales, y otros temporales. Los espirituales son todos aquellos que han practicado los padres misioneros con sus ministerios apostólicos, acompañados de todas las virtudes religiosas. Y estos esperamos en Dios, que nunca faltarán, mientras se conservare la Compañía de Jesús en la pureza de su instituto. Los medios temporales se reducen principalmente a dos: el uno fue, asegurar primero el sustento necesario de los misioneros con fincas suficientes, para proveerlos de todo lo necesario; y éste se ha practicado desde el principio, pues no se ha fundado misión alguna, sin asegurar primero su finca con diez mil pesos de principal. El otro fue, establecer desde el principio, un bien arreglado y cristiano gobierno en el presidio, como que de él depende la seguridad de aquella conquista, y la sujeción de aquellas naciones.

1741. Para conseguir pues, que el presidio estuviese siempre bien gobernado, pretendió, y consiguió el padre Juan María, que todo el presidio con su cabo, y soldados estuviese sujeto al padre visitador de aquellas misiones, y dependiente de él, cuanto al ser admitidos, o removidos de sus plazas. Con esta disposición del presidio se consiguió la conquista de aquella tierra; con ella se ha conservado, y adelantado en espacio de más de cuarenta años, y sin ella se arruinará. Para que se vea claramente esta verdad, discurriremos aquí por las razones, que tuvo el padre Juan María, para pretender, que el presidio estuviese sujeto al mando, y disposición del padre visitador de aquellas misiones, añadiendo después otras que confirman lo mismo.

1742. Comenzando pues por las del padre Juan María las principales se reducen a seis. La cuales representó el mismo padre en un memorial, que presentó al señor virrey, duque de Alburquerque, por el mes de mayo de 1705. Porque como el señor virrey con ocasión de dar cumplimiento a una real cédula, intentase entonces innovar el gobierno de las Californias, quitando al superior del presidio, la facultad que antes gozaba sobre el cabo, y soldados de Californias, el padre Juan María en dicho memorial le propone graves inconvenientes, que de aquí se seguirán con peligro casi cierto, de perderse del todo aquella conquista. En orden a esto le representa seis razones cuya eficacia examinaremos aquí, para que se vea, que el haber conseguido la conquista de aquella tierra, que antes se resistió inconquistable a toda la potencia de los Reyes Católicos, y a las riquezas de los hombres más acaudalados, y al valor de los soldados más animosos, y lo que es más, al valor, y experiencia del conquistador de toda la Nueva España, Hernando Cortés, y el haberla continuado después por tantos años, ha provenido de tener la compañía la potestad que tiene sobre aquel presidio. Y que lo mismo será quitársela, que perderse del todo aquel reino.

1743. Es pues la primera razón, fundada en la aspereza de aquella tierra, que es tal, como hemos visto en los libros antecedentes, y aún en toda esta historia; y ha sido necesario para cada fundación, vencer más dificultades, que pasos. Pero estas dificultades nunca se vencieran, si estuvieran el cabo, y los soldados independientes del mando, y potestad de la compañía. Pues he tocado con las manos, dice aquí el padre Juan María, que a no haber tenido yo esa potestad en el espacio de estos ocho años, no se hubiera dado paso ninguno dentro de la California. Y hubieramos estado gastando más, y más en la primera playa, donde saltamos. Y por miedo no más de no ser removidos los cabos, han ido haciendo entradas, y descubrimientos por la persuasión eficaz de los padres, y fortalecida con la autoridad.

1744. La segunda razón se funda en lo mucho, que puede en los corazones humanos de los avaros, la codicia de las perlas. Si estuvieran independientes del mando de la

compañía los soldados, lo menos que hicieran, como dice el padre Juan María en su informe, fuera dar cumplimiento a su obligación de asistir en el presidio hacer descubrimientos, defender la tierra, y servir de escolta a los padres misioneros. Así se vio cumplido en tantas infructuosas entradas, que en ciento y ochenta años se hicieron antes, para conquistar la California, y todos se malograron. Y ¿por qué? Porque todos se quedaban en las playas, entregados al buceo de las perlas, hasta que el hambre, y falta de alimentos los echaba de la tierra. Esto mismo iban ya intentando al principio de la conquista los soldados, aún con estar sujetos al mando, y disposición de los padres; pero el padre Juan María usó de toda su autoridad, para reprimir, y atajar este desorden.

1745. La tercera razón nace de la pasada. Y es, que los soldados, para mejor lograr el buceo de las perlas, quisieron valerse de los indios, que son los prácticos, e inteligentes en esto; y trajeran atareados en el buceo así a los gentiles, como a los nuevos cristianos. Y como la codicia nunca dice, basta, quisieran siempre añadir trabajos a trabajos, y tareas a tareas. Y si esto comenzaban ya a hacer los soldados del padre Juan María, aún con ir sujetos a su disposición y mando, ¿qué hicieran, si estuvieran del todo independientes? Entonces, parte por satisfacer a su codicia, parte por agradar y obedecer a aquellas personas, a quienes debían el nombramiento de sus plazas, y de quienes esperaban su conservación, trajeran siempre ocupados en este ejercicio a los pobres indios. Pero en tal caso, dice el padre Juan María, tras esta forzada tarea, seguro se sigue el alzamiento. Y una vezalzada la tierra, será sin remedio la pérdida por la aspereza de ella, y no poder servirse de gente de a caballo para su recobro.

1746. Añade luego por cuarta razón: "que esta potestad sobre el presidio conduce para el consuelo, y sosiego de los soldados españoles. Porque por militar en tierra tan distante, y ultramarina, viven menos descontentos; reconociendo que con el recurso, y amparo de los padres, o del superior, que tiene poder de remover el cabo, tienen seguridad, de que no llegará a hacerles vejación injusta, y está sujeta la tierra a ellas con muchos peligros de envidia. Pongo por ejemplo: porque el indio va a vender una buena perla a un soldado, su amigo, y no la vendió al capitán, entra ojeriza contra el soldado, y contra el indio. Y si el soldado español no está contento, se desespera, y se arroja a cosas graves. Como se vio en muchas ocasiones en tiempo de don Isidro de Atondo, que estuvo algunas veces, para perder la vida a manos de soldados, y marineros."

1747. Confirmación es de esto un caso, que sucedió, siendo provincial el padre Juan María, y hallándose visitando las Californias. Tenía entonces, por comisión suya, la potestad de superior del presidio el padre Juan de Ugarte, que había quedado en su lugar. Pues como el capitán hubiese mandado prender a un soldado por cierto sentimiento que con él tenía, el padre Juan de Ugarte, examinada la causa, conoció que

era injusta la prisión, y así le mandó al capitán, que soltase libre al soldado. Para eximirse de este mandato, acudió al padre Juan María, pidiéndole, que lo dejaran con libertad seguir la causa, pero el padre Juan María, que estaba ya bien informado de la verdad, le mandó, que obedeciese a su superior, y que soltase al preso, como luego lo ejecutó. De esta misma potestad se valió siempre el padre Juan María, así a favor de los soldados, como de los buzos extranjeros, cuando veía que se usaba con ellos más rigor del que se debía.

1748. La quinta razón la funda el padre en la necesidad que tienen aquellas misiones ultramarinas de muchos bienhechores, y fautores para su conservación. Los cuales se retardarán, quitando esta potestad sobre el presidio al superior de aquellas misiones; pero esto mejor lo expresarán sus palabras, que dicen así: "Digo asimismo, que se va retirando la piedad de los vasallos de nuestro rey, y Señor, que concurren con sus limosnas, viendo, se les quita esta potestad a los padres; corriendo con la confianza del logro de sus limosnas, antes sí temiendo que lo que ellos hacen con una mano, se deshaga por otra." También se atajan los socorros personales de gente española, y de los indios guerreros de la Nueva Vizcaya, que a una voz de los padres californios, indios, y españoles, se movían de sus tierras, y vienen barcos llenos de unos, y otros como sucedió tres años ha: llenándose una lancha de españoles de Sinaloa, que vinieron a socorrernos. Y haciendo lo mismo los indios guerreros de la fidelísima nación Yaqui; que se llenó de ellos un barco de gavia, muy bien armados, y desembarcaron en nuestro Loreto de Californias, aterrorizando las naciones de Californias.

1749. Y en esto podrán desmayar, así los indios, como los españoles, desconfiando del amparo, y cariño, y de no ser mirados como hijos, no corriendo por los padres. Y será uno de los daños, que se padecerán en la nueva conquista. Pues es sabido, que don Isidro de Atondo no sólo era almirante de Californias, sino también capitán del presidio de Sinaloa, y gobernador de esa provincia. Y con toda esa autoridad, y repetidos encargos del excelentísimo señor virrey no pudo conseguir un indio voluntario de Sinaloa, y Sonora. Y unos pocos, que llevó a causa de graves delitos, fueron causa del primer alzamiento que tuvo en su entrada. Y digo, que todos los motivos dichos miran a la seguridad de la tierra, y a asegurar en ella la religión cristiana.

1750. Hasta aquí el padre Juan María en su informe. Donde añade por sexta razón el mérito que tiene, y puede alegar la compañía, para pedirle a su majestad católica, que la mantenga en posesión de esta facultad, concedida desde el principio al superior de aquellas misiones. Porque habiéndole conquistado a su majestad un ruevo reino, y sujetado a sus dominios tantos vasallos sin costo alguno de la real hacienda; siendo así que en seis entradas, que se hicieron en los tiempos pasados, de orden y a costa de los

Reyes Católicos importó el gasto como un millón y medio, sin logro alguno. No le debe parecer, ni a su majestad, ni a sus reales ministros excesiva la remuneración, de poder nombrar y remover los cabos, y soldados del presidio, cuando esto es medio indispensable, para mantener lo ya conquistado, y conservar en la obediencia de su majestad a tantos vasallos.

1751. ¿Pues qué, si se atiende lo mucho que ha gastado la compañía en esta conquista, recogido todo con grandes afanes, sudores y trabajos de los padres de la compañía por cuyo respeto, y repetidos ruegos lo han ido contribuyendo los bienhechores? Ha sido esto tanto, que en los primeros ocho años, cuando el padre Juan María presentó su memorial, iban ya gastados en la conquista, doscientos y veinticinco mil pesos. Sin incluir en esta cantidad cincuenta y ocho mil pesos, que importaban las fincas de seis misiones. Y en todo este tiempo no había recibido de las cajas reales más que dieciocho mil, a seis mil por cada año de los tres últimos. Y si se ajusta, lo que fue gastando después en los doce años siguientes hasta los fines del año de 1717, en que comenzó su majestad a pagar por entero el situado del presidio, y de los marineros, se hallará que hasta entonces iban gastados ya más de seiscientos mil pesos, como consta del testimonio de la junta, que se tuvo por orden del señor virrey marqués de Valero.

1752. Pues añádanse ciento y treinta mil pesos, que importaban ya las fincas de trece misiones, como también lo mucho, que han contribuido en otros veinte años, así los bienhechores de Californias, como todos los padres misioneros de Sinaloa, y Sonora. Y podremos decir sin exageración, que ya pasa largamente de un millón, lo que ha gastado la compañía por ganarle a Jesucristo aquellas almas, y mantenerle a su majestad católica aquel reino sujeto a su corona. Y es digno de reparo, que en las otras misiones paga su majestad el situado de varios presidios, y también el sustento de todos los misioneros; pero en Californias sólo sustenta a los soldados, mas no a los misioneros, porque estos se mantienen con las fincas de los bienhechores. ¿Y según todo lo dicho, quién juzgará, que es gracia excesiva, la que hace su majestad en mantenerle a la compañía la superintendencia, y superioridad sobre los cabos, y soldados de Californias, siendo esto por otra parte medio necesario, para que aquello no se pierda?

CAPÍTULO V

Añádanse otras razones en confirmación del mismo asunto.

1753. Aún con todo lo dicho en el capítulo pasado no se ha dicho todo, cuanto hay que decir sobre el pasado asunto. Por lo cual añadiremos aquí otras razones que lo confirman, y con las cuales se descubre, que el haber pretendido la compañía la superioridad sobre el presidio de los soldados es, por conocer, que éste es medio

indispensablemente necesario para el buen logro, conservación, y aumento de aquella conquista. Y que por consiguiente, en alterando el orden, y gobierno con que se principió, y con que se ha proseguido hasta ahora, pararán los buenos progresos; y caminando todo cada día de mal en peor, se seguirá por fin su total ruina. Para fundar pues estas razones, pondremos la vista en cuatro objetos. Primero en nuestro rey católico, luego en los soldados del presidio, después en los indios californios, y por fin en los padres misioneros.

1754. Comenzando pues por nuestro rey católico, se descubren aquí dos razones muy principales, para mostrar que no conviene innovar el gobierno, que han tenido hasta aquí las Californias. La una es para mayor seguridad de su real dominio en aquellas tierras; la otra es, para evitar mayores gastos de su real hacienda. Viniendo a la primera, es cierto, que mientras tuvieren los padres potestad sobre los soldados, se mantendrá segura, y estable la posesión de su majestad en aquella tierra, y en todos sus vasallos. La razón es: porque el dominio depende de la obediencia que dan los vasallos a su rey; y principalmente cuando el dominio se adquiere no por conquista de armas, sino por voluntario vasallaje, que le ofrecen los que lo admiten por su rey, y señor. Pues este vasallaje y obediencia de los indios californios para con su rey, depende de que los soldados, y el cabo sean los que deben ser: que hagan justicia a los naturales, y los gobiernen con prudencia, y discreción cristiana; que no los opriman con vejaciones, y contribuciones injustas. Que no los ocupen en tareas y ejercicios, ordenados a su propio interés, apartándolos con esto de buscar su propio sustento por los montes. Y finalmente, que los procuren conservar en paz, en justicia, y en concordia de unos con otros.

1755. Pero para cumplir todo esto necesitan los soldados de tener el freno que tienen en la sujeción a los padres. Porque saben, que si no quisieren cumplir con su obligación, ni obedecer a los padres en lo que les mandaren, les han de quitar las plazas, y despedirlos de la tierra, pues fueron admitidos a ellas con esta condición. Por el contrario no estando sujeto a los padres, vivirán, como quisieren, sin temor alguno, y se valdrán de los indios para sus particulares intereses. De aquí se seguirán las vejaciones, las contribuciones, y las opresiones, que les causen, por utilizarse con su servicio personal. Y como todo esto exaspera los ánimos, reventarán por fin en rebeliones, y tumultos, sacudiendo el yugo de la obediencia en favor de su libertad.

1756. La segunda razón persuade, que con esta sujeción del presidio a los padres, evita su majestad mayores gastos que forzosamente ha de tener de sus reales cajas, si el presidio no está sujeto a la obediencia de los padres; porque en tal caso debe su majestad proveerles aparte de barco suficiente para la conducción, y transporte de sus

situados, memorias, y bastimentos. Y mantener de continuo un barco con la gente de mar que necesita, y con todos los costos que se añaden de carenas, reparos, y aderezos, necesita de muchos miles pesos, y es nuevo gravamen para las cajas reales. Ni se puede adjudicar para esto el barco, que ahora tienen los padres para el servicio de las misiones, porque ahora barco y marineros están sujetos a la disposición de los padres; y lo envían muchas veces, entre año, a las costas de las misiones de la otra banda, a solicitar bastimentos, y también a los puertos de las misiones de Californias, para llevar lo necesario a los padres misioneros. Pero en tal caso no tendrán este uso libre de su barco, porque querrán los cabos de los presidios tenerlo a su mando, y disposición, no sólo para el transporte de sus bastimentos, sino mucho más para sus buceos, que ha sido siempre el blanco apetecido de su codicia.

1757. ¿Y qué diremos entonces de los padres misioneros? ¿O han de tener su barco propio que su majestad les concede, y sin el cual no pueden pasar en aquellas regiones ultramarinas, o han de estar atenedos a la sujeción, y servidumbre del barco que sirve a los presidios? Si han de tener su barco propio, como ahora tienen, es forzoso que su majestad mantenga otro barco aparte para los presidios. Y esto es aumentar demasiadamente los gastos de sus reales cajas. Si han de estar sujetos, a proveerse con el barco de los presidios, es dura servidumbre condenarlos a estar siempre dependientes del gusto, y voluntad de los cabos. Los cuales, como independientes de la jurisdicción de los padres, harán lo que quisieren, por más órdenes, y encargos que tengan de los señores virreyes. De donde se seguirán gravísimos inconvenientes en daño, y detrimento de aquellas misiones.

1758. Pasemos de aquí al segundo objeto, que son los soldados, y en ellos descubriremos otras dos razones, no menos eficaces que las pasadas. La una se funda en lo temporal de sus sueldos, en que han de ser notablemente damnificados; la otra en lo espiritual de sus almas, en que recibirán mayor detrimento. Cuanto a los sueldos es cierto, que, estando el presidio sin sujeción a los padres, recibirán los soldados menos sueldos de los que ahora reciben. La razón es, porque en tal caso no conviene que los padres se hagan cargo de la cobranza, y administración del situado de los presidios por graves inconvenientes, que de aquí se pueden seguir. Y así es forzoso, que los cabos pongan por lo menos tres encomenderos de su cuenta: uno en México, otro en Matanchel, y otro en la costa de las misiones para la cobranza, y administración de los situados; compra y despacho de las memorias, agenda de maíces, harinas, carne, y otros bastimentos, y su remisión a Californias.

1759. De aquí se sigue: que como ningún encomendero ha de querer servirles de balde, es forzoso que les paguen los salarios legítimos de la encomienda con los costos de la

cobranza, y administración de los situados. Todo esto se ha de rebajar de los sueldos de los soldados, y marineros. Y así por este lado han de recibir entonces menos sueldos de los que ahora reciben, porque corriendo ahora con su administración el procurador de Californias, les envía a todos lo que les toca, rebajando sólo los precisos costos de su transporte, y conducción. A esto se llega, que también sucederá, lo que muchas veces sucede; y es que los encomenderos compren acá los géneros al ínfimo precio, y los remitan avaluados al supremo. Y esto menos recibirán los soldados, porque lo ganan los encomenderos, diciendo: que son frutos de su industria. ¿Pues qué diremos, si los cabos se meten a mercaderes, empleando en todos aquellos géneros, que les sirven a los soldados, y que se los vendan allá muy caros, a cuenta de sus sueldos? Aquí es forzoso también, que padezcan notable detrimento.

1760. Pero esto es lo de menos, porque redundará sólo en daño del cuerpo. Mayor detrimento es, el que padecerán las almas. Y ésta es la segunda razón por parte de los soldados; porque ahora con la sujeción, que tienen los padres, se refrenan en muchos excesos militares en que no será fácil reprimirlos estando independientes. Ahora los padres los doctrinan con sermones, y pláticas frecuentes que les hacen; los imponen en la frecuencia de sacramentos, en la devoción de la virgen, en la asistencia a la misa, y el santo rosario de María; los apartan de los excesos, en que prorrumpen desbocada, la gente militar en otras partes. Para conseguir ahora todo esto puede mucho en los soldados la dependencia que tienen con los padres, y el temor de perder las plazas, si no viven cristianamente. Pero nada de esto se podrá conseguir de los soldados, en caso de no estar sujetos a la disposición de los padres, como se puede fácilmente discurrir al cotejo de la licencia, y disolución militar, con que suelen vivir los soldados de otros presidios.

1761. Síguese ya el tercer objeto, que son los indios californios; en los cuales hallaremos otras dos razones sobre el mismo asunto de que vamos tratando: la una es por los muchos atrasos, que causarán en los indios californios con el mal gobierno civil, y político, que tendrán con ellos; la otra es por la ruina espiritual, que causarán en sus almas con sus escándalos, y malos ejemplos. Examinemos una, y otra razón. Todo buen gobierno consiste en la prudente dirección, con que se procura por medios convenientes, encaminar a los que son gobernados, al debido fin que deben tener, que es el bien común. Así lo enseña Santo Tomás. *Gubernatio nihil aliud est, quam directio gubernatorum ad finem, qui est aliquod bonum* (1.p. g. 103 art. 3 incorp.). El debido fin que han de buscar los californios, como vasallos de su rey terreno, es la obediencia y lealtad con su majestad, por medio de la observancia de sus leyes, y ordenanzas, que todas miran al bien común. El que deben pretender como vasallos de Jesucristo, es ser buenos cristianos, servir a Dios, amarle, y guardar sus santos mandamientos, para

alcanzar la vida eterna. Pero estos dos fines, quedarán frustrados con el mal gobierno, y peores ejemplos de unos soldados libres, e independientes.

1762. Cuanto a lo primero se ha de suponer, lo que después diremos. Y es, que los soldados que asisten en las misiones, son tenientes, y comisarios del cabo del presidio para todas las ejecuciones de la justicia. Y aunque ahora el padre visitador nombra fiscales, y gobernadores de todas las rancherías, y el cabo del presidio les confiere su jurisdicción, pero en estando independiente el presidio, ya no tendrá en eso acción alguna el padre visitador. De aquí se sigue, que como en tal caso, así los soldados, como los gobernadores de los pueblos han de estar sujetos a sólo el capitán, y no a los padres, ni cuanto a ponerlos, ni cuanto a removerlos, ni cuanto a castigarlos. Es consiguiente, que ande entonces el gobierno político de los indios, como quisiere el capitán, y sus soldados, y no como dicta la razón, y como pide la necesidad de aquellos pueblos; nuevos en la fe, y nuevos también en la vida política, que antes no conocían.

1763. Pero cómo ha de andar el gobierno de aquellos, que no miran a otro fin que a los intereses de su avaricia, y cuidarán entonces también de contentar a aquellos, ¿de quiénes depende el nombramiento, y conservación de sus plazas? Ya se deja entender, que todo andará mal encaminado, por faltar al fin principal que deben tener en el gobierno de los indios. Y por no aplicar los medios conducentes para ese fin. En tal caso de nada aprovecharán avisos, y amonestaciones de los padres, para atajar los desordenes de los soldados. Porque estos, como independientes de su jurisdicción, no harán caso. Ni valdrá acudir al cabo del presidio. Porque éste, no dependiendo ya de los padres, se hará antes fautor, que juez de los desafueros de los soldados, por tener a estos de su parte para sus designios. Recurrir entonces a México en tanta distancia de tierras, y con mar de por medio para informar al señor virrey de lo que allá pasa, y pedir remedio, es nunca acabar y no hacer nada. Y entretanto que acá se solicita algún despacho, se puede perder allá la tierra, o suceder algunos otros daños, irreparables.

1764. ¿Y qué diremos ya cuanto al segundo punto del daño que recibirán los indios con los malos ejemplos de los soldados? Con esto se dice todo. Aún estando, como han estado hasta ahora sujetos a los padres ha habido siempre mucho que atajar, qué corregir, y qué enmendar. Siendo los soldados que asisten en las misiones, la mayor cruz que tienen los padres misioneros. ¿Pues qué sucediera en caso de estar los soldados sin esta sujeción? No es menester discurrir mucho, para conocerlo; pues se viene a los ojos como verdad moralmente cierta, que serán entonces los soldados la ruina espiritual de aquellos nuevos cristianos con su mala vida, y perversos ejemplos. Esto sólo se puede esperar de la vida libre, y desenvuelta, que en otras partes suelen tener los soldados. Y mucho más, si se considera, que entonces no se recibirán los soldados por elección, y

aprobación de los padres, como ahora se hace, sino que ésta será acción del capitán por comisión del señor virrey. A veces también enviarán de las cárceles, como se envían a otros presidios forajidos, y malhechores que vayan forzados a servir al rey de balde en los presidios de Californias. Y ¿qué harán tales hombres entre aquellos nuevos cristianos? No es menester decirlo; ya está dicho, en decir, que son forzados y forajidos.

1765. Concluamos con otras dos razones que se fundan en el cuarto objeto, que son los padres misioneros. La una es, porque no podrán ya disponer libremente las expediciones, y descubrimientos de aquella conquista. La otra es, porque se verán siempre expuestos a padecer infinitas vejaciones, y pesadumbres, causadas de los mismos soldados. Por lo tocante a las expediciones, es cierto que sin esta sujeción de los soldados no se hubiera dado paso en la conquista de Californias, como dice el padre Juan María en su memorial, y apuntamos arriba en la primera de sus razones. Es cierto también, que aún estando sujetos a los padres, ha sido menester valerse de aquestos medios: dicta la caridad, la prudencia, y la justicia, para hacer lo que se ha hecho en todas las misiones, por la renuencia de los soldados, fundada en el mucho trabajo que ha costado el descubrimiento de nuevas tierras, y la fundación de nuevas misiones con la necesidad de abrir caminos en unos montes, y sierras tan ásperas. Por esta causa algunos a los principios fueron despedidos; otros renunciaron sus plazas, antes de verse despedidos; otros finalmente escribieron contra los padres, y no faltó un cabo, que escribió al señor virrey, que los padres eran unos hombres temerarios, que emprendían imposibles, y los metían en evidentes riesgos de la vida.

1766. Infiérase de aquí, ¿cómo estarán los soldados en adelante para todas las expediciones militares que se irán ofreciendo en nuevos descubrimientos hacia el norte, si les eximen de la obediencia, y jurisdicción de los padres, pues cuando estaban sujetos a ella, se mostraban tan renitentes? ¿Cómo podrán los padres, hacer nuevos descubrimientos para fundar nuevas misiones si en encontrando dificultades, y trabajos, reclamarán los soldados, resistirán los capitanes, y negarán la escolta necesaria, diciendo, que tienen instrucciones, y órdenes del señor virrey, y que no es servicio de su majestad, emprender imposibles? Que a ellos como a gobernadores de la tierra pertenece el disponer estas entradas, cómo, y cuándo convenga. Que por eso no deban sujetarse a las temerarias resoluciones de los padres, revestidas, y coloreadas con la capa de celo de las almas. Esto y mucho más dirán en tales ocasiones los cabos, y soldados, sin que baste el distante recurso al señor virrey, cuyo juicio procurarán ellos preocupar con informes siniestros, dictados al gusto de su pasión.

1767. ¿Y quién podrá aquí declarar las infinitas vejaciones, y pesadumbres a que se verán expuestos los padres misioneros, viéndose necesitados a tratar con una gente

indómita, a quien no pueden mandar, y que ellos lo querrán mandar todo? Ello es forzoso, como después diremos, el que asistan uno, o dos soldados en cada misión. ¿Cómo podrán pues los padres tolerar su compañía, si ahora, estando sujetos, apenas los pueden sufrir, y es necesario, andarlas remudando, por aliviar algo el trabajo con su alternación, y mudanza? Pero todo esto se mira de lejos desde acá, y mucho más desde las cortes, donde suelen hallar más fácil entrada las calumnias, y siniestras acusaciones sobrescritas con el nombre del servicio del rey, que las representaciones verídicas, selladas con la impresión del celo de las almas, y del mayor servicio de Dios. Pero aún en esto mismo llevan los siervos del Señor el carácter honorífico de bienaventurados, cuando son perseguidos por la verdad, y por la justicia. *Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum* (Math. C.5.V.10).

CAPÍTULO VI

Del procurador del presidio de Californias.

1768. Aunque por muchos años corrió el superior del presidio con la administración del situado de los soldados y marineros, y con el cuidado de todo lo tocante a su gobierno, y manutención; pero el tiempo mostró, ser imposible, que pudiese él solo atender a este gobierno, y administración del presidio. Ya vimos las razones que hubo, para que el padre Juan María tuviese por veinte años este cargo. Y las que hubo también, para que después de su santa muerte no estuviese aligado el cargo de visitador, y superior del presidio al padre misionero de Loreto, sino al que fuese nombrado en cada trienio por visitador de todas las misiones. Habiéndose pues practicado así por el tiempo de diez años, la experiencia mostró, que el superior del presidio, por ser también visitador de todas las misiones, sin dejar el cargo, necesitaba de algún alivio.

1769. Informado pues el padre provincial Andrés Nieto del gran trabajo, y peso de ocupaciones que recaían sobre el visitador de las Californias, determinó aliviarle en algo la carga. Consideró, que el dicho padre visitador ejercitaba a un tiempo tres cargos, todos embarazosos, y llenos de ocupaciones: uno era el de misionero particular en su propia misión, que lo ejecutaba para la continua instrucción, asistencia, y administración de sus feligreses; otro era el de superior del presidio, que lo necesitaba al cuidado de su manutención, a su buen gobierno, al despacho de los barcos, al recibo, y dispendio de las memorias, y a las demás providencias, tocantes a este cargo. Todo esto requería un sujeto, casi siempre asistente en Loreto, para atender de cerca al buen gobierno del presidio, y provisión de los soldados. Y si su misión estaba muy distante, era incompatible esta asistencia, y cuidado con la que debía tener en su misión. El tercero era el cargo de visitador de todas las misiones, y superior de los misioneros. Por el cual estaba obligado, no sólo al buen gobierno, y consuelo de sus súbditos, sino también a

visitar todas las misiones, y andar toda la tierra por el distrito de casi trescientas leguas. Y mientras andaba en estas visitas, no podía dar las prontas providencias que requería el buen gobierno del presidio.

1770. Considerando pues estos inconvenientes, el padre provincial determinó señalar un padre, que fuese procurador del presidio de Loreto, y que éste fuese el mismo misionero que allí reside, sino es que alguna vez pareciese conveniente, señalar un sujeto aparte para esta ocupación. Para que así uno, u otro atendiese de cerca a todas las providencias necesarias para el buen gobierno del presidio, y pronto expediente de los barcos. Con este nuevo oficio que se dió por el año de 1728, quedó el padre visitador de las misiones aligerado del molesto embarazo, y continuo cuidado, que antes tenía sobre las cosas del presidio. Más no por eso quedó éste exento de su jurisdicción, sino sujeto, como antes estaba. Y asimismo quedó el padre visitador gozando de todas las facultades, que antes tenía, así en orden a los soldados con su cabo, como en orden al gobierno político de todos los moradores de Californias. Porque con la erección de este nuevo oficio sólo se le alivió el trabajo, mas no se le quitó el mando, y la jurisdicción.

1771. Pero porque para llegar a establecer, con la ejecución, los puntos a que se extendía la comisión del nuevo procurador del presidio por los varios ramos, y acciones, que a queste comprende, ocurrían algunas dudas, acudieron los padres al padre visitador general de todas las misiones, que era el padre Joseph de Echeverría, cuando por el año de 1730 se hallaba en Californias, y había visitado ya las misiones de aquella tierra. Habiendo pues representado las dudas, y dificultades que podían resultar en la ejecución de aquel nuevo oficio, le suplicaron que las dejase aclaradas, y establecidas. Así lo hizo el dicho padre visitador. Y habiendo juntado en la misión de San Pablo consulta de los tres más antiguos misioneros, que eran el padre Juan de Ugarte, el padre Julián de Mayorga, y el padre Clemente Guillén, que habían sido todos fundadores de sus misiones, hizo, que allí se fuesen proponiendo todas las dificultades que podían ocurrir; y habiéndose examinado y conferido bien todos los puntos concernientes a la materia, en el día 20 de mayo de dicho año de 1730, usando el padre visitador general de la facultad que llevaba del padre provincial, con parecer, y aprobación de la consulta, determinó declarar, ordenar, y establecer los puntos siguientes:

1772. El primero: que el padre visitador, que es, o fuere de Californias, como desde el principio de su reducción hasta ahora ha sido superior del presidio, será también en adelante, sin derogar en nada su autoridad, y facultades. De suerte, que el capitán, oficiales, y soldados, contra maestres, guardianes, y marineros estén sujetos a sus órdenes en la misma forma que antes.

El segundo: que el que es, o fuere procurador del presidio, es, y será en todo, súbdito del padre visitador, como cualquier padre, o hermano de los que viven en Californias; no sólo en lo tocante a la misión, si fuere (como hoy es) misionero de Loreto, sino en todo lo que pertenece a su oficio de procurador del presidio, situado, barcos, y gente de mar, en la misma forma que cualquier procurador de colegio nuestro es súbdito de su rector, y provincial. Y en esta conformidad el rector, que fuere de las misiones de Loreto, será superior inmediato de dicho procurador.

El tercero: que el oficio del que fuere procurador será atender al buen gobierno del presidio con la intermediación que pida. Y podrá despedir, o admitir los soldados que le pareciere, conforme pidiere la necesidad; así como los demás marineros, y gente que sirve en los barcos. Sin que de esto avise al padre visitador, si no es cuando su reverencia se hallare en Loreto. Que entonces pide la urbanidad, que a ningún soldado se admita, ni se despida, sin avisar a su reverencia.

El cuarto: que la elección del capitán, alférez, y cabo de escuadra, sea sólo acción del padre visitador. El cual consultará primero con los padres, sin excluir nunca al que fuere procurador del presidio, y elegirá, al que fuere más benemérito de capitán, y pedirá la confirmación de su elección al señor virrey.

El quinto: que será del cuidado del padre procurador, el prevenir con tiempo las provisiones necesarias a la manutención de los soldados, y gente de mar. Asimismo los pertrechos que son menester para el buen apresto de los barcos, que siempre deberán estar bien aviados, para conducir los bastimentos, y a sus tiempos las memorias. Excusando, el que salgan a viaje en los meses de agosto, y septiembre, muy apeligrados en estos mares, si no es en alguna grave necesidad.

El sexto: que el padre procurador correrá con las cuentas del capitán, y soldados, contra maestres, y toda gente de mar, pagando sus sueldos, y salarios en la forma que hasta ahora; sin admitir más sirvientes, de los que son menester, ni permitir salarios en gente inútil, evitando cuanto es posible, los gastos, que se pueden evitar.

El séptimo: que el procurador no disponga cosa alguna de importancia, ni de gasto extraordinario, como el deshacer un barco, fabricar otro, o echarle fondo nuevo, sin consultar con el padre visitador. Y que en estas materias no se gobierne sólo por los dichos de los contra maestres, y marineros, sino que se valga de las personas más inteligentes, que hubiere en el real, para reconocer el estado de los barcos; celando su duración con la vigilancia que se requiere, donde con tanta dificultad se adquieren, y donde sin ellos no se puede mantener esta cristiandad.

El octavo: que cuando sucediere perderse algún barco, se hará informe auténtico del suceso, conforme permitieren las circunstancias. Y no se escribirá al señor virrey pidiéndole otro, sin que acompañe a la carta dicho informe, y sin que en ello convenga el padre visitador, y su consulta. Si la pérdida sucediere por culpable descuido del contra maestre, o de la gente de mar, procederá contra los culpados, el capitán del presidio, sin que el padre procurador, u otro alguno, con pretexto de caridad, ataje las diligencias, que debe hacer la justicia.

El nono: que porque no siempre será fácil el recurso al padre visitador, y podría seguirse mala obra en la detención a los soldados, y marineros, y a la gente que se despide, las certificaciones de los servicios, que antes sólo daba el superior, cuando está ausente, podrá darlas el padre que es, o fuere procurador.

El décimo: que el padre visitador de las misiones de Californias tiene plena potestad de los señores virreyes, para señalar, fuera del capitán, y jefes del presidio, personas que administren justicia. Pero sólo se deberá practicar en casos, donde no puede ser juez el capitán, y en parajes, donde no puede asistir en persona. Evitando las ocasiones que puede haber de competencia, y disgustos.

1773. Estas son las principales disposiciones que dejó establecidas en su visita de Californias, el dicho padre visitador Joseph de Echeverría, en orden a las facultades que debe tener, y puede ejecutar, el que allí fuere procurador del presidio. Todas ellas por una parte van dirigidas al mayor alivio del padre visitador, pues se le quitó lo que es embarazo en el gobierno inmediato del presidio, y administración de cosas temporales; y se le dejó la jurisdicción, y mando sobre el presidio con todas las facultades, que se le concedieron desde el principio. Por otra parte, se ordenan, a dar pronta providencia al gobierno del presidio, y manejo de las cosas temporales; a las cuales puede atender más de cerca, y con más inmediación que los otros padres, el misionero de Loreto. Porque, por tener allí su habitual asistencia, puede sin dispendio de sus ministerios de misionero, dar cumplimiento a los empleos de procurador, como lo hizo el padre Juan María en los veinte años, que residió en aquella misión.

[se omite 1774 hasta 1784.]

CAPÍTULO VIII

Del gobierno del presidio, distribución de los soldados, y ejercicios, que tienen en las misiones.

1785. Pasamos ya a referir lo que se observa en el gobierno del presidio, y de los soldados; su distribución por las misiones, y ocupaciones que en ellas tienen. Y lo

primero, que ocurre acerca de los soldados, es su entrada en Californias, y sus salida de ellas, cuando, o por renuncia de su plaza, o por legítima expulsión se van a la otra banda. Y es cierto, que por lo que toca a los padres no se admitieran en Californias, sino los mejores soldados que pudieran hallarse en la otra banda, pero la necesidad, retiro, y desamparo de aquella tierra, los obliga a veces, a recibir a los que en otro lugar, y circunstancias no recibieran. De este dictamen fue el venerable padre Juan María de Salvatierra, quien aún en el tiempo calamitoso, en que por no tener con que sustentar el presidio iba despidiendo a los soldados, nunca quiso recibir por soldados hombres forajidos, ni desterrados por sus delitos. Y como el señor fiscal de la audiencia de Guadalajara le escribiese, que si quería negociaría con la real audiencia, que remitiese desterrados a servir sin sueldo en Californias, a los reos que salen de las cárceles, condenados a servir al rey en los presidios. El padre Juan María, después de agradecer su buena voluntad, respondió, que no convenía admitirlos, porque de ordinario aquella gente forajida, y perversa, causaba más daño que provecho; y menos daño era, quedar indefensos, que mal defendidos de gente tan mala.

1786. En este mismo dictamen se han mantenido después acá los superiores de Californias, no queriendo admitir por soldados, ni aún para vivir en la tierra, a los fugitivos, ni a los desterrados, ni a gente forajida, que sale de las cárceles, y va forzada a servir en los presidios. Sólo reciben a los que vienen llamados, o a los que espontáneamente se ofrecen, cuando hay falta de ellos en el presidio. Y aunque por real ordenanza está prohibido que en ningún presidio se aliste, ni se admita soldado que no fuere español, pero por la falta que de estos hay en partes tan remotas, y por no ser factible, el que se lleven de la Nueva España, no se puede dar en el todo, cumplimiento a la dicha ordenanza. Y así a veces es necesario, recibir para soldados a los mulatos, mestizos, y otra gente de color quebrado. Pero porque es justo que haya distinción entre ellos, y los legítimos españoles, cuando se admiten se les advierte, que sólo han de ganar medio sueldo. Esto se entiende en los dos primeros años, porque si proceden bien, y se juzga que son necesarios, y útiles a la tierra, al cabo de los dos años de experiencia, se les paga como por gracia el sueldo por entero. Con esto consiguen los padres otra utilidad, que es aumentar las plazas del presidio, pagándolas con estos medios sueldos. Y así de ordinario hay más soldados en el presidio, que los que paga el rey.

1787. Supuesta pues con las calidades dichas la elección, y admisión de los soldados, cuando algunos entran de nuevo a militar en el presidio se les lee en primer lugar el despacho concedido al superior de las misiones para que por él entiendan la sujeción que deben tener al dicho superior; la obediencia que han de rendir a su capitán, y finalmente los fueros que han de gozar como soldados, por militar en Californias.

Después se les intiman las disposiciones, que por orden de los padres visitadores están establecidas acerca de los soldados para su buen gobierno. Las más principales de ellas son las siguientes: que no se han de aplicar al buceo de las perlas, aunque no se les prohíbe comprarlas a los indios; que a estos no se les hagan vejaciones, ni les den mal ejemplo. Que los que son casados en la otra banda, no dejen allá sus mujeres, sino que las lleven consigo, si no es que estén divorciados por legítima sentencia. Que los que tienen hijos, los envíen a la escuela de Loreto, para que aprendan a leer, y escribir, pagando al maestro su justo salario. Que cada soldado, fuera de sus armas, ha de mantener dos caballos propios, los cuales, en yéndose ellos de la tierra, los venderán a otro; que han de ir siguiéndose de uno en uno, a cuidar los caballos de todos, conforme los fuere señalando el capitán. Que han de acudir con prontitud a todas las expediciones militares que se ofrecieren, según fueren señalados. Que los que asistieren de escoberos en las misiones, han de estar obedientes a los padres, y ocuparse en lo que les mandaren, según la costumbre, y necesidad de cada misión. Que los que asisten en el presidio sean prontos, a cumplir la distribución militar que allí se guarda. Finalmente, que allí vivan cristianamente, y se conserven unidos entre sí con mutua paz, y concordia.

1788. Semejantes a estos son otros avisos, con que los padres procuran instruir a los nuevos soldados, para que den cumplimiento a sus obligaciones, así en lo militar, como en lo cristiano. Para este fin a los que viven en el presidio se les hacen pláticas espirituales en castellano, fuera de las que se hacen en su lengua a los indios. Se procura que guarden una cristiana distribución; que oigan misa cada día con la debida atención, y reverencia, que recen con devoción a coros el rosario de María santísima, y al fin sus letanías; después de las cuales, en los sábados, se les refiere algún ejemplo de la devoción de la virgen. Exhortándolos a vivir cristianamente, y a frecuentar los sacramentos en algunas festividades del año.

1789. La distribución militar del presidio se guarda allí exactamente, como en todos los demás presidios bien arreglados. Corriendo por cuenta del capitán el castigar a los que faltan a su deber; pero si algunos no se quieren arreglar a sus obligaciones, o sea en lo militar, o en lo cristiano, sin que basten amenazas, ni reprensiones, ni castigos para su enmienda, se toma la última resolución de despedirlos. Y lo mismo se hace con la gente de mar. A los que salen de la tierra, o sea por expulsión, o sea por renuncia, se les da pasaje para la otra banda en los barcos. Y todos llevan certificaciones de sus servicios militares, firmados del superior del presidio, o por ausencia suya del padre procurador, que vive en Loreto.

1790. En estas certificaciones procuran los padres abonar, y recomendar las personas de los soldados que han servido bien, y salen de allá no despedidos, sino por renuncia que

han hecho de sus plazas. Pero a los que salen despedidos, procuran con caridad, mirar en todo por su crédito, y buen nombre, ocultando todo lo que pudiera desdorar su fama. Y así dan las certificaciones con aquellas palabras generales que bastan para recomendarlos como soldados obedientes a su capitán, y puntuales en la asistencia del presidio, y expediciones militares, sin decir que van despedidos. Y lo que es más, a veces procuran los padres, que aquéllos a quienes despiden por culpas secretas, hagan en lo exterior su renuncia, para que quede salva su honra.

1791. En lo tocante a la distribución de los soldados, se procura siempre, que los más de ellos estén asistentes en el real de Loreto, para que de allí salgan, cuando se ofrece, a las excursiones, y operaciones necesarias. Los demás se reparten por las misiones con este orden: cuando se funda nueva misión, van seis, u ocho soldados que acompañen al padre misionero por algunos meses, y con la ayuda de los indios hagan iglesia, casa, y las piezas necesarias. En las misiones ya fundadas, que están en frontera de gentiles, asisten de ordinario dos soldados, y a veces tres, según es la necesidad, o el peligro que se teme; pero donde cesa este peligro, como es en las misiones antiguas, de ordinario sólo asiste un soldado, acompañando al padre misionero. Y aunque por ordenación del padre provincial Joseph de Arajó está dispuesto que en las misiones más antiguas, donde no hay peligro de levantamiento, se procura excusar el soldado, para aumentar el número de los del presidio. Pero esto no es fácil siempre de cumplir por la suma necesidad, que hay de que asista de continuo un soldado en cada misión.

1792. La razón en que se funda esta necesidad, es, porque, por una parte el soldado asistente tiene allí las veces del padre, y por otra las del capitán del presidio; tiene las veces del padre misionero para todo lo económico, de cuidar la casa, y proveer del necesario sustento a los que se mantienen, en la cabecera de la misión. Esto no puede siempre hacerlo el padre misionero, porque de ordinario anda ausente en confesiones de enfermos, en visitas de rancherías, y en otros ministerios de su oficio. Dejar entonces la casa sola es exponer al robo de los indios la provisión de bastimentos, que hay en la misión. Y como cada día se les da de comer a los pajes de casa, al gobernador, al fiscal, a los viejos, e impedidos, y a las rancherías que se van remudando cada semana para ser doctrinadas en la cabecera, es forzoso, que haya, quien cuide del sustento, que se les ha de dar, que es atole de maíz, y pozole, o maíz cocido. Tiene también el soldado las veces del capitán del presidio, para prender, y castigar a los indios en algunos casos, en que no puede el padre mandarlo hacer por sí mismo, ni es cosa que deba remitirse al cabo del presidio por la distancia.

1793. Por esta causa, y según el estado presente de las misiones es necesaria la asistencia del soldado en cada misión; porque allí no hay otra gente de quien valerse, ni

se permite, que haya en Californias sirvientes de la otra banda por varios inconvenientes que en esto han experimentado los padres. Así lo dejó ordenado el padre visitador Joseph de Echeverría, permitiendo sólo, que en las misiones nuevas se puedan tener por poco tiempo algunos sirvientes de la otra banda, para que enseñen a los indios a labrar la tierra; y que en cumpliendo con esto, los restituyan al lugar de donde vinieron, menos a aquéllos, que se hubieren ya casado con las indias de las tierras. Siendo esto así, es necesaria la asistencia de los soldados en las misiones. Y para que estos no hagan falta en el presidio, se han valido los padres de la industria que ya dijimos, de aumentar las plazas de los soldados con los medios sueldos, que sobran de los que no son españoles.

1794. El gobierno de los soldados en lo político, y militar le toca de oficio al capitán del presidio; el es quien los manda, quien los gobierna, quien da las órdenes de lo que han de hacer dentro, y fuera del presidio. El es quien los envía a las expediciones militares de guerra, o descubrimientos, o pacificaciones de alzamientos, y alborotos. El es finalmente, quien señala los que han de asistir en cada misión. Y si algunos no salen a gusto de los padres, porque no cumplen con su obligación, el capitán envía otros en su lugar, y llama aquéllos, para que asistan en el presidio. En todo lo cual obra con subordinación al padre visitador como a superior suyo. Y aunque habitualmente el dicho padre visitador lo deja usar en todo de su potestad ordinaria, pero si ve, que en algo falta gravemente a su obligación, procura amonestarlo con suaves razones, y cuando éstas no bastan, usa de su potestad absoluta. Con esto se consigue, que así el gobierno de los soldados, como de los demás indios de la tierra, ande habitualmente bien concertado, y arreglado en todo a la ley de Dios, y a las leyes de la milicia, y de la política.

CAPÍTULO IX

Satisfécese a algunas quejas de los soldados contra los padres misioneros.

1795. Ninguno pudiera ser buen juez de causas ajenas, si abriendo mucho una oreja para oír acusaciones, y querellas, cerrará la otra, para no escuchar defensas, ni descargos. Esto sucediera en el caso presente, en que vamos hablando de los soldados de Californias, si el que los oye quejar contra los padres cuando ellos vienen a este reino, fuera fácil en oírlos, y temerario en darles crédito, y no fuera cauto, ni prudente, para suspender a lo menos el juicio, donde no hay quien salga a la defensa del crédito ajeno. Porque es así, que muchos de los soldados que han militado en Californias, cuando después se han vuelto a sus tierras, sin acordarse del mucho bien, que allá recibieron de los padres, han venido a esparcir contra ellos muchas quejas, y calumnias, así en las provincias de Sinaloa, y Sonora, como en Guadalajara, en México, y aún en toda la Nueva España. Y aunque es verdad que los hombres cuerdos, y avisados no les dan

crédito porque también hay muchos imprudentes, crédulos, temerarios, y fáciles de propalar cuanto oyen en materia de honras ajenas. Será forzoso, salir aquí a la defensa de los padres misioneros, y mostrar, cuanto más quejosos debían estar los padres contra los soldados, que ellos contra los padres.

1796. Para hablar con seguridad y sin ofensión de los buenos, hemos de suponer aquí dos cosas: la primera es, que no puede negarse que haya habido en Californias algunos soldados buenos, muy cristianos en sus costumbres, muy cabales en sus respetos, muy aplicados al trabajo, muy arreglados a la milicia, y que en todo han procurado, dar cumplimiento a sus obligaciones. Pero estos han sido los menos. Así como en toda muchedumbre siempre son muy pocos los buenos respecto de los malos. Pues de estos pocos no hablamos aquí, porque sus buenos proceder, antes merecen recomendación, y alabanza por sus loables costumbres, y por el celo, y buena intención, con que se aplicaron al servicio de su rey, y al alivio de los padres en aquella conquista. Hablamos sólo de los muchos, y por decirlo con más expresión, hablamos de los mismos, que se quejan contra los padres. Porque ellos son, los que no pudiendo, o no queriendo sufrir el yugo de la sujeción militar, ni la disciplina de la vida cristiana en que querían los padres contenerlos, después que han salido de allá, desfogan su enojo, y sentimiento con quejas mal fundadas, y aún a veces también con imposturas falsas en descrédito de los padres.

1797. La segunda cosa que se ha de suponer, es, que estos muchos, de quienes hablamos, por la mayor parte son la gente vil de la tierra, y el desecho de la plebe. Porque aunque los padres quisieran, escoger para soldados los mejores que pudieran hallarse, pero como están en tierras ultramarinas, y tan apartadas de estos reinos, compelidos de la necesidad, reciben por soldados a los que topan. Conviene a saber, mulatos, mestizos, lobos, coyotes, y otros semejantes, que en su color quebrado y en la mala mixtura de su sangre dan luego a conocer la bajeza de sus obligaciones. Pues que, si se considera, que algunos de estos son gente fugitiva de la Nueva España, o de la Nueva Galicia, que por no caer en manos de la justicia por sus delitos, voluntariamente se destierran de sus patrias, retirándose a lo más apartado de nuestras misiones, mas como ni allí han hallado cabida, ni fomento, ni ocupación en qué buscar el necesario sustento a la primera ocasión, que tuvieron, se alistaron por soldados de Californias.

1798. Estos son pues de los que hablamos, estos son los quejosos contra los padres y estos son los que en sus mismas quejas dan luego a conocer la ruindad de sus proceder. En ellos se cumple el vulgar adagio, que dice: ¿Quiéres conocer al ruin? Pues dale un cargo. Porque lo mismo es, verse admitidos por soldados, para servir al rey en el presidio de Californias, que mostrar luego la ruindad de sus costumbres en su modo de

proceder. Recíbenlos allí con el despacho del señor virrey, expedido a favor del superior del presidio, para que por él sepan, así sus obligaciones, como los fueros militares de que allí gozan. Pero ellos, haciendo poco caso, y aún a veces olvidando lo oneroso de sus obligaciones, aprecian mucho y toman bien de memoria, lo honorífico, y favorable de sus fueros militares. Con esto se revisten de un espíritu tan soberbio, como si fueran ya unos grandes capitanes, con quienes ninguno se pudiera igualar. Y soldado ha habido tan petulante, y desvergonzado, que ha tenido osadía de decirle al padre, a quien asistía, que entre él y su reverencia no había más distinción, que la sotana.

1799. Con una gente tal se ven obligados los padres a tratar de continuo por el bien de aquella cristiandad. Quien mira las cosas de lejos, pensará por ventura, que tienen los padres mucho alivio, en tener cada uno un soldado que le cuide la misión; y de ordinario no tiene, sino mucho tormento. De ellos se cumple lo que decía San Ignacio de aquellos diez soldados, que lo llevaban preso a Roma; esto es: que iba atado de día y de noche con diez leopardos, que en acariciándolos se hacían más crueles, y sangrientos de que vamos hablando; gente feroz, gente intratable, gente brutal, idiota, ignorante, y sobretodo gente soberbia, que les parece muy debido cualquiera bien, o agasajo, que los padres les hagan. Ellos están hechos a las conversaciones libres, y disolutas, que entre sí tienen con los soldados, y como se ven obligados a tratar de continuo con los padres, a quienes asisten, se les hace intolerable su conversación modesta, religiosa, y cristiana. ¿Pues qué tal les parecerá a los padres, por el contrario, el verse necesitados, a tratar con semejante gente tosca, grosera, y malcriada?

1800. En confirmación de esto llegó a decir el padre Juan María, que en todo cuanto había andado, no había encontrado gente más intratable, y perversa. Mas con todo eso ellos son necesarios en aquellas misiones. Porque, por ser su administración tan dilatada, y andar los padres de ordinario ausentes en sus ministerios, es forzoso, que haya, quien les cuide la casa, quien provea lo temporal del sustento, y quien tenga las veces del capitán del presidio para los casos que no admiten tardanza en el recurso al presidio. Es verdad, que el padre Juan de Ugarte se redujo a vivir sin soldados en su misión; pero esto pudo hacerlo, porque tuvo los indios de Sinaloa que le cuidasen la casa, sus cosechas, y sus ganados; y para costear su servicio, tenía los frutos, que sacaba del pueblo de San Miguel, como en otra parte se dijo. Los otros misioneros no pueden hacer esto, lo uno, por no tener con qué costear estos servicios, lo otro, porque por inconvenientes que se han reconocido, no se permiten ya sirvientes de la otra banda en Californias. A que se llega, que la misión del padre Ugarte era entre todas la más cercana al presidio. Y así era más fácil de suplir la ausencia del soldado con el recurso al capitán, que no en las otras.

1801. Sin embargo de esto conociendo el padre Ugarte esta necesidad de los soldados en nuestras misiones, solía decir aplicándoles el verso de Marcial: *Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te*: que los padres misioneros no pueden vivir ni con ellos, ni sin ellos. No con ellos, por lo intratable, y bronco de sus costumbres. No sin ellos por la indispensable necesidad, que hay de su asistencia en cada misión. De aquí se sigue, que raro es el soldado que persevera un año en la misión; porque al fin aburrido el padre con él, o por sus descuidos, o por sus escándalos, o por otras muchas causas que dan en lo tocante a su cargo, se ve obligado, a escribirle al capitán, que le envíe otro, y aquél lo remite al presidio. Pero esto no es mas que remudar el trabajo, porque suele venir otro peor que el pasado, y a veces es señalado para servir en aquella misión el que ya fue echado de otra por sus malos servicios. De este modo siendo cada soldado carga pesada para el padre, a quien asiste, se ve cada uno obligado a soportar la carga que otro dejó por intolerable; cumpliendo con esto el consejo del apóstol: *Alter alterius onera pòrtate*: y quedando remudados, pero no mejorados en el cambio, sólo quedan mejorados en el espíritu por la nueva materia que reciben, para ejercitar la caridad: *Supportantes invicem in caritate*.

1802. De lo dicho se puede inferir, que si esto sucede ahora estando sujeto todo el presidio al superior de las Californias, ¿qué sucediera en caso de estar independiente? Ya esto lo ponderamos arriba, y basta sólo notar, que en tal caso durará poco el presidio en Californias; porque ellos hicieron tales vejaciones a los indios, que estos se alzarán, y los matarán, o los echarán de la tierra. Y cuando esto no, el hambre los obligará a salir, como sucedía en lo antiguo; porque ahora toda la provisión que tienen depende de la industria, y trabajo de los padres, y de la providencia con que gobiernan los barcos, y la gente de mar. Por esta causa dijo el padre Juan María escribiendo al señor Miranda: que a no haberse hecho la entrada, y conquista de Californias del modo, que se hizo, y a no haber sido la conquistadora de aquella tierra María Santísima en su sagrada imagen de Loreto, era imposible conquistar aquel reino a cualquier brazo de rey, por poderoso que fuese.

CAPÍTULO X

Respóndese en particular a las quejas de los soldados.

1803. Pero vengamos ya en particular a tapar las bocas de estos soldados quejumbrosos en sus mal fundadas querellas. Ya hemos dado a conocer en el capítulo pasado, quiénes son los que se quejan, y contra quiénes. Conviene a saber soldados libres, y gente baja; hombres perversos, broncos, intratables, se quejan contra los padres misioneros, sacerdotes, religiosos, y siervos de Jesucristo, que están por obediencia en aquel destierro, y desamparo, empleados por amor del Señor en procurar la salvación de

aquellas almas. Y la causa porque se quejan, se funda en la contrariedad de la vida religiosa, y santa, con vida militar, y disoluta; y del fin espiritual a que anhela el celo apostólico, con el fin temporal y terreno, a que aspira la codicia mundana. Ahora examinaremos en particular, de qué se quejan, y qué es lo que dicen contra los padres.

1804. Dicen lo primero: que habiendo ellos asentado plaza de soldados en Californias, se ven después obligados a ejercitar el oficio de vaqueros. Esto lo dicen, porque tal vez el soldado de la misión va a traer la res que se ha de matar, para comer. Y también va a asistir al herradero, cuando hay ganado, que herrar. ¿Pero cuán mal, y sin razón se quejan de esto? Porque en primer lugar no siempre es enviado a esto el soldado, sino cuando no hay sirviente en la misión que lo pueda hacer. Ni esto sucede en todas partes porque en muchas misiones está el ganado cerca, y a la vista. Fuera de que, cuando el soldado va, no va solo, sino acompañado de los indios de la misión; y así propiamente el trabajo es de ellos. Y el soldado sólo va allí, para escoger la res, y mandar a los indios; y esto no es ser vaquero. Y si se mira, que esa res se trae para sustento del padre, y del soldado, ¿qué mucho hará éste en dar algunos pasos, por ir a traer lo que ha de comer? Si no es que quiera, que el padre le sirva de criado en irle a traer la carne que ha de comer. Y eso es levantarse mucho sobre su superior.

1805. ¿Qué diremos del herradero? Aquí tienen menos razón de quejarse. Porque, cuando hay algunas cabezas que herrar, es verdad que asiste el soldado, ¿pero a qué? A ver, y mandar. Si él es aficionado, se divierte. Porque a los hombres de campo les sirve de mucha diversión este ejercicio. Y vemos, que en todas las haciendas de ganado, sin ser llamados, acuden los campistas de todos los contornos, y de su voluntad se ofrecen a ayudar a los herradores, sin más interés, que el gusto que reciben con la diversión de este ejercicio. Pero si el soldado no es aficionado, va allí al principio por mera curiosidad; colea tres, o cuatro becerros para hacer ejercicio. Y en cansándose, se vuelve a la casa, dejando a los indios con el trabajo. Y esto es, lo que llaman, ser vaqueros en las misiones. Según esto diremos también, que son vaqueros los dueños de haciendas, cuando van a herrar sus ganados, y todos los que por afición, y divertimento van a los herraderos. Más prosigamos oyendo sus quejas.

1806. Dicen lo segundo: que ellos en las misiones son mayordomos de los padres. ¿Y esto por qué? Porque tienen las llaves de cuantas provisiones tiene el padre, y está a su cargo el cuidarlas, y distribuir las. Sin duda se acuerdan, que así en Loreto, como en otros presidios bien arreglados, se van señalando algunos de los soldados con nombre de proveedores, a cuyo cargo está el cuidar, y distribuir la provisión de todos. A uno de estos quejumbrosos, por exonerarle parte del trabajo que en esto tenía, quiso un padre misionero, recoger la mayor parte de la provisión, que tenía, en una pieza separada,

dejándole la que bastaba para el gasto ordinario; y porque el padre se guardó la llave, y no se la dio, se sintió tanto, que esto sólo fue bastante para pedir salirse de allí. ¿Pues qué sentimiento hicieran, si les quitaran a ellos las llaves, y se las dieran a los indios? Pues esa es la mayordomía, de que tanto se quejan, que en substancia no es otra cosa, que ser dueños de cuanto hay en la misión, y disponer de ello a su voluntad.

1807. En tercer lugar se quejan, de que ellos en las misiones son cocineros, para decir esto no tienen más fundamento, sino que ellos cuidan la provisión ordinaria de la comida, y la dan al cocinero cada día, para que la guise y prepare. Y esta comida es igualmente para el padre, y para el soldado, que come de todo lo que se da al padre, y mucho más, porque está en su mano toda la provisión, y se vale de ella a su voluntad para sus almuerzos, y meriendas. En lo primero no puede llamarse cocinero, sino proveedor; y pues este oficio lo hay en todos los presidios, no tiene por qué quejarse. En lo segundo de irse él a meter en la cocina, a preparar los bocaditos que ha de comer fuera de tiempo, esto no lo hace por mandado del padre, sino por su propia elección. Y así quéjese de sí mismo, pues por su gusto se mete a cocinero. En lo demás si el padre le quitara este cargo, y las llaves de la despensa, qué dijera? ¿Dejará de quejarse? Antes se quejará entonces de lo contrario, diciendo: que el padre lo mataba de hambre, y que a él le tocaba aquel cargo, por no haber allí, quién lo cuidase mejor que él. Pero esto es propio de los mal contentos; buscar en todo pretextos para sus quejas.

1808. Dicen lo cuarto: que en las misiones ellos más son comitres, que soldados. Lo cual dicen, porque una u otra vez se les ofrece castigar a los indios por sus hurtillos en que suele tener no pequeña parte el soldado por su descuido en las cosas que están a su cargo. Pero es cierto, que en lo demás que hacen los indios por mandado del padre, o del gobernador del pueblo, para nada interviene el soldado. Y debían acordarse, los que así se quejan, que en los presidios de Parras, Sinaloa, y Sonora los soldados son los que sirven de juntar los indios descarriados, y de ir a buscar a los fugitivos, que es un trabajo grande. Este gravamen no tienen en Californias; porque el padre envía a sus indios, a buscar a los fugitivos, menos en caso, de que el delito sea de muerte, porque entonces le toca al soldado, ayudado de los indios, el buscar, y prender al delincuente. Y esto no es ser comitre, ni verdugo, sino ministro ejecutor de la justicia en nombre del capitán, de quien tiene sus veces para estos casos.

1809. Dicen finalmente, que ellos en Californias nada menos son, que soldados. Porque allí sólo son criados de los padres, y criados también de los indios. El único fundamento que tienen, para decir esto, es, porque ellos cuidan, de que se cueza el maíz, que han de comer, y que se les haga el atole, que han de beber. Pero este trabajo más es de los indios, porque el soldado sólo se ocupa después en repartirlo. Y ni en esto se ocupara, si

él tuviera la economía de mandar a un indio que fuera repartiendo, pues con sólo estar él presente, y asistir cuando se reparte, lo hiciera bien cualquier indio ejecutando su mandato. Más aquí está la dificultad. Que a veces el mismo que se queja de este trabajo, no lo quiere dejar, ni cometer a otro, por hacerlo él por su propia mano a la medida de su deseo con desigualdad, y con aceptación de personas; porque les da a unos más, y a otros menos, según le dicta su pasión de amor, o de odio, de interés, o venganza. Y lo peor es que todo esto a veces nace de afecto lascivo.

1810. Por esta causa los padres Juan María de Salvatierra, Juan de Ugarte, Francisco María Piccolo, y Pedro de Ugarte procuraban casi siempre repartir por su mano el sustento a los pobres, para evitar toda desigualdad, y los daños que de ella nacen. Pero esto pudo hacerse entonces, cuando por estar las misiones más recogidas, había menos que hacer; ahora no es posible, por la extensión que tiene cada misión en sus ministerios, por los cuales andan los padres lo más del día fuera de casa. Pero entretanto digan los quejumbrosos, ¿en qué se opone este ministerio caritativo a lo militar, y a lo soldado? ¿Por ventura no se practica en todos los ejércitos este repartimiento de víveres a los soldados? Pues que mucho que lo hagan ellos con los indios, los cuales también en las expediciones, que se ofrecen contra los enemigos de las fronteras, o en los nuevos descubrimientos, acompañan con sus armas a los soldados, y se exponen a los mismos peligros.

1811. A más de esto deben acordarse, que la conquista de Californias no se ha conseguido con las armas de la milicia terrena, sino con las armas del espíritu. Conviene a saber con la luz de la palabra de Dios, y con los dardos de la beneficencia. Porque haciéndoles bien a aquellos pobres desamparados, y ejercitando con ellos las obras de misericordia espiritual y corporal, se han dejado conquistar, y ganar para Cristo. Pues si todos los efectos connaturalmente se conservan por las mismas causas que les dieron el ser primero, es forzoso decir, que la conquista de Californias, conseguida desde el principio a fuerza de beneficios caritativos, se ha de conservar con los mismos en lo porvenir. Pues esto es, ser soldados de Californias; ejercitar en compañía de los padres misioneros la misericordia con aquellos nuevos cristianos, para conservarlos sujetos a Cristo, y a su santa ley.

1812. Por esta causa se les concede entre sus fueros, que los servicios que hicieren en bien de aquella conquista, se reputen en igual grado de merecimiento, como los servicios, que hacen los soldados a su rey en guerra viva. Hagan pues lo que hicieren los soldados en Californias, o sea asistir en el presidio, o sea acompañar a los misioneros, o sea ocuparse en fabricar iglesias, edificar casas, abrir caminos, o sea en cuidar ganados, y repartir la limosna de los pobres, todo esto lo mira su majestad para el premio como si

fueran servicios hechos en guerra viva. Porque todo esto redundaba en utilidad de aquella conquista. Y esto es ser soldados de Californias. Ejercitando pues los padres las obras de misericordia espiritual con las almas de aquellos nuevos cristianos, y la corporal con sus cuerpos. ¿Qué mucho es, que al soldado le quepa una pequeña parte de la misericordia corporal, cual es, dar de comer al hambriento? ¿Y por decirlo con más propiedad, no el dar, pues nada dan suyo, sino distribuir, lo que da la misión para los pobres?

1813. También deben considerar, que dice una regla del derecho *Scienti, et volenti non fit injuria* no se hace injuria, al que recibe un cargo, en pedirle que cumpla las obligaciones, anexas a él, habiéndose obligado a cumplirlas. Pues si los tales soldados de Californias, no entran allí a ciegas, porque desde el principio se les avisa, a lo que van, y en lo que se han de ocupar en el presidio, y en las misiones. ¿De qué se quejan después, cuando los piden aquellos ejercicios a que voluntariamente se ofrecieron, y por los cuales están ganando los reales sueldos? Con más razón podrán quejarse de ellos los padres por su mala asistencia, y por su descuido en las cosas, que se les encomiendan. Como también, porque ellos destruyen con sus escándalos, lo que han edificado los padres con sus ministerios en aquellos pequeñuelos. Pero porque ésta es materia muy larga, de que tuvieran los padres mucho que hablar, si quisieran quejarse, hagamos aquí punto, concluyendo: que todas las quejas de tales soldados son falsas, vanas, y mal fundadas.

CAPÍTULO XI

Del gobierno de los barcos, y jurisdicción, que tiene el capitán en el mar, y costas de Californias.

1814. Como el presidio, y todos los soldados con su cabo están sujetos al superior de las Californias, así también los barcos, y la gente de mar están pendientes de su mando, y disposición. Antes que hubiera procurador aparte para el presidio de Loreto, corría inmediatamente el superior de las Californias con el manejo del presidio, y de los barcos, que era un trabajo insoportable para quien ni vivía de asiento en Loreto, ni podía siempre vivir en su propia misión, por andar visitando las otras. Pero ahora que han reservado al superior de este trabajo material y mecánico, corre con él inmediatamente el procurador del presidio, quien por ser misionero de Loreto, y no extenderse a mucho distrito su jurisdicción, puede más cómodamente, asistir al cuidado del presidio y al despacho de los barcos. Al dicho padre procurador pertenece, el recibir las memorias, y la provisión, así para los padres, como para los soldados, y marineros; la cual remite el procurador de México con los réditos de las misiones, y con el situado que paga su majestad para cuarenta y seis plazas de soldados, y marineros; no incluyendo

aquí el situado para el nuevo presidio fundado en el Cabo de San Lucas que consta de treinta soldados.

1815. Fuera de esto, que se envía cada año desde México al puerto de Matanchel, y desde allí se lleva en el barco a Californias, procuran los padres solicitar bastimentos, y otras cosas necesarias en la otra banda de las misiones. Acudiendo ya al puerto de Yaqui, ya al de Ahorne, ya al de Guaymas, y de allí se proveen de lo que han menester a cambio de los frutos de Californias, que son vinos, panochas, incienso de la tierra, y cosas semejantes. Para mantener este comercio, tienen de ordinario en Californias dos embarcaciones, que son un barco grande, y una lancha. Esta sirve para el ordinario transporte de bastimentos que se solicitan de la otra banda, y el barco para los viajes más largos, y arriesgados, que se hacen a Matanchel, o al puerto de Acapulco, aunque también sirve para conducir ganados, y gente de la otra banda, cuando es menester. Y asimismo cuando se pierde la embarcación pequeña, o no puede hacer viaje por algún impedimento.

1816. Estas dos embarcaciones corren de cuenta de su majestad, así al fabricarse, o comprarse la primera vez, como después en sus carenas, y aderezos, según quedó decretado en la junta del real acuerdo, que tuvo el señor virrey marqués de Valero por septiembre del año de 1717. Bien es verdad, que siempre que se ha necesitado de nueva embarcación, ha costado mucha dificultad, el conseguirla de los señores virreyes; y ha sido necesario, que el oficio de Californias ponga no pequeña parte de sus costos. Lo que sí se ha conseguido, y está en corriente por decreto del señor virrey, marqués de Casafuerte es que regularmente cada dos años bajen los barcos al puerto de Acapulco, donde el señor castellano, y oficiales reales les hacen dar carena de cuenta de su majestad.

1817. Toda la gente de mar, que anda en los barcos está sujeta al capitán del presidio, como a justicia mayor de mar y tierra; mas no sólo en esta gente ejercita su jurisdicción, sino también en todos los demás navegantes, y marineros que andan por el mar, y costas de Californias. Porque perteneciendo a los dominios de su majestad, aquella tierra, por voluntaria sujeción de sus moradores, debía haber alguna persona, que tuviese la real autoridad para administrar justicia a los pueblos, y hacer ejecutar las órdenes de su majestad, y de sus ministros los señores virreyes de la Nueva España. Pero en todo aquel nuevo reino no hay otra persona, que pueda obtener este cargo, sino el capitán del presidio de Californias, por tener la jurisdicción sobre los soldados, que son allí los únicos; ministro de que puede valerse para administrar justicia a los pueblos, y también por tener igual jurisdicción sobre la gente de mar, de que sólo puede valerse para las cosas del servicio del rey dentro del mar, y costas de Californias.

1818. Este cargo no pudiera obtenerlo otra persona por los graves inconvenientes, que de aquí se siguieran. No pudiera ejercitarlo el gobernador de Sinaloa, ni el alcalde mayor de la provincia de Acaponeta, ni otro alguno de los alcaldes mayores de la Nueva Galicia. Porque mal pudieran cuidar de otra provincia extraña, ultramarina, y tan dilatada, teniendo tanto a qué atender en su propia provincia, y alcaldía. Fuera de que para esto necesitaban de tener barcos en corriente para trasegar los mares, y visitar la tierra, y costas de Californias; y estos barcos con la gente de mar necesaria no pudieran, ni quisieran ellos costearlos. Y así era forzoso, que se hiciesen y mantuviesen siempre a costa de su majestad. Lo cual era superfluo, y muy gravoso a sus cajas reales, por ser necesario por otra parte, que su majestad mantenga a su costa los barcos de Californias. Y pues estos corren de cuenta del rey, y también es muy connatural, que obtenga la real jurisdicción sobre los mares, quien la obtiene sobre los barcos, y sobre la gente de mar, que los gobiernan.

1819. Tampoco pudiera, obtener esta jurisdicción sobre mar, y tierra otra persona, nombrada por su majestad para vivir en Californias con este cargo. Lo primero: ¿porque este nuevo gobernador, o había de ser súbdito, o había de ser superior del capitán del presidio? Si fuera súbdito, ya no fuera supremo gobernador de mar, y tierra, ni quisiera alguno admitir el cargo con esta sujeción. Si fuera superior, era forzoso, que el capitán del presidio, y sus soldados estuvieran sujetos a su obediencia, y por consiguiente también toda la gente de mar. Y en tal caso este gobernador, o había de estar sujeto al superior del presidio, como ahora lo está el capitán. Y entonces era superfluo, porque ¿qué necesidad había, de que otro hiciera, lo que hace ahora más cómodamente el capitán con sus soldados? ¿O no había de estar sujeto, sino con potestad absoluta, e independiente de otro superior? Y de aquí se siguieran graves inconvenientes.

1820. Examinemos de estos algunos. El primero es, que en ese caso hubiera continua competencia de jurisdicción entre el capitán, y el gobernador. De donde dimanarán muy perniciosas consecuencias en daño, y atraso de aquella conquista. El segundo que de aquí se sigue es, que no hicieran cosa de provecho los soldados en sus expediciones militares, y nuevos descubrimientos. Porque el gobernador con la potestad absoluta que tuviera, se enmetiera en todo, y anduviera estorbando las operaciones del capitán, y de los soldados con la capa del mayor servicio de su majestad. El tercero: que fuera necesario entonces, que su majestad le asignase salario proporcionado a su sustento, y ministros ejecutores de su justicia, que también habían de tener su salario, por no haber en la tierra cosa de donde pudieran sacar utilidad, para sustentarse. Y esto fuera multiplicar gastos de la real hacienda sin necesidad.

1821. El cuarto es, que, si no le concedieran este salario a él, ni a sus ministros, lo quisieran sacar del buceo de las perlas con infinitas vejaciones de los indios, y atrasos de aquella cristiandad. El quinto, que si no les dieran ministros separados, sino que le señalaran los soldados del presidio, no hubiera, quién quisiera ser capitán con esta sujeción, para que fuera, y no fuera superior de sus soldados. Y si por el contrario el gobernador estuviera sujeto al capitán, no hubiera, quién quisiera ser gobernador, porque fuera, y no fuera súbdito. Y de aquí dimanarán muchas pesadumbres. El sexto es, que el tal gobernador independiente quisiera tener a su mando y disposición, los barcos, y la gente de mar, y entonces no pudiera el superior de las misiones enviarlos a buscar provisión de bastimentos, siempre que fuera necesario, sino que estuviera atendido a la voluntad del gobernador con no pequeño detrimento de las misiones. El séptimo, que quisiera también, valerse de los barcos para el buceo de las perlas, que ha sido siempre el fin último de los pretendientes de Californias, por cuyo anhelo no se consiguió su conquista en tantos años. Y ahora se perdiera lo conquistado, si el gobernador se entregara al buceo.

1822. Para conocer, cuánta verdad sea ésta, basta hacer reflexión sobre la demanda que puso uno de estos pretendientes de perlas por el año de 1715, o 1716. Presentóse en el real consejo de Indias, y ofreció, que serviría a su majestad con ochenta mil pesos, porque le diera el gobierno de las Californias, y la alcaldía mayor de Acaponeta, y Santipac, pero su majestad, considerando el fin de aquella pretension, respondió: que para dar paso a ella, llevase primero el pretendiente certificación del prelado a cuyo cargo estaba aquella nueva cristiandad, de que su petición no perjudicaba al aumento de aquella conquista, ni embarazaba la propagación de la fe en aquel nuevo reino. Con este decreto desistió de su pretensión pareciéndole imposible, como lo era, que el dicho superior diese una certificación contraria a la verdad, y tan perniciosa al bien de aquellas misiones.

1823. Pero supongamos ahora, que su majestad, sin darle una respuesta tan cristiana, y prudente, por estar preocupado de siniestros informes, le concediera el gobierno de las Californias. En este caso era forzoso, que el nuevo gobernador no se contentase con sacar de su gobierno los ochenta mil pesos, que había dado por el oficio; pues contentarse con esto, era perder en vez de ganar. Porque en ochenta mil pesos, puestos a réditos anuales, tuviera cada año cuatro mil pesos de renta, quedando siempre el capital seguro. Y así cuando menos, había de pretender sacar cien mil pesos en los cinco años de su gobierno; los ochenta del capital, y los veinte de réditos. Pero aún esto, mirado con ojos de prudencia humana, era una fatua necesidad, como contraria a los aumentos de su propio interés. Porque si esto mismo tuviera seguro en su caudal, puesto a réditos, para qué era, molestarse con el trabajo personal, y pesadumbres

forzosas del gobierno, para ganar lo mismo que tuviera estándose quieto en una ciudad, gozando de sus rentas, y ajeno de todo cuidado, y trabajo?

1824. De aquí se sigue, que un tal pretendiente había de querer sacar en los cinco años de su gobierno mucho más de cien mil pesos. ¿Pero veamos ahora de dónde los había de sacar? No de la tierra, que no tiene frutos, ni minas. No del comercio con los indios, porque no lo tienen, ni cabe en su suma pobreza y desnudez cosa alguna de valor. Y así era preciso, que pretendiese sacarlos de las perlas, y que para su buceo trajese atareados en dura servidumbre a los pobres indios. ¿Mas de aquí qué perniciosas consecuencias no se siguieran? Porque ni los padres misioneros pudieran tenerlos prontos para su instrucción, y enseñanza, ni ellos tuvieran tiempo para buscar por los montes su escaso, y preciso sustento en las semillas, raíces, y frutas silvestres de la tierra. Por otra parte viéndose ellos vejados, oprimidos, y atareados por interés ajeno, se levantarán, sacudiendo el yugo no sólo de la obediencia a su rey, sino también de la fe de Jesucristo. Y por este camino el nuevo gobernador, en castigo de su avaricia, saliera desnudo de la tierra, cuando tuviera la dicha de escapar con vida.

[Se omite 1825 hasta 1836 que tratan de las perlas, y tambien 1837 hasta 1868 que no pertenecer a la historia militar.]

CAPÍTULO XVI

De la jurisdicción, que ejercita el capitán del presidio en todas las naciones de Californias.

1869. La más dilatada, y principal materia de la jurisdicción del capitán del presidio son todas las naciones de los indios californios en todo lo descubierto, y conquistado. Porque él, como justicia mayor de todo aquel nuevo reino, no sólo ejercita su jurisdicción en los forasteros que llegan al buceo, por la comisión que tiene para ello. Ni sólo en los soldados del presidio, como en ministros inmediatos de su jurisdicción, sino también por medio de ellos en todos los indios de la tierra. Y aunque al padre visitador como a superior del presidio, le toca el dar varas de justicia, y nombrar en todos los pueblos gobernadores, según la facultad que tiene para esto desde el principio de la conquista, confirmada después con cédula real; pero a los ya electos, y nombrados para gobernadores, les da facultad el capitán del presidio, para que en delitos graves, o criminales, prendan y aseguren a los delincuentes en cárcel destinada para este fin en la cabecera de la misión, con las prisiones necesarias para seguridad de los reos.

1870. Esto se entiende, cuando no hay soldado en la misión, porque donde lo hay, éste tiene las veces, y autoridad del capitán para estas ejecuciones de justicia. Y a él acuden los gobernadores de los otros pueblos, pertenecientes a aquella misión, en que

él reside, para que haga justicia en los delincuentes. Esta la ejecutan los soldados solamente en aquellos casos, en que el delito pide algún castigo, que no puede por sí mandar ejecutar el padre misionero. Pero si el delito es de muerte, o de tanta monta por sus perniciosas consecuencias, que no baste para escarmiento público un castigo moderado, como son alzamientos, rebeliones, conjuraciones, o guerras, y hostilidades de unas rancherías con otras. Entonces el soldado, y si no lo hay, el gobernador del pueblo, tiene obligación de asegurar al reo, o reos, en la cárcel, y dar luego cuenta al capitán del presidio. Este en tal caso, si puede ir, va luego a la misión, donde está el reo. Y si no puede, lo manda traer al presidio. Y en ambas partes procede con la autoridad de único juez en la tierra; examina al reo, oye sus descargos, averigua los cómplices; y substanciada la causa, procede a dar sentencia, o de muerte, o de azotes, o de destierro según la calidad del delito.

1871. A la sentencia se sigue luego su ejecución. Si ésta es de muerte se ejecuta a usanza militar, y antes de ella se le avisa al padre misionero, a quien toca; y al reo se le da tiempo para que se confiese, y disponga a morir como cristiano. Si la sentencia es de destierro, por quitarlo de entre los suyos, y que no sirva de fomentar nuevas discordias, o venganzas, o sediciones, no se echa al desterrado fuera de Californias, porque aunque esto se hizo con algunos a los principios, pero la experiencia mostró, que los tales desterrados volvían después peores de lo que habían salido. Por eso a los desterrados los condenan, a que sirvan por algún tiempo en los barcos, dándoles la mitad del salario, que a otros. Si no es que por la gravedad del delito sean condenados a servir allí de balde por el tiempo que dura su destierro. A los condenados a azotes se les dan por la primera vez veinticinco azotes. Y si reinciden, crecen hasta cuarenta. Este castigo en las mujeres por la delicadeza de su sexo es mucho más moderado, pretendiendo con él, más el escarmiento de otras, que el castigo doloroso de las culpadas.

1872. Antes de ejecutar cualquier sentencia, o sea en alguna misión donde está el reo, o sea en el presidio de Loreto, adonde se ha traído, se procura que asistan los indios de su pueblo, o los que del tal pueblo se hallan en Loreto, para que por su medio se divulgue entre los suyos la noticia de su castigo, y sirva de escarmiento a los demás. Para esto por medio de un intérprete se relata la causa porque está preso, y el delito, o delitos, que se le han probado, y la pena a que es condenado por ellos. Con esto el delincuente queda castigado por su delito, y los otros escarmentados con su castigo. Esta justicia se practica por el capitán, o por los soldados con comisión suya. Y por este medio está sujeta toda la tierra, y se mantienen todos rendidos, y obedientes, al que reconocen por ministro de su majestad, para gobernarlos, y corregirlos en su nombre. Pero en las otras causas de poca monta le toca al padre misionero, corregir, y castigar a los culpados por medio de

los fiscales, y gobernadores. No de otra suerte, que como lo hace un padre de familias con sus domésticos, y un cura de almas con sus feligreses.

1873. No sólo en lo judicial, y punitivo ejercita el capitán su jurisdicción con los indios, sino también en lo político para el buen gobierno de los pueblos. Es verdad, que el nombrar gobernadores de los pueblos, fiscales de las iglesias, y maestros que enseñen la doctrina cristiana a los indios, le toca al superior del presidio, y con su facultad lo hacen respectivamente todos los misioneros, cada uno en su misión. Pero a los ya nombrados les confiere el capitán sus veces, y su autoridad, para mandar, y gobernar a los otros, y celar, que todos obedezcan al padre, y ejecuten sus órdenes. También le toca al capitán, el nombrar a los que deben ir a todas las expediciones, que ocurren para conservación, y aumento de aquella conquista, no sólo de los soldados del presidio, sino también de los indios de la tierra que los han de acompañar, y ayudar en los descubrimientos, o en las batallas, o en la prisión de los fugitivos, o en las demás faenas que ocurren, de abrir caminos, desmontar tierras, y cosas semejantes.

1874. Pero porque no fuera razón, gravar a los pobres indios con trabajos personales, que no redundan en su propia utilidad, está dispuesto, y ordenado, que cuando se valen de ellos para tales expediciones el capitán, o los soldados, que de él llevaren autoridad, o comisión, estén obligados los tales indios a obedecerles en todo, pero con esta diferencia: que si las diligencias que van a hacer, redundan en bien, y provecho de su nación, o de sus pueblos, entonces no se les da salario alguno, sino sólo el bastimento necesario para todo el tiempo que durare la expedición, por practicarse así en todas las repúblicas bien ordenadas. Pero si las expediciones se hicieren en tierras de naciones muy separadas, y por eso no se ordenan inmediatamente a la utilidad de los que concurren a ellas, en tal caso se les deba señalar a los tales indios un salario moderado de cuatro, o seis pesos cada mes, según fuere el trabajo de la expedición. Porque entonces no están ellos obligados a ir, sino los inmediatos, y más cercanos, a cuya utilidad se ordena. En todo esto procede el capitán como único juez, y gobernador general de toda la tierra, pero siempre con la debida subordinación al padre visitador como a superior del presidio. Con cuyo consejo y dirección se consigue que el gobierno militar, judicial, y político de aquella tierra ande bien arreglado, y conforme a la razón, y a la ley de Dios para gloria suya, y mucho bien, y aumento de aquella cristiandad.

Notes

[1.](#) Saint Ambrose, *Commentary on 2 Corinthians* 3: 12ff. "Because faith is not a thing of necessity, but of free will."

2. Joseph de Acosta, *De procurando indorum salute ó predicación del evangelio en las Indias*, book 11, chapter 8. Venegas has miscited the quote or is engaging in embellishment.

3. The Sucumbis were an Indian tribe living on the Marañón River in Ecuador who were first evangelized in the early seventeenth century.

4. Fray Pedro Pecedor, O.F.M., participated in the exploration and reduction of the river region south of Iquitos in the 1630s. Together with Andrés de Toledo and thirty soldiers, he founded the town of San Diego de Alcalá de los Encabellados in 1636 shortly before his martyrdom.

5. The reference is to Padre Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro, O.P., who had successfully missionized Guatemala, the "Land of War." He was joined in the Florida venture by Fathers Diego de Tolosa, Gregorio de Beteta, Juan García, and Brother Fuentes. Landing at Tampa Bay in May 1549, the priests were martyred less than a month later.

6. Those originally sent were Jesuit Fathers Juan de Segura, Gonzalo del Alamo, and Antonio Sedeño together with Brothers Juan de la Carrera, Pedro Linares, and Domingo Agustín (Váez). Gonzalo was ordered back to Europe and his place was taken by Luis de Quirós. Segura, Quirós, and Brothers Gabriel de Solís, Juan Méndez, Pedro Linares, Gabriel Gómez, and Cristóbal Redondo were all killed in the province of Ajacán, in the modern state of Georgia.

7. See the preceding document for episodes regarding the Manila galleon that were fresh in the mind of Venegas.

8. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, part 2, question 109, article 5, in the body of the commentary.

9. *Summa*, part 2, question 95, article 3.

10. Gaspar de la Cerda Sandoval de la Silva y Mendoza, Conde de Galve, was viceroy from November 1688 to January 1696.

11. Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez was viceroy from November 1701 to December 1702.

12. Real cédula, July 17, 1701. AGN, Reales Cédulas.

13. Frontier duty was considered hazardous, so the soldiers were granted the same privileges as combat forces. This did not affect salaries as such.

14. Presidial salaries were set by the Reglamento of 1729; Parral is the presidio of Nueva Vizcaya mentioned in the Muster of Loreto document presented in this section.

15. The Armada de Barlovento or "Windward Fleet" in the Caribbean was historically older than the maritime service on the Pacific. Pay for the more remote duty on the western shores was considerably higher than for the Caribbean.

16. Loreto was founded in October 1697, after San Bruno, the earlier site of the *real*, was determined to be unsuitable.

17. Salvatierra died in Guadalajara on July 17, 1717, en route to Mexico City.

18. Until Salvatierra's death the rector of Loreto was considered *ex-officio* the superior of the California missions.

19. Tamburini was the father general of the Society of Jesus from January 31, 1706 until February 28, 1730.

20. *Summa Theologia*, part 1, question 93, article 6, response to objection 3.

21. When Thomas speaks of "the philosopher" he refers to Aristotle, but he is not so named in the objection; Venegas quotes correctly but misappropriates the remark.

22. These "farms" were agricultural investments in central Mexico, typically an hacienda of cattle, sugar, pulque, or tobacco.

23. Salvatierra to the viceroy, the Duque de Alburquerque, May 25, 1705; AGI, Guadalajara 134. Cited completely in Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, 11, 104-11.

24. These six properties were the original properties whose annual income was turned over to the California missions. Subsequently the properties were given to the Pious Fund "in fee simple." Among these were Guadalupe in the valley of Acolmán, a sheep ranch in Guasteca, and haciendas in Huepango, Arroyo Sarco, and La Quebrada. Venegas argues below about the thirteen properties, which adds confusion to the identity and number of the agricultural enterprises.

25. Valero called the junta after the death of Salvatierra and issued a decree relating to it on September 25, 1717.

26. *Summa*, part 1, in the body of the question.

27. Andrés Nieto was born in Toledo, Spain, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1675 at fifteen years of age. He was the Jesuit Father Provincial of New Spain from June 1726 to November 1729; he died in Mexico City December 26, 1750.

28. Joseph de Echeverría was a native of San Sebastián in Guipúzcoa, Spain. Born in 1688, he entered the Society in 1704 and served in Mexico City as procurator of the California missions for many years. The last record of him is in 1751.

29. Juan de Ugarte was a native of Tegucigalpa, Honduras. In 1679, at sixteen years of age, he entered the Society. His chief mission was at San Xavier Viggé. He died in California on December 28, 1730.

Julián de Mayorga was born in Toledo, Spain, in 1670, entered the Society in 1684, and arrived in the California missions in 1708. He died in California in November 1736.

Clemente Guillén de Castro was born in Zacatecas, Mexico, in 1675. He entered the Society in 1696 and worked in the missions of the Pimería and California from 1713 to 1748. He died in California.

30. The original text of this letter has not been established.

31. Joseph de Arjó was born in Benasque, Huesca, Aragón, in 1663. He worked in Havana, Zacatecas, and Mexico City, and served as father provincial from 1722 to 1725. He died in 1736.

32. The allusion is to Ignatius's autobiography, which does mention an incident with soldiers on his way to Rome, but the reference to "ten leopards" seems to come from another unidentified source.

33. The pueblo of San Miguel Comondú lies west-northwest of Viggé. Ugarte established it as a visita in 1714.

34. Although Venegas attributes this to Marcial, the commonly quoted source is Ovid, *Amores*, 111, xi, 39.

35. Saint Paul / *Thessalonians*, 12-22.

36. Salvatierra to José de Miranda Villaisón, fiscal of Guadalajara, October 1700.

37. Acaponeta was an alcaldía mayor in Nueva Galicia, in the northwest sector of the modern state of Nayarit. In 1713 it was joined with Santipac on the coast, giving rise to the petition here mentioned, which in all likelihood was that of Ignacio Ugarte in 1716.

IV

Promoting the Welfare of the Californias

(1738-1744)

Letters between Archbishop Vizarrón and the Marqués de Torrenueva, 1738

This exchange of letters between the viceroy of New Spain and the treasurer general of Philip V's Council of the Indies summarizes the storm of controversy that raged between Manuel Bernal de Huidobro and the Jesuit missionaries of California. Both Spanish and Mexican archives are filled with papers recounting the dispute. In essence, the Jesuits had employed several Yaqui and Mayo auxiliaries to assist Captain Esteban Rodríguez Lorenzo in quelling the Guaicuro uprising of 1734. Governor Huidobro of Sinaloa arrived late on the scene but took advantage of the king's orders to establish a presidio on the southern coast under a separate command. Without consulting the Jesuit visitor at Loreto, Huidobro chose as captain of the southern unit Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, a militia captain from Río Chico in Sonora who had accompanied the governor on his belated expedition to California. Moreover, he made Alvarez directly responsible to him. The Jesuits objected strongly to Alvarez's treatment of the Indians as well as to Huidobro's making the appointment without their prior approval. This was the crux of the dispute, which raged for several years until the missionaries won when the viceroy summarily removed Alvarez over the strong objections of Huidobro.

The next two documents, namely, the viceroy's letter regarding Alvarez and the summary opinion of Pedro de Vedoya Ossorio, the attorney general for the Audiencia of Mexico contain sufficient details to explain the controversy and its resolution. It had the profound effect of reducing the pressure to build and maintain a completely separate presidio on the southern coast, thus altering the developmental course of military history on the peninsula.

Viceroy Vizarrón to the Marqués de Torrenueva, 1738

My dear sir:

I have been informed by Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, in two letters dated May 4 and 5 of this year, of the complete pacification of the California natives and their reduction to their respective missions. Twelve or thirteen fugitive families are still at large, having fled into the ruggedness of the mountains,¹ but there is no doubt that they, too, will soon be reduced and united with the body of their nation.

Peace and calm having finally been reestablished among these Indians, it was decided to return them to their province,² leaving the command of the garrison and the newly created troop of thirty men in the hands of Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, an experienced individual. With their approval, Don Bernardo Rodríguez, son of Don Esteban Rodríguez and captain of the old garrison at the Loreto presidio, had been previously relieved of his command, having proven remiss and more than a little unscrupulous in the fulfillment of his orders pertaining to the royal service.

At the same time and enclosed with the two letters mentioned, he has sent me all of the original *autos* from the beginning to the end of the enterprise, [in 496 pages?], which he forwarded by way of the government office. Added to these is a list of the Indians reduced at the missions of San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and Pueblo de Todos Santos. By way of my private secretary, the governor has sent a short memorandum of confidential recommendations regarding what has occurred between the said captain, Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, and Father Rector Segismundo Taraval of the Society of Jesus. [They argued] over the manner of administration and control with which the new presidio and the soldiers must be governed not only for the management and maintenance of the soldiers, but also to maintain a proper obedience from the reconquered Indians and to facilitate the reduction of the infidels who still have not given their obedience.

Your lordship has told me of the king's command in a letter dated September 8 of this past year, 1737, in response to mine dated April 10 of the same year; being acquainted with everything I expressed in my letter, his majesty will presently have the report and the testimony that I directed to counsel concerning this matter. He awaits specific notice, as I promised, that the operation in the Isle of California has been completely suspended until his pleasure in this particular matter is known.³

At present, it is not possible to send the *autos* made by the governor of Sinaloa regarding this expedition. In addition to their being very numerous and time being short, he has yet to render the decisions that may be judged most appropriate for the future safety and security of the island and that may be more in accord with his majesty's royal thinking and more advantageous to the interests of the royal Crown and treasury. Although the *autos* were sent on the sixteenth of this past June to the auditor for his review, there is much to reflect upon in them, and decisions regarding a matter of such importance cannot be made precipitously.

However, I hasten to assure your lordship, and I can thus assure the king, that at least this time we have been able to learn what sort of place California is and who among the inhabitants of those lands are, or could be in time, his majesty's subjects and in the

service of God and his own. Discipline, equipment, controls, and military regulations have, until now, been scrupulously maintained by the captain and his soldiers at the Loreto presidio, with the increased expenses of arms and horses borne by the royal treasury. Without all of this for so long a time, no more could be learned of California than its name, which may be the reason why it has always been regarded as a mystery. Now, it has finally been achieved that those subjects of his majesty have begun to hear his royal name and to understand the obedience and reverence owed to his sovereignty.

According to what the aforementioned governor of Sinaloa writes and makes known of actions taken, the rebels have already been punished and taught a lesson, the missions are secure, and there are enough troops in that land to contain and disperse any other tumultuous invasion that might be attempted. It only remains to firmly establish the government and regime of the troops as the foundation of everything else that the king possesses and maintains in these dominions. I consider this undertaking to be perhaps no less difficult than the previous one, but if the orderly subordination to the captains and superiors that is owed in the name of the king is not established and practiced within the limits of their commands, his majesty will not be able to claim that land or its inhabitants as his subjects. For my part, I have not stopped exploring alternative ways and means to make good use of the funds expended by the royal treasury toward California's conservation and advancement. With respect to what measures and decisions should be added to those already ordered for this purpose, they depend upon the amount of guidance provided by the *autos* and documents on the subject. I cannot at present express to your lordship which of these should be [undertaken], but at the first opportunity I will inform his majesty honestly and clearly, with the records and documents of everything performed and understood, of whatever might be able to instruct his royal will most truly. Thus, based upon the certainty of things, his sovereign decisions may begin to produce their desired effects. I beg your lordship to inform his majesty of the contents of this letter and not to hesitate in giving me orders to be fulfilled to his satisfaction and honor.

May God keep your lordship for many years to come.

Mexico, July 10, 1738, your attentive servant, Juan Antonio

Archbishop of Mexico, kisses the hands of your lordship.

(Rubric)

Marqués de Torrenueva to Viceroy Vizzarón

Your Excellency:

In a letter dated July 10 of last year, 1738, your excellency states that Don Manuel Bernal Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, had informed you of the complete pacification of the California natives and the reduction of all of them to their respective missions, with the exception of twelve or thirteen families who continued to wander as fugitives in the rough mountain country. At the same time, he sent you the original *autos* that were made from the beginning to the end of this enterprise, and added to those the list of Indians who were reduced in the missions of San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, and Pueblo de Todos Santos. Also sent was a memorandum with confidential recommendations regarding the exchange between captain Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, with whom he left the command of the garrison and the newly created troop of thirty men, and Father Rector Segismundo Taraval of the Society of Jesus. [They argued] over the manner of administration and control with which the soldiers must be governed, the management and maintenance of the reconquered Indians' proper obedience, and facilitation of the reduction of the infidels who have not yet given their obedience. Your excellency adds that you did not on this occasion send the *autos* referred to, because it was your opinion that decisions must be rendered that are more appropriate for the safety and security of that island, that those formed in the future would be more in keeping with the interests of the Crown and the royal treasury, and decisions on matters of such importance cannot be made precipitously. However, your excellency assures me that this time, at least, we have been able to learn what sort of place California is, what subjects it has, those it might have in the future, and what we can expect from those lands and their inhabitants. It only remains to firmly establish the government and the regimen of the troops as a basis for everything else to be done in these dominions. Your excellency considers this undertaking to be no less difficult than the conquest, for reasons and circumstances that are widely manifest.

Having been informed of the entire contents of the cited letter, the king was satisfied with what has been done in this matter of such grave importance. His majesty hopes that your lordship will continue to devote yourself to its conclusion, securing the establishment, rule, and order that the newly formed presidio requires in those dominions, in such a manner that it may not only fulfill its mission, but also restrain the attacks of the Indians on that island. Your excellency is also ordered to send a description of the land and other details. As your excellency has said, now that [California] is known, it will be easier to determine whether it is one or several islands, or rather tierra firme; the information on this varies.

May God keep you many years.

Madrid, July 25, 1739⁴

[Marqués de Torrenueva]

From the Archivo General de Indias, México 1256.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Carta del Virrey Vizzarón al Marqués de Torrenueva, 1738

Muy Señor Mío:

Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, gobernador de Sinaloa en dos cartas de 4 y 5 de Mayo del corriente año, me ha dado cuenta de la entera pacificación de los naturales de la California y reducción de todos ellos a sus respectivas misiones, a reserva de doce o trece familias que aún andaban vagando fugitivas por haberse internado en las asperezas de los montes; pero que no se duda que también estas se reducirán y unirán cuanto antes al cuerpo de sus nacionales. Que restablecida ya la quietud y sosiego de estos Indios estaba resuelto a restituirse a su provincia, dejando el comando de la guarnición y tropa nuevamente creada de los treinta hombres a cargo de Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, sujeto experto, y de su aprobación habiendo antes separado de este encargo a Don Bernardo Rodríguez, hijo de Don Esteban Rodríguez, capitán de la antigua guarnición y presidio de Loreto, por haberle experimentado omiso y poco legal en el cumplimiento de sus ordenes pertenecientes al real servicio.

Al propio tiempo y con las dos referidas cartas, acompaña y me remite todos los autos originales desde el principio hasta el fin de la expedición en [folios de 496?], los que dirigió por vía del oficio de gobierno, y viene agregados a ellos el padrón de los Indios que quedan reducidos a las misiones de San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar, y Pueblo de Todos Santos. Por vía de mi secretaría de cámara, remite dicho gobernador un cuadernito de reservadas diligencias cerca de lo ocurrido entre dicho capitán Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo y el Padre Rector Segismundo Taraval de la Compañía de Jesús sobre el modo de gobierno y subordinación con que ha de correr el nuevo presidio y presidiales, así para el régimen y manutención de los soldados, como para la conservación en la debida obediencia de aquellos indios reconquistados y facilidad de poder reducir a los infieles que aún no han dado la obediencia.

Por carta de 8 de septiembre del año pasado de 1737, responsiva a la mía de diez de abril del mismo, me dice vuestra señoría de orden del rey, que enterado su real ánimo de todo lo por mí expresado en ella, tendrá presente el informe y testimonio que dirigí al consejo concerniente a esta dependencia, y que espera su majestad la noticia individual que ofrecí de haberse evacuado enteramente la operación de la Isla de la California, a fin de hallarse con la satisfacción que desea en este particular.

No es posible poder en esta ocasión remitir los autos formados por el gobernador de Sinaloa en asunto de la mencionada expedición, porque a más de ser muy cumulosos, y corto el tiempo, falta que en su vista se den las providencias que se juzgaren más oportunas al resguardo y seguridad de aquella isla, para lo de adelante, y que sean más conformes a la real mente de su majestad y más proficuas a los intereses de su real corona y hacienda, y aunque con fecha de 16 del próximo pasado junio se remitieron dichos autos al auditor para que exponga su dictámen, hay mucho que reflexionar sobre ellos y no se pueden en cosa de tamaña importancia precipitar las determinaciones.

Pero desde luego aseguro a vuestra señoría y puedo asegurarlo así al rey, que a lo menos se ha conseguido esta vez saberse que cosa sea la California, que vasallos tenga y pueda tener en lo sucesivo su majestad en ella, que pueda esperarse en servicio de Dios y suyo de aquellas tierras y sus habitantes. La disciplina, pertrechos, subordinación, y reglas militares con que han servido hasta aquí el capitán y soldados del presidio de Loreto mantenidos puntualísimamente, y costeados de armas y caballos acrecidas expensas de su real erario. Cúal sea la causa de haberse mirado siempre como misterio la California, sin que se haya podido saber de ella en tanto tiempo más que sólo su nombre; y finalmente se ha logrado que aquellos vasallos de su majestad hayan empezado a oír su real nombre y a entender la sujeción y reverencia que deben a su soberanía.

Según lo que el mencionado gobernador de Sinaloa escribe y se deja conocer de lo actuado, quedan ya bien castigados y escarmentados los sediciosos; aseguradas las misiones y con bastantes fuerzas aquella tierra para contener y disipar cualquiera otra tumultuaria invasión que se intentase, sólo resta establecer de firme el gobierno y régimen de la tropa al pie de toda la demás que tiene y mantiene el rey en estos dominios esta empresa, la considero no menos dificultosa quizá que la antecedente, pero si no se plantea y practica la regular subordinación que a nombre del rey se debe a los capitanes y superiores en los términos de sus comandos, ni se podrá tener por de su majestad aquel terreno ni por súbditos suyos los que le habitan. Yo a lo menos no he de dejar de tentar cuantos modos y medios pueda haber, para que se aprovechen de otra suerte que hasta ahora, los caudales que gastase la real hacienda en asunto de la conservación y adelantamiento de la California y respecto de que las disposiciones y providencias que se hayan de agregar a las dadas para este fin, penden de las más luces que nos ministrasen los autos y diligencias de la materia, no puedo a la presente expresar a vuestra señoría cuáles deberán ser pero en primera ocasión con los procesos y documentos de todo lo obrado y entendido, informaré a su majestad ingenia y claramente cuanto comprendiere poder servir a la más verdadera instrucción de su real ánimo para que fundamentándose sobre la certeza de las cosas, sus soberanas

determinaciones empiesen ya a producir aquellos afectos que las corresponden, suplico a vuestra señoría de cuenta del contenido de esta mía a su majestad y que no escasee franquearme mis órdenes de su satisfacción y obsequio.

Dios guarde a vuestra señoría muchos años como puede. México y julio 10 de 1738. Muy señor mío, besa las manos de vuestra señoría su reconocido más atento servidor: Juan Antonio Arpa de Mexico. Rubricado.

Carta del Señor Marqués de Torrenueva al Virrey Vizarrón

Excelencia:

En carta de 10 de julio del año pasado de 1738, expresa vuestra excelencia que Don Manuel Bernal Huidobro, gobernador de Sinaloa, le había dado cuenta de la entera pacificación de los naturales de la California y reducción de todos ellos a sus respectivas misiones a reserva de 12 o 13 familias que permanecían vagando fugitivas por haberse internado en las asperezas de los montes, remitiéndole al mismo tiempo todos los autos originales causados desde el principio hasta el fin de esta expedición, agregados a ellos el padrón de los indios que quedaban reducidos a las misiones de San Joseph del Cabo, Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Pueblo de Todos Santos y un cuadernito de reservadas diligencias acerca de lo ocurrido entre el capitán Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo a quien dejó el comando de la guarnición y tropa nuevamente creada de 30 hombres y el Padre Rector Segismundo Taraval de la Compañía de Jesús sobre el modo de gobierno y subordinación con que han de correr los soldados su régimen, y manutención y conservaren la debida obediencia aquellos indios reconquistados y facilidad de poder reducir a los infieles que aún no han dado la obediencia y añade vuestra excelencia no remitía en esta ocasión los referidos autos porque en su vista se habían de dar las providencias más oportunas al resguardo y seguridad de aquella isla para lo de adelante de formar que sean las más conformes a los intereses de la corona y real hacienda y no poderse en cosas de tanta importancia precipitar las determinaciones; pero a lo menos asegura vuestra excelencia se ha conseguido esta vez saberse que cosa sea California, que vasallos tiene, los que puede haber en lo sucesivo y esperarse de aquellas tierras y sus habitantes, y que sólo falta que establecer de firme el gobierno y régimen de la tropa al pie de toda la demás que se mantiene en estos dominios, cuya empresa la consideraba vuestra excelencia no menos dificultosa que la conquista, por los motivos y circunstancias que difusamente manifiesta.

Y habiéndose enterado el rey de todo el contexto de la citada carta queda con satisfacción por lo que se ha obrado en esta tan grave importancia y espera su majestad que vuestra señoría procure atender y dedicarse a que se concluya y afirme el

establecimiento, regla y subordinación que requiere el presidio nuevamente formado en aquellos dominios de tal forma que no sólo sirva al fin que se mantiene sino a reprimir los insultos de los indios de aquella isla ordenando a vuestra excelencia envíe una descripción de su tierra y demás circunstancias pues ahora que se ha conocido como expresa vuestra excelencia será más fácil de conseguir y de si verdaderamente es isla o islas o bien tierra firme, porque en esto son variables las noticias.

Dios guarde muchos años.

Madrid, 25 de julio de 1739.

[Marqués de Torrenueva]

Notes

1. These are the Sierra de la Victoria, which divides the peninsula in the south. Todos Santos lies to the west, Santiago to the east. The Indian tribal groups mentioned are members of the Guaicuros and Pericúes.

2. The Indians mentioned here are Yaqui and Mayo Indians who served in the campaign against the rebellious tribes on the southern peninsula.

3. Despite repeated expeditions many royal officials persisted in referring to California as an island, probably because it was the mission and colony most dependent on maritime support.

4. This reply, which almost duplicates the original letter, was made just at the time the Marqués de Torrenueva was leaving the cabinet. The reaffirmation of the California mystery is of particular note.

[Report of Licenciado Vedoya to the Royal Fiscal, 1740](#)

Original copy of the report made by Señor Vedoya, his majesty's fiscal, concerning the decrees that should be issued for the preservation of California, with the response drawn up by the auditor of war. With ten useful folios. 1740.

Your Excellency:

His majesty's fiscal has seen the seven packets of *autos* sent to him that led to the decrees already made, which [measures] must be taken for the preservation of the island of the Californias, its missions, its settlements, and the education of the natives assembled there,¹ all of which serve both majesties. To improve the natives by enlightening them in Christian doctrine and removing them from their natural barbarism—thus extending Christianity in his majesty's dominions—is a most praiseworthy goal, and the constant, ready support of funds from the royal treasury will be more acceptable if the end to which they are directed is achieved. Now that the recent disturbance experienced on the island, which had fatal consequences, seems to have ceased or quieted down, we should certainly endeavor to find the most effective means for the security and permanence of the settlement. In order to smother even the slightest sparks of future conspiracy—whether large, small, or the same—every existing avenue that might lead to one must be closed.² Wherefore it is necessary to explore everything the *autos* suggest as a possible cause or opportunity for the deplorable disturbances.

Regarding the *autos* in the first packet, your excellency had been informed by letters from the Fathers Jaime Bravo and Clemente Guillén, dated October 18 and 23 of 1734, of the sacrilegious murders of two religious missionaries of the holy Company, Joseph Carranco and Nicolás Tamaral.³ The same fate befell other soldiers and servants. The chief authors of the uprising were the Pericúes and other tribes settled along the southern coast.⁴ The above-mentioned fathers advised your excellency of the need to create a company of twenty-five soldiers for the security of those missions, since distance prevents timely assistance. At the same time, they related the various measures taken to remedy the disturbance, which was a unique occurrence up to that time. They also told of the arrangements that were planned and implemented for the reinforcement of the vessels that traffic in and carry supplies, and for the restitution of what was stolen during the Indian invasions of the mission churches.

In response your excellency approved what had been done and rendered assistance by expediting appropriate orders for the supply of the ships, as well as assembling presidial soldiers to restrain the rebels. Your excellency also promised to inform his majesty regarding the increase in the number of posts of the said garrisons, because the authority for their actual establishment had not been instituted until then, and his

majesty had ordained it thus in the decrees that gave the fathers authorization for their anticipated establishment.

The fire that ignited in that location might spread to other missions, rancherías, and tribes, however, as a result of the destructive example and incitement that the uprising caused. For your timely consideration, the same fathers advised your excellency of the threatened movement and agitation—even among the Indians already reduced and quiet—in letters about the uprising of the Pericúes and other tribes.

My predecessor, petitioned by the fiscal and having consulted the auditor, submitted the matter to the junta de hacienda on April 17 and 18, which dates were judged suitable. During this meeting, your excellency and the other ministers in attendance allocated the anticipated sum of more than 18,000 pesos from that presidio's subsidy to reimburse the expenses incurred by the fathers, who had submitted an accounting of their expenditures. Insofar as the main issue was concerned, the governor of Sinaloa was to be immediately contacted and charged with the detachment of those soldiers that he deemed necessary from the presidios under his command and from the island itself. With those [soldiers] he was to pursue the reduction and pacification of the nations, bringing all of them under his dominion. Salaries and expenses were to be paid by [the governor], and an accounting given for reimbursement.

Once the orders were dispatched, the said governor began to carry them out. In a letter dated October 17, 1735, he reported on what had been accomplished up to that time and the increased number of soldiers recruited, with their salaries, asking that his expenses be reimbursed by royal funds to his authorized representative. At the same time he spoke of new disturbances on the island and of his prompt action to stop them. He noted that, by consent of the fiscal at that time, the provisional increase of the aforesaid soldiers, their salaries, and the ammunition that was consigned to them had been approved; [the fiscal had also] arranged for the reimbursement of what the governor had spent up to that time. Thus everything has been done.

The continued disturbances are due to the capriciousness of the Indians, who are politically unstable unless they are rebuked and restrained, kept within sight, and managed in every way. The repeated letters of the aforesaid governor well affirm this. At the same time that some nations are quiet, he reports on the commotion of others. Even those who have already been reduced are unpredictable, all of which results in the fruitless but indispensable outlay of funds until such time as the universal pacification of those tribes might be achieved—the sole aim of your excellency's just zeal.

Spurred by this—as is shown in the second packet of the aforesaid *autos*, containing the copy of the letter that your excellency wrote to the said governor of Sinaloa on February 19, 1737—your excellency approved the order to garrison those frontiers with thirty men in addition to those that were stationed at the presidio of Loreto. This measure was facilitated by the recent orders that your excellency received from his majesty. The only difficulty was the lack of instruction as to the type of location and the manner in which this new troop was to be settled and established—whether it was simply to be an addition to the presidio at Loreto, or whether another presidio was to be established, garrisoned, and occupied by more soldiers—for which reason your excellency ordered the governor to advise him of a suitable location and a captain or *caudillo* who would be in command.

Without having received the aforementioned [report], however, your excellency stated in a letter dated March 6, which is found on page 13 of the said second packet, that in respect to the thirty soldiers who were to be settled, as well as the other twenty-five from the presidio of Loreto, you had decided to distribute them in whatever number and posts the governor deemed appropriate to garrison the entire area served by the missions. Your excellency, having decided to issue the order for the aforesaid report, reimbursed the governor. This seems to have been done by your gracious leave on April 30, 1737, as is referred to in [the governor's] letter, dated July 1 of the same year, which is at the beginning of the fifth packet of the conveyed instruments. He also mentions the site where the mission of San Joseph was founded as appropriate for the establishment of a new presidio and the stationing of the new troops. This, and the fact that in his letter he covers everything essential to the continued existence of the said presidio, should be kept in mind when considering this enterprise.

Nevertheless, in another letter of the same date, as well as in a more recent one that he wrote to your excellency from Pótam in the province of Ostimuri on July 28 of last year, 1738, in the second packet, the governor of Sinaloa stated that it would not be necessary to increase the number of soldiers to keep all the tribes already reduced at peace, nor [would it be necessary] to erect the new presidio that the fathers have repeatedly requested.⁵ Attributing their fear of being attacked to panic, he considered the number of soldiers assigned in accordance with regulations and specifications governing the disposition, number, and preparedness of presidial soldiers to be sufficient protection against any hostility, provided that the soldiers attend exclusively to their duties and not become involved in others with which the fathers occupy them. He affirmed that by means of this management and the specifications made, even all of the Indian forces united would not be enough to resist a squad of ten well-armed soldiers. However, the great distance of more than 300 leagues from one end of the

island to the other, the overall rough terrain, and the fickleness of those Indians as emphasized by the governor himself in the same letter—and, above all, the grievous and frequent attacks—have given rise to a lack of confidence in the promised security.

True, it is only for the [safety] of the religious missionaries, so that they may freely sow and spread the Gospel, that his majesty pays the wages of those presidial soldiers. Thus, [the soldiers] should not at any time become involved in any business other than vigilance and military preparation, the [prevention of] surprise attacks, or [promotion of] the retreat and peacefulness of the Indians, because they are trained for those [purposes]. Extraneous pursuits render them useless for the [purpose] of the expedition. Consequently, it is only right that the missionary fathers not employ the soldiers for the care of their crops or for other tasks, however necessary they may be for [the fathers'] maintenance. For such matters they can avail themselves of their Indian parishioners insofar as possible, exercising discretion, sagacity, and prudence, as one would expect of them. The soldiers should simply maintain a presence for the safekeeping of the crops and other things, so that [the Indians] do not steal them.

On the other hand, consider that the royal treasury's burden is the same or even greater [when it must] spend large sums for the purpose of putting down rebellions, only to have the land reduced to its former state at the end of its expenditures. As for the harm done, there is no remedy—the past is beyond human agency [to change]. Moreover, the said governor found that in the process of subduing [the Indians], as soon as one uprising was ended, another was stirred up, forcing him and his officers to be constantly on the move. The Indians suffered, although rightly so, the cost of their rebelliousness by losing their lives [or] being physically punished for the sake of justice. Thus it seems that the best remedy is to close the door on the damage, rather than [trying to] repair it. It cannot be denied that with increased strength and attention directed to the newly discovered territories, the tranquillity of that entire land will be more easily accomplished with the erection of the new presidio than by allowing the one that has existed until now to remain in isolation. Although the number [of soldiers] may be enough to contain the many Indians living in the missions and rancherías, as the governor asserts, it will be safer not to rely upon what is sufficient. The season of the year or the poor condition of the horses they bring to use on forays could render impossible, or at least delay, any kind of peaceful situation.

As stated in your previously mentioned letter of February 19, your excellency has recent orders from his majesty authorizing the settlement of this matter in whatever way seems appropriate. This has effectively ended the legal prohibitions that were presented to your excellency in 1734 and discussed in the junta, which precluded a

decision upon the erection of the new presidio at that time. Today it seems advantageous and necessary, along with the continuous funding of the thirty presidial soldiers.

It is clear, per the statements of the aforesaid governor and confirmed by the attested censuses that he sent, which comprise the entire third packet of those *autos*, that all the Indians of those missions are to be found completely subdued, submissive, and peaceful. Moreover, the appropriate orders have been given to root out the rivalry of various nations by separating them and uniting them with those that are friendly. There is no doubt, however, that two equal and important advantages are to be gained from the new presidio on the southern coast. One is faster arrival to the aid of immediate and neighboring missions, whatever the circumstances. The other is the assurance of prompt assistance and provisions to the passengers of the Philippine galleon, whenever it arrives, without risk of the havoc they have suffered on occasion—as is shown by these *autos*, which testify to some murders that were pardoned and went unpunished. [These are] all motives that spur the fiscal to consent to the erection of the new presidio and to request that it be permanent.

In order to eventually recompense, or possibly reduce, the burden that the royal treasury carries today [with respect to California], it seems necessary to me that, at the same time and through your excellency's well-known zeal, transport to that island be arranged for the families who voluntarily wish to go there to settle down and extend the community. The establishment of missions for the reduction of infidel Indians is not at variance with such settlement. On the contrary, the interaction will tame savagery, make dispositions more tractable, impress political and moral virtues by example, increase trade, and—through the large number of inhabitants—increase the wealth and strength of regions that otherwise consist of a multitude of uncultivated, barren, and uninhabited lands. In a community, each man protects his neighbor. This is what his majesty has continuously urged through repeated laws and *cédulas* ordering the settlements and whatever else good policy recommends as important and necessary. In an area as large as 300 or more leagues there must be fertile, temperate lands suitable for new establishments.

The royal treasury presently carries an immense burden, due to expenditures equaling or even exceeding income; funds are applied as needed for the benefit of the empire. However, those who want to go to the island will be more than compensated with the assignment of lands allocated for them. These are to be apportioned according to the number [of settlers], for their residence and cultivation, so that they may have everything necessary for their sustenance and their future well-being. Wealthy cities,

provinces, and kingdoms have had their origins in this type of arrangement; initial difficulties have not closed the door to future growth. It is less costly to transport those who live close to the island, providing that they do not [already] own their own lands. In that case, the law prohibits their removal for the very sound reason of preventing the depopulation of a settled country.

It is likely that in the encampments of Sinaloa, Sonora, and others within their borders there are many residents without their own means. Certainly, there are many living in the same circumstances who trouble this city and other cities from here to Guadalajara. [They are] totally exhausted of the means with which to maintain themselves and survive; many of them are craftsmen and tradesmen. Thus, to motivate the said population may not be a [difficult] task if an edict is published giving a general permission to Spaniards who wish to go to the said island and promising that they will be assigned lands they can cultivate for their profit. Weighing this—or in light of the fact that those religious missionaries have not been given the assistance his majesty assigned to them because of a voluntary renunciation they made—your excellency and the junta thought it advisable to convert those [funds], totally or in part, to the transportation of the aforesaid families, according to the fiscal's information. You can decree this or think about some other means with which it can be put gradually into effect. It is not appropriate to do this for families of criminals, exiles, or persons of bad character and worse habits, because of the fatal consequences that have been experienced in doing so. While these [consequences] are necessarily endured, having no remedy, prudence bemoans them.

Granted, then, that the founding of the new presidio is very necessary—along with the number of posts that the governor of Sinaloa advises and the increase that he likewise considers necessary to garrison the old one—the question arises as to who should be responsible for the payment and distribution of wages. This question by its very nature has not been disputed, nor can it be, since in all the presidios of Sinaloa, Sonora, New Mexico, and other provinces where there are missions, [payment] is taken care of by the governors and captains. In times past there have been tiresome proceedings dealing with complaints of abuses, excesses, and frauds [committed by] the commanders themselves to the harm and detriment of their presidial soldiers. However, a remedy has now been made possible today through the new general regulations and rules established in the time of the most excellent Marqués de Casafuerte, and it has been ordered that these be observed in all presidios.⁶

With respect to the [presidio] already in the Californias, however, as well as the newly founded one on the same island, there is a point worthy of reflection and examination,

in view of what Father Agustín María Luyando expressed in the statement that was recently placed into your excellency's hands and added to the *autos* concerning the governor of Sinaloa's suggestions, and [considering] what is generally practiced in the rest of the presidios. All of this appears to be resolved, provided that the superior judgment of your excellency and the junta determines the following propositions to be appropriate:

First: Everything available and designated for worship and for the adornment of the mission churches should be delivered to the religious procurator, as is done with the custodians and procurators of the other religious orders that are in charge of missions within the kingdom and overseas. The other part of the funds should go to the agent for the presidial soldiers, as is practiced in the other presidios. So it should be, and it is understood [that] if the presidial soldiers do not choose to be paid by the father visitor of those missions, as has been done until now, the method of handling their wages must be by their judgment and consent, because they are the concerned parties—although his majesty actually furnishes [the wages], and without the slightest delay.

Second: If payment of wages is to be in trade or merchandise instead of cash, it must be with items that the soldier requests and needs, and these must be at listed prices. The father missionary who administers the said mission is to certify that this has been done and that the number of presidial soldiers is as assigned, in the same manner as is reported by priests in other presidios.

Third: Inasmuch as the value of horses and munitions is charged to presidial soldiers when they are assigned the post and equipped, when they quit the posts, they should not be paid whatever they might have been owed in cash. As an exception to this, in a separate transaction they should be reimbursed in cash for the value of the munitions that they surrender, since not to do so would be an outrageous injustice.

Fourth: Whereas the coarseness of the Indians and their innate barbarism make the teaching of some substantial work necessary, such as building, sowing, and other similar [activities], this must be done from sunrise to sunset, the time during which the religious missionary has to say Mass, instruct them, govern them, and go to hear confession. According to what is reported, not all of [the fathers] are able to support a domestic or servant, who is needed to fill the absence of the said religious and take care that the Indians perform their work and do it as well as possible. Consequently, it is not inappropriate that the soldier guarding the mission for the protection and safekeeping of the religious missionary should take care of these matters at the same time—not by doing the work himself, but by making sure it is done. It is important for the permanence of the mission and the missionary to build some house for his residence

that suits the land and [to plant] fields from which he and the Indians may sustain themselves, as municipal law provides. Accordingly, this end must not only be called for, but the means leading to its realization should be provided.

The difficult question is whether the two presidios ought to be governed under one command or under separate ones, with one commander for each. On the one hand, there is the disadvantage of jealousy or chance opposition in the execution of orders. It could happen that the superior might give [some orders], and the subordinate might be unable to execute them because of another, more urgent expedition of which the former had no notice. The consolidation [of command] has another disadvantage, in that the subordinate lacks the freedom to take appropriate [actions] because of attending to the orders of his superior. Nevertheless, it seems less harmful to have one single command in the captain of the old presidio, with [the commander] of the new one subordinate to him in general matters; in matters [pertaining to the new presidio], his subalterns are subordinate to that [commander alone]. The possible occurrence of events that would prevent the subordinate from fulfilling the superior's orders because he is responding to a more urgent [situation], as is very proper and politic, would exempt him from the censure of disobedience. Although jealousy in human nature seems inevitable, it is quite possible to overcome if the proper choice is made.

This is the central point, which is made more difficult today by the well-manifested antagonism between the superior of those missions and the captain of the new presidio. The record swells with a multitude of papers and letters presented by both parties, as well as offensive and defensive reports with which each seeks to indemnify himself. The captain is assisted by the reports of the governor, who chose and appointed him.⁷ It is not outside the realm of possibility, however, that your excellency's order fosters a presumption favoring the religious missionaries, as the documents in your instructions, in which you endeavor to give complete satisfaction, include the presentation made in their name.

Nevertheless, the whole affair is not being examined today for the purpose of judging it. The [fiscal] is obliged to attend solely to making good use of your excellency's vigilance and prudence, as well as the expenditures that the royal treasury has made to reduce and pacify the new disturbance from those nations. The continuation of these prepares for no other goal than the conservation and growth of the Christian flock and settlements, as is explained in a Christian manner by your excellency in the copies of your letters, which are found in the aforementioned second packet. The fiscal did take care to read the two files and the volumes of letters, *autos*, and papers regarding the

aforesaid quarrels and considers their individual accounts to be importunate. The explanation of the purpose to which these and other papers are directed is sufficient.

The captain complains that Padre Taraval, the father visitor, and other religious obstruct the fulfillment of his orders and treat him with little respect, providing a bad example to the soldiers and Indians. As proof of this outrage, he relates various incidents and inconsequential disputes. His evidence is partly supported and partly obfuscated by the religious, who for their part interpret the incidents and argue misrepresentations. Regardless of the truth, wherever it lies, your excellency needs to attend to matters of greater importance. The [problem] caused by the accusations and recriminations can easily be remedied by ordering that they be terminated. Moreover, such unproductive, judicial arguments will cease if the governor, captains, and commanders from each of the presidios know that they are subject in spiritual matters to the religious who, as their pastors, must be respected for their rank and ministry by these men—their parishioners and his majesty's vassals. The fathers have been ordered thus and instructed that they must attend to the military commanders as ministers of his majesty. Both parties must conduct themselves with mutual goodwill, without the religious meddling in political administration, unless they are so directed; neither should the captains and commanders [interfere] in spiritual matters or whatever may be done toward educating the Indians. Both parties should help each other to adjust the Indians to political life, service of God, and obedience to his majesty, with the captains punishing the excesses of the soldiers in an exemplary manner. No one should rely upon distance to allow him to neglect his duty, for any amount of delay renders correction impossible.

As illuminated by the aforesaid volumes, the causes for the captain's public excommunication come down to his failure to comply with the annual precept of our Holy Mother Church and his issuance of specific orders to the soldiers that if the religious missionary should come to see him, they should not permit [the priest] to enter. At the same time, he prohibited [the missionary's] communication. The religious considered this to be an affront to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction that he has as pastor, and [considered] excommunication to be an appropriate [punishment for the captain's] having ignored the precept. The captain confesses to both [offenses] and, defending his intention, attributes the cause of the conflict to his having removed from the religious a soldier, who [had] served him in various ways. He is already acquitted, for which reason the fiscal declines to preoccupy your excellency with the minute and pointless circumstances surrounding the case.

Proceeding to what was done by the governor of Sinaloa—which is treated at length in the massive fourth packet of these *autos*—consider the governor's tireless zeal and great labor, the calamities he experienced, his unerring judgments, his administration and good management of measures, and that all of this influenced and effectively served to achieve the end of reducing those nations. [However,] the incentives that successively motivated [the Indians] to respect the royal jurisdiction and his majesty's arms—more from prudence than harshness—were removed, and misfortunes befell some Indians that were not by [the governor's] command. Compelled by their barbarism, the Indians threw themselves into danger with the fierce and blind intention of killing the soldiers and auxiliaries, who naturally found it necessary to kill some of the invaders in self-defense (nor were some [of the soldiers and auxiliaries] spared from death). The governor has already individually related [this] to your excellency in his letters, along with his progresses in ordered succession and everything that occurred during his expedition until his return to his government. The fiscal finds it bothersome to be detained in his individual explanation, considering that the governor's orderly conduct, having already merited your excellency's approval, was investigated and decided through that alone.

Granted, it lies within your excellency's higher discretion to name the captain of the one presidio—and the other, in the event that it is considered appropriate to withdraw Captain Acevedo, in order to avoid more fireworks.⁸ It is also up to your excellency to decide the manner in which they must govern, separately or with one subordinate to the other, whichever is better. A prior assessment of the said proposals having been established, the fiscal finally passes them on to your excellency, [even though] the *autos* lack the royal *cédulas*, as the missionary fathers point out in their statement. Citing the [cédula] issued on September 28, 1703, and directed to the most excellent Duque de Alburquerque, the fathers assert that, in addition to providing for the annual subsidies of other religious from the Society of Jesus, the [documents contain] specific orders for the captains and corporals [to maintain] a more courteous association with the prelate and the religious who serve in the missions. Regarding the *entradas* that the [officers] would make in the land, they are to inform those who minister there about them; in this manner, the [entradas] may be more efficiently carried out, with those souls assured, and the spiritual good that is wished for in the newly discovered regions may be achieved.

In the aforementioned first packet, the previous fiscal repeatedly requested that the royal orders and *cédulas* received regarding management of the island's missions be sought out and placed with these *autos*, but although your excellency ordered it so, they are not in them. The mentioned [cédula], at least, is very important, and your excellency

might be gracious enough to order that it be searched for in the office and a deposition made with regard to it, in the same manner as is necessarily established in the books. In the event [the documents] do not turn up, or there are no *autos* previously drawn up pertaining to decisions about the missions, your excellency and the junta should bear in mind that this may serve as documentation for the resolution that must have been made.

Regarding the lieutenant of the new presidio—whom the governor of Sinaloa, as he states in his last letter, holds prisoner because he considers him guilty of the murder of an Indian (although in reality the Indian's death was caused by his resistance)—considering the report of Father Agustín Luyando alone, [which is given] in a sufficiently informed manner, the evil disposition of the lieutenant and of his children is evident. As it is possible to replace them with others who have better customs, it is not necessary that [the prisoner and his family] reside in the Californias, and your excellency might issue a directive [barring] the lieutenant and his children from entering the island, now or at any time. In places where Indians are recently converted, there are no trifling transgressions, nor is such a disposition to be permitted.

This is what the fiscal understands to be worthy of special pronouncement in the entire series of *autos*, as are the existence and operation of two vessels for the transport of supplies to both presidios. The [ships'] operation and dispatch are to be the responsibility of the captain of the old presidio or the reverend father visitor. It would be to the royal treasury's advantage to be freed from the risk and loss of the [ships'] operation, as Father Agustín Luyando seems to confirm, having furnished until now everything necessary to the soldiers from the ecclesiastic funds of the religious, notwithstanding the loss of one vessel. This proposal also falls within legal boundaries. However, it will be understood that although the voyage and transport of the payroll are not to be the [exclusive] responsibility and risk of the religious, for the reasons stated, there is to be no change made in the management of the ship[s]. When the commanders need to avail themselves of [the vessels] for some important matter they are to advise the superior of the said missions, or the missionary wherever the ships may be anchored. In turn, the [missionaries are to advise] the commanders when they need to go from one [place] to the other in their administration. In this way, anyone attending to the business of God and his majesty will not be hindered. The ships are not to be employed on any understanding other than this, [except for] the transport of the payroll.

With respect to the establishment of the chaplain in the new presidio, the guard is distant from the mission and missionaries, and for this fundamental reason the men on

guard lack the consolation of hearing Mass on official holy days. The aforesaid chaplain seems to be necessary, and in this case his appointment is up to your excellency. In fulfillment of his duty, the fiscal advises that the support of the said chaplain, his salary or allowance, must not be the responsibility of the royal treasury, nor should this post be added to those already funded. Accordingly, when the appointment of such a chaplain is permitted, it is to be the aforesaid presidio's responsibility to pay the cost and maintain him. The chaplain must be cautioned that he is not to have any jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs. He should not be regarded as a pastor, but essentially and solely as a chaplain. Second, the municipal laws specifically charge that the *doctrinas* administered by the religious are not to be entrusted to the secular clergy, but to the contrary, for which reason the fiscal found your excellency's judicious decision to appoint one of the fathers of that mission as chaplain to be a sound one. Because the location is so remote from this higher government, a solution is necessary that will avoid any possible dispute that might arise between the secular chaplain and the missionaries. Although each party performs the obligation[s] of his office independently, jealousy is likely to inadvertently cause some bone of contention. Moreover, in the event that your excellency approves the appointment of one of the missionaries as chaplain, the presidio's soldiers will not have [to pay] the allowance for his support, because the said missionary does not increase the burden of their garrison number. As chaplain, he can be supported in the same way that he was as missionary.

A [careful] consideration of how the exploration of that island is to be conducted can create an incentive for some Spaniards to go there to settle. Additionally, his majesty might obtain the royal fifth that pearl diving can produce for him, which it is not right to deprive him of or to hinder him [in getting]. May it please your excellency to order that the proclamation issued in those neighboring provinces is to emphasize the open license for pearl diving. [Individuals will be granted] access to that island and its shore for [that purpose], as vassals of his majesty. [Such license is to be] evidenced by your excellency's certification and registered by the royal officials of Guadalajara, before whom the royal fifths must be guaranteed.

Finally, because of the limitations of the fiscal's position, other matters may require some particular decree for the benefit of the royal treasury, either because of what the *autos* provide or due to extrajudicial notices. For the tranquillity of those missions, he defers to your excellency's zeal and better judgment on [decrees] that should be issued, as your sole intention and desire is that the service of God be accomplished in the winning of those natives and in the courage and perseverance of those exemplary religious who are already practiced in domesticating them. The captains should regard these [religious] with goodwill, respecting them as fathers and guides, inasmuch as his

majesty vouchsafed to heed their direction and experiences—both for the advancement of his pious and Catholic empire, and so that those natives might live a civil life and be brought within the rule of justice.

Mexico, July 12, 1739

Licenciado Vedoya

Reply of the auditor

Your Excellency:

In view of the *autos* submitted to this higher administration by the governor of Sinaloa concerning the recent events in the province and mission of the Californias and with regard to the reply of the fiscal of July 12 of the past year, I would say that there are various issues that can be extracted. The principal one among them that ought to be dealt with is the business of maintaining and keeping peace and quiet in that province in order to avoid any lamentable deaths in the future. This should be accomplished through the new squadron made up of thirty soldiers (which is stationed at Cabo San Lucas). Its commander is subject and answerable to the captain of the old presidio of Loreto, as it should be. If it were not so arranged, there would be a body with two heads, which monstrosity would unquestionably result in serious consequences, even the loss of that province and its missions. In order to facilitate this arrangement, it is very important that the commander of this new squadron, whoever he may be, be skilled in military tactics and be of a good disposition toward the Indians as well as the missionaries. With this kind of influence their doctrine and examples will be fostered and approved by the commander and his squadron in order that the Indians can be maintained in orderly fashion, subject to reason and justice. This should ultimately bring about the extolling of the Holy Gospel and the dominion of his majesty. It would seem that this will come about if the superior judgment of your excellency is in accord with the following:

First, that the said squadron of thirty soldiers, stationed at Cabo San Lucas, be under the command of a lieutenant who is subordinate to and dependent on the captain of the old presidio of Loreto. Thus, all will operate under one command and governance, to which the major concern of the fiscal is directed in the aforementioned reply. By only increasing the size of the said squadron, without establishing a new presidio, the preservation of that Christianity will be accomplished together with the safety and protection of the evangelical workers whose donations and expenses, as Father Luyando said in his *memorial*, were responsible for building the old presidio without any cost to

the royal treasury. Now the governor of Sinaloa is seeking pesos for the construction of a new presidio, which [according to him] could never cost much.

Second, the captain of the presidio of Loreto, which has functioned according to this same plan up to now, has shown good relations, as he ought, with the missionary fathers. So that the best service of both majesties might be accomplished, he should remain subject only to your excellency's higher administration as has been the case up to now—without any subordination to the governor of Sinaloa, because this has never been the case and not only is [the governor] at a great distance, there is an ocean in between [them].

Third, as the fiscal says, he judged the removal of the commander, Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, both necessary and fitting because he, as is well known, has been the cause of burnings and unrest in that province. Before his coming, the province had been maintained, from its conquest, satisfied and quiet. Over that long expanse of time, as I understand it, there had been no movement of the presidio soldiers against the missionary fathers. Furthermore, as was evident to the fiscal, it is not necessary to employ a captain since a lieutenant will suffice; your excellency could name someone who would be attentive to the missionaries. With this having been said, all problems and controversies will be avoided and will disappear.

In all the rest your excellency might order what has been recommended in [the fiscal's] learned and extensive reply. It includes all the principal points that are contained in this mountainous process. The fiscal has called these matters to your excellency's superior attention, and as auditor I am not repeating them. As soon as possible, an official report should be sent to his majesty so that he can review everything in order to resolve them according to his royal pleasure.

Mexico, July 8, 1740

Don Pedro Malo de Villavizencio

Mexico, July n, 1740, as the fiscal requests and the auditor general proposes, all the corresponding dispatches are herein released.

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, f. 179ff.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Copia simple del informe dado por el señor Vedoya, fiscal de su majestad, sobre las providencias que debían darse para la conservación de la California, con la respuesta que sobre el asunto extendió el auditor de guerra. Con 10 folios útiles. Año de 1740.

Excelentísimo señor:

El fiscal de su majestad ha visto las siete piezas de autos que se le remitieron como conducentes a las providencias dadas, y que deben darse para la conservación de la isla de Californias, sus misiones, población y educación de los naturales congregados en ellas, por redundar, lo uno y lo otro, en el servicio de ambas majestades, beneficio de los nacionales, alumbrándoles en la doctrina cristiana, sacándoles de su congenial barbaridad y dilatándose en los dominios de su majestad tan loable asunto, y supuesto que la pronta e incesante asistencia con los caudales de su real erario, será más tolerable si se logra el fin a que se dirige. Es cierto consiguiente, que en la recién turbación experimentada en dicha isla que ha producido fatales consecuencias, ya que parece intermitida o sosegada, se procure el más eficaz medio a la seguridad y permanencia de la reducción conseguida. De suerte que en lo de adelante queden sofocados aún los recelos más leves, de igual o menor, o mayor conspiración; y dependiendo esto de cerrar todos los caminos y veredas que puedan serlo a suscitarse, se hace indispensable explorar los que los autos ofrecen como causa y ocasión a las inquietudes lamentables padecidas.

De los autos consta, en la primera pieza de ellos, haber participado a la grandeza de vuestra excelencia por cartas del padre Jaime Bravo y Clemente Guillén, con fechas de 18 y 23 de octubre del año pasado de 34, el sacrilegio homicidio ejecutado en dos religiosos misioneros de la Sagrada Compañía, Joseph Carranco y Nicolás Tamaral, y ejecutado lo mismo en otros soldados y sirvientes, siendo los autores principales de la sublevación los Pericúes y otras naciones que tenían su asiento y congregación a la banda del sur. Consultando dichos padres a vuestra excelencia, como necesaria, la creación y aumento de 25 soldados para el seguro de aquellas misiones, por la distancia intermedia que embarazaba al puntual socorro, en cualquier utilidad, relacionando al propio tiempo las diversas providencias que habían dado para el reparo al alboroto, ocasión única por entonces, y disposiciones discurridas y practicadas, así para el refuerzo de las embarcaciones que trafican y conducen los bastimentos como para la restitución de lo robado en la invasión de los templos.

A que satisfizo la grandeza de vuestra excelencia, aprobando lo ejecutado, coadyuvando con la expedición de órdenes convenientes a la refacción de dichas embarcaciones, curso de presidiales a contener los sublevados, con la promesa de informar a su majestad para el aumento de dichas plazas, por no serle hasta entonces facultativo su efectiva creación y tenerlo así ordenado su majestad en las mismas cédulas en que dichos padres se fundaban para su anticipado establecimiento.

Pero como el fuego, entonces y por aquella parte encendido, penetraría a otras misiones, rancherías y naciones, como efecto del pernicioso ejemplar e incentivo que causa la insolencia, noticioso vuestra excelencia, por cartas de los mismos padres, de la sublevación de los Pericúes y otros, el a[me]nazado movimiento y trepidación aún en los indios reducidos [y] quietos para su oportuno reparo.

Habiendo consultado el señor auditor y pedídose por el señor fiscal, mi antecesor, es c[on fecha] de 17 y 18 de abril, lo que estimaron convenientes, se remitió [el] negocio a junta de hacienda, en la que salió resuelto por vuestra excelencia [y] demás señores ministros que concurrieron la anticipada [suma] de 18,000 y más pesos del situado de aquel presidio, para la satisfacción] de lo erogado por los padres en los gastos que por su disposición] habían hecho, presentando la cuenta de su importe. Y que [en] cuanto a lo principal se encargase al gobernador de Sin[aloa], por la mayor inmediación y noticia, el destacamento de los soldados que estimase necesarios de los presidios de su comando y de [la] misma isla, con los que solicitase la reducción y pacifica[ci]ón de aquellas naciones, estando todos a su obediencia y discurriendo por su mano la paga de los sueldos, erogación y] gastos, de que diese cuenta para su satisfacción.

Expedido los despachos, pasó de hecho dicho gobernador a ponerlos en ejecución, y aunque en carta de 17 de octubre de 1735 participó lo hasta entonces obrado, y el aumento que para lo expedido hizo de soldados reclutados y con sueldos, pidiendo que en esta real caja se satisficiesen sus libramientos a su apoderado, relacionando al mismo tiempo los nuevos alborotos acaecidos en la isla, y estar pronto a ocurrir a repararlos, se advierte aprobado de consentimiento del señor fiscal que entonces era, así el interinario aumento de dichos soldados, sueldo, y municiones que se les consignaron, como prevenida la paga de lo hasta entonces gastado por dicho gobernador, y así se halla ejecutado.

La continuación de las inquietudes, por la veleidad de los indios y ser poco estables en la vida política si no se les riñe y estrecha, reuniéndoles a la vista, manejándolos con frecuencias. Bien lo acreditan las cartas de dicho gobernador reiteradas, y en que al propio tiempo que participa la quietud de unos, avisa la conmoción de otros, y aún la ninguna permanencia de los ya reducidos, habiendo sido lo sucedido de estos acaecimientos un[a] infructuosa pero indispensable erogación de gastos mientras no llegase a conseguir la pacificación universal de aquellas naciones, único blanco del recto celo de vuestra excelencia.

Impelido de éste, según manifiesta en la segunda pieza de dichos autos, la copia de esta carta escrita por vuestra excelencia a dicho gobernador de Sinaloa en 19 de febrero del año de 37, se ve aprobado por vuestra excelencia el dictamen de la guarnición de

aquellas fronteras con 30 hombres más de los que se hallaban alistados en el presidio de Loreto, cuya providencia facilitaban ya los modernos órdenes con que en ella expresa, vuestra excelencia, hallarse de su majestad, dificultándose sólo por falta de instrucción del modo y forma, de paraje en que se había de arreglar y establecer esta nueva tropa, y si su erección había de ser por agregación al único presidio de Loreto, o estableciéndose otro de nuevo que guarnezcan y habiten más presidiales, por lo que ordenó vuestra excelencia a dicho gobernador, y le informase de lugar a propósito, capitán, o caudillo que los gobernase.

Y aunque, en carta de 6 de marzo que se halla a folio 13 de dicho segundo cuaderno, sin haber recibido la citada, expuso vuestra excelencia que por lo respectivo a los 30 soldados que debían situar, y los 25 del presidio de Loreto, había resuelto distribuirlos en el número y [viajes] que eligió por apropósito, para guarnecer todo el terreno que comprenden las misiones, habiéndose servido vuestra excelencia expedir el orden para dicho informe, satisfizo al dicho gobernador, con el que parece haber hecho a la grandeza de vuestra excelencia, en 30 de abril del año de 37, y a que se refiere en su carta de primero de julio de dicho año que da principio al quinto cuaderno de instrumentos, [lle]vados, y en que tiene por paraje a propósito para la formación del nuevo presidio y permanencia de la nueva tropa, el mismo en que estuvo fundada la misión de San Joseph, por lo cual, y porque en dicha carta comprende todo lo substancial de la duración de dicho presidio, convendrá se tenga presente a la vista de este negocio.

Pues aunque en otra carta de la misma fecha, y en la última, escribió a vuestra excelencia desde el pueblo de Pótam, provincia de Ostimuri, en 28 de julio del próximo pasado de 38, en el segundo cuaderno, expresando [el] gobernador de Sinaloa no ser necesario para conservar en paz todas las naciones ya por entonces reducidas, el aumento de plazas ni creación de nuevo presidio que los padres [misioneros] reiteradamente piden, atribuyendo a temor pánico el [recelo] de estos de volver a ser insultados, teniendo por bastante seguro a cualquiera hostilidad el número de soldados [de] su dotación, como se observe el arreglamiento y disposición] que tenía dada en cuanto a los parajes, número y [prevención] de los presidiales, con tal que estos únicamente cui[den] de atender a su ministerio, y no se divirtiesen en otros [en] que los padres los ocupan, afianzando que por medio de esta conducta y disposiciones hechas, aún unidas todas las fuerzas de los indios, no bastarían a contrastar una escuadra de 10 soldados bien amunicionados, [sin embargo] la grande distan[cia] de más de 300 leguas del uno al otro extremo de dicha isla, la general aspereza de su terreno, y lo flexible y variable de aquellos indios que el mismo gobernador tiene ponderado en la misma

carta, y sobre todo, los lastimosos y frecuentes insultos sucesivos dan lugar a la desconfianza en la prometida seguridad.

Es verdad que sólo para la de las personas de los religiosos misioneros, y que con libertad siembren y propaguen la ley evangélica, paga su majestad los sueldos de aquellos presidiales. Y que así no deben estos entretenerse en otra cosa que no sea el desvelo y cuidado militar en ningún tiempo, ni el de los albazos, ni el del retiro y tranquilidad de los indios, porque ejercitado en el uno en ocupaciones extrañas, se inutilizan para el de la expedición, lo que de esto nace es, acreditarse justo que los padres misioneros, no se sirvan de los soldados para el corporal cuidado de sus sembrados, ni de otras inteligencias, aunque sean muy precisas de su manutención, pudiendo para ellas, como pueden, valerse de los mismos indios sus feligreses, con discreción, sagacidad, y prudencia, como debe creerse lo practiquen, sino únicamente de que supla su presencia para la custodia de los frutos y demás cosas, y que no las hurten.

Pero por otra parte considera ser lo mismo, y aún más gravoso a la real hacienda, gastar crecidas sumas con título y motivo de reparar las sublevaciones para que cuando se logre el fin de su erogación se consiga únicamente dejar reducido el país al estado en que estaba, pero sin remedio los daños acaecidos, por no tenerlo en lo humano, lo pretérito. Y más a vista de que hallándose en el mismo acto de sujetarlos dicho gobernador, aunque cesaba una, se suscitaba otra conmoción, trayendo en continuo movimiento a éste y sus cabos, padeciendo los indios, aunque justamente por su rebeldía, el daño de perder las vidas en su demanda y ser castigados en sus personas por justicia, siendo el mejor remedio el cerrar la puerta al daño, que corregirlo parece, que no pudiendo negarse que aumentada la fuerza y aplicado el reparo en la parte descubierta, será más fácil en la erección del nuevo presidio la quietud de todo aquel país, que el dejarla [li]brada en la sola existencia del que hasta aquí ha habido. P[ero] aunque como dicho gobernador asevera, su número sea bastante [para] contener toda la numerosidad de indios que habitan aquellas misiones y rancherías, será más seguro no confiar[se] en lo suficiente, cuando, o por la estación del tiempo y m[al] estado de los caballos que traen de servir a las correrías, p[or] imposibilitarse, o a lo menos demorarse la quietud [de] cualquier movimiento.

Teniendo pues la grandeza de vuestra excelencia, como en su citada carta de 19 de febrero expresa, órdenes recientes de su majestad para poder disponer en este asunto lo que le pareciere conveniente, resulta haber facultad, cesado por consiguiente las prohibiciones de las leyes que en el año de 34 se hicieron presentes a su grandeza, y lo fueron en la junta, para no haberse resuelto entonces la erección de nuevo presidio, la

que parece hoy conveniente y necesaria con la dotación continua de los treinta presidiales.

Porque aunque es constante, por las expresiones de dicho gobernador, comprob[ado] con los auténticos padrones que remitió, y de que se compone toda la tercera pieza o cuaderno de estos autos, hallarse enteramente ren[di]dos, sujetos y de paz, todos los indios de aquellas misiones, y da[do] las órdenes convenientes a extirpar la emulación de unas y otras naciones en su separación y unión con los que tienen amistad, no parece admite duda que dentro del nuevo presidio en la banda del sur [se] logran dos iguales e importantes provechos, el uno, la más pronta asistencia, en cualquier acaecimiento, al socorro de las misiones inmediatas y próximas por aquel rumbo; y la otra, el seguro en cualquier arribo del galeón de Filipinas, pronto so[corro] y provisión a sus pasajeros, sin el riesgo del estrago que en oc[asiones] han padecido, como lo manifiestan estos autos, en que fuer[on] justificados algunos homicidas que les indultaron, y se mantenían impunidos, motivos todos que impelen al fiscal a consentir en la erección del nuevo presidio y pedir su permanencia.

Y para que el gravamen que hoy en ella reporta la real hacienda con el tiempo se compense, o pudiendo, se minore, me parece necesario que al propio tiempo se dé, por el notorio celo de vuestra excelencia, para que a aquella isla se trasladen las familias que voluntariamente quisieren pasar a ella, poblarla, y extender su vecindario; pues el establecimiento de misiones para reducción de indios infieles no se opone a la población, antes sí, con la comunicación se domestica la barbaridad, se hacen más dóciles los genios, imprime con el ejemplo las virtudes políticas y morales, se extienden los comercios, y en la numerosidad de vecinos, la opulencia, y fortaleza de dominios, que no consista en la multitud de tierras incultas, yermas, y despobladas, y en la vecindad sirven de tutelas los unos y los otros. Y esto es lo que por repetidas leyes y cédulas, tiene su majestad en [incesantemente] encargado, ordenando las poblaciones y lo que la buena política acredita importante y necesaria, y en distancia tan grande como la de 300 y más leguas, no pueden faltar terrenos fértiles, templados, y con la comodidad apetecible a nuevas fundaciones.

Pues aunque la real hacienda al presente, por los inmensos gravámenes que sobre sí tiene, porque iguala y aún excede a su ingreso la salida, según los destinos a que en beneficio de su propio imperio se hayan aplicados sus caudales, que a dicha isla quieren conducirse, sobradamente se les remunera con la asignación de tierras que se les señalan, y adjudiquen a proporción de su número, así para su habitación como para que cultivándolas puedan tener lo necesario a su sustento y al de su posteridad. Pues no han tenido otro principio ni origen las opulentas ciudades, provincias, y reinos que esta

especie de disposición sin que la dificultad de los principios haya cerrado la puerta al aumento en lo futuro, siendo menos costoso a los inmediatos a dicha isla su transporte a ella, con tal que no tengan en su domicilio, lugar en su residencia, tierras propias. Porque en este caso, pro[hibe] la ley su translación por la justísima causa de que no se despueble lo ya poblado.

Y así, siendo verosímil que en los reales de Sinaloa, Sonora, y otros en sus confines, haya muchos vecinos sin propias facultades, cier[to] e indubitable, la numerosidad de los que en igual estado se mantienen y preocupan esta ciudad, y las intermedias hasta Guadalajara, totalmente exhaustos de medios con que poder mantenerse y alentarse, siendo muchos de ellos artífices y oficiales, pudiera no ser [?]tánea diligencia la de excitárseles [sic] a dicha población, publicándose por bando el general permiso de los españoles que quisieren ir a la dicha isla, prometiéndoles que en ellas se les señalarán tierras [en] que poder cultivar para su aprovechamiento, y habiendo arbitrado] o bien a vista de que aquellos religiosos misioneros, por renuncia[miento] que voluntariamente tienen hecha, no se les asiste con lo que su majestad tiene asignado, según se halla el fiscal informado, tuvo bien vuestra excelencia y la junta, que estos se convierta, en todo o en parte, en la conducción de dichas familias, podrá providenciarlo o discurrirse otro arbitrio con que paulatinamente puede efectuarse, por no ser conveniente el que esto se haga en familias [de] delincuentes, desterrados, persona de infame calidad y peores costumbres, por las fatales consecuencias que de lo [contrario se han experimentado, y sin remedio lamenta la prud[encia] en medio de su necesario sufrimiento.

Supuesto pues tan necesaria erección del nuevo presidio, co[n] el número de plazas que dicho gobernador de Sinaloa informa, y e[l] aumento, que así mismo tiene por preciso en la dotación del antiguo, se ofrece el punto sobre a cuyo cargo deba ser [la] paga y distribución del situado, cuya materia, por [su] naturaleza, no era ni podía ser disputable; pues en todos los presidios de Sinaloa, Sonora, Nuevo México, y otros fronterizos, y en que hay misiones, está al cuidado de los gobernadores y capitanes, y aunque en otros tiempos ha habido laboriosos procesos de las quejas por razón de desórdenes, excesos y fraudes de los mismos jefes en daño y perjuicio de sus presidiales, ya hoy en el modo que ha sido posible, se ha puesto reparo en el nuevo general arreglamiento y arancel establecido en tiempo del excelentísimo señor marqués de Casafuerte, y mandado observar en todos los presidios.

Pero por lo respectivo al que ha habido en Californias, y el que nuevamente se erije en la misma isla, se hace punto digno de reflexión y examen, a vista de lo expuesto por el padre Agustín María Luyando, en la representación últimamente puesta en manos de vuestra excelencia y acumulada en los autos de lo insinuado por el gobernador de

Sinaloa, y de lo generalmente practicado en los demás presidios. Todo lo cual parece comprenderse si el superior acuerdo de vuestra excelencia y de la junta, calificare acertadas las siguientes proposiciones:

La primera, que todo lo que se librare y destinare al culto y adorno de las iglesias de las mismas misiones se entregue al religioso procurador, como se hace a los custodios y procuradores de las otras religiones, a cuyo cargo están las misiones de dentro del reino y ultramarina, y la otra parte del situado al apoderado que fuere de los presidiales, como se observa con los demás presidios. Lo cual sea, y se entienda, si dichos presidiales no eligieren la conducta hasta ahora observada de la mano del padre visitador de aquellas misiones. Porque siendo ellos los interesados, ha de estar a su arbitrio y voluntad el medio de ser satisfechos de sus sueldos. Puesto que su majestad, realmente y sin la menor demora, se los ministra.

La segunda, que la paga de estos sueldos que se hiciere en negocios y efectos, ha de ser en aquellos que el soldado pidiere y necesitare, y no habiéndolos en reales, pero dándosele en efectos, ha de ser en los precios arancelados con certificación del padre misionero que administra dicha misión, de haberse así cumplido y de estarlo en el número de presidiales de su dotación, a la manera que se presentan la de los curas ministros de otros presidios.

La tercera, que los presidiales, puesto que el tiempo de asentárseles la plaza y amunicionarlos, se les carga a su cuenta el valor de los caballos y municiones, cuando se les borren las plazas no se les pague en reales lo que hubieren devengado, sino que independientemente se les satisfaga en reales el importe de las municiones que entregaren, por ser notoria injusticia lo contrario.

La cuarta, que por cuanto la rudeza de los indios y su congenial barbaridad necesita de enseñanza para algunas obras materiales, como fábricas, siembras, y otras semejantes que es preciso hacerse de sol a sol, tiempo en que el religioso misionero tiene que decir misa, doctrinarles, administrarles, salir a confesiones, (y que según se representa) no todos pueden mantener un familiar o sirviente, siendo precisa persona que supla la ausencia de dicho religioso para cuidar de que los indios trabajen en dichas obras, y que las hagan con la perfección posible, no hay inconveniente en que el soldado que estuviere de es[col]ta en la misión para guarda y custodia del religioso misionero, al propio tiempo, vea y cuide de lo propuesto, sin h[acer]lo él por su mano, sino atender a que se haga. Pues siendo consiguiente a la permanencia del misionero y de la [mi]sión, y prevenido por ley municipal que se fabrique alguna casa en que viva, proporcionada al país, y semillas [de] que él y los indios se sustenten, no sólo debe solicitarse el fin, sino ponerse los medios que conduzcan a [su] consecución.

La dificultad que se ofrece es, si los dos presidios deban corr[er] debajo de un comando y gobierno, o de diversos, por ser cabos del uno y del otro, y aunque por una parte se ofrece el inconveniente de la emulación, o la accidental oposición en la ejecución de los órdenes, pues puede acaecer que el superior dé las que se le ofrezcan, y el subalterno, no pueda ejecutarlas por ocurrir otra expedición más urgente de que el primero no tuvo noticia. Y en la unión se ver[ía] también inconveniente por la falta de libertad en el subordinado para ejecutar lo conveniente por asistir a lo que el superior le ordena, en medio de esto, parece menos dañoso que el gobierno sea uno sólo teniéndose el capitán del presidio antiguo y estando a él subordinado, en lo general, del nuevo, y a éste en lo particular sus subalternos. La posible ocurrencia de causas que dificulta en el cumplimiento de las órdenes del superior, por acudir a la más urgente, como máxima justa y política, eximió subordinado de la nota de inobediencia, y aunque parece en lo humano inevitable la emulación, es muy fácil de conseguirse si se acierta en la elección.

Este es el punto céntrico que hoy se hace más dificultoso por la oposición bien manifiesta entre el superior de aquellas misiones con el capitán del nuevo presidio, sobre cuyo asunto será abultado el proceso con multitud de papeles y cartas, por una y otra parte presentados, e informes ofensivos y defensivos con que el uno y el otro mutuamente pretenden indemnizarse, coadyuvando al capitán los informes del gobernador que le eligió y puso, y la presunción que a su favor induce la provisión de vuestra excelencia, y no quedando desnudo de probabilidad por los documentos que en su instrucción ministra la presentación hecha en nombre de aquellos religiosos misioneros y en que procura dar cumplida satisfacción.

Pero no hallándose hoy la causa y negocio en términos de sindicato, debiéndose única y principalmente atender a que se aproveche el desvelo y cuidado de vuestra excelencia, y los gastos que ha reportado la real hacienda en la reducción y pacificación de la nueva alteración de aquellas naciones, cuya continuación prepara no para otro fin que el de la conservación y aumento de aquella cristiandad, y poblaciones como cristianamente se ve explicado por vuestra excelencia en las copias de sus cartas, que en dicho segundo cuaderno se hallan, aunque el fiscal cuidó de leer los dos legajos y cuadernos de cartas, autos, y papeles, en razón o con motivo de dichos disgustos formados, tiene por impertinente su individual relación, y por bastante la explicación del fin a que [estos] y otros papeles encaminan.

Quéjase pues dicho capitán de que el padre Taraval, y el padre visitador y otros religiosos, impiden el cumplimiento de sus órdenes, le tratan con poco respeto, dando mal ejemplo a los soldados e indios, y en comprobación de este exceso relaciona varios acaecimientos y lances indiferentes, en parte instruidos y en parte [de] su misma prueba

desvanecidos, por parte de los religiosos se interpretan los acaecimientos y se persuaden las intergiversaciones, pero dejando la verdad, aquel de cuya parte estuviere atento a necesitar la grandeza de vuestra excelencia del tiempo para negocios de mayor substancia, la que producen los cargos y reconvenciones, se remedia con facilidad, provi[den]ciándose el que se terminen y acaben tan infructuosas, y [por] judiciales disensiones, sabiendo el gobernador, capitanes y cabos, del uno y del otro presidio, estar sujeto en lo espiritual a dichos religiosos, como sus párrocos deber respetarlos en sus personas por su estado y ministerio, como sus feligreses y como vasallos de su majestad, que así se lo tiene encargado a dichos padres, advertidos de que deben atender a los cabos militares, como ministros de su majestad, portándose los unos y los otros con recíproca y buena correspondencia, sin mezclarse dichos religiosos en el gobierno político sino por vía de dirección, ni los capitanes y cabos en lo espiritual, ni en lo que conduzca a la educación de los indios, auxiliándose los unos a los otros [para] arreglarlos a la vida política, al servicio de Dios y obediencia a su majestad, castigando los capitanes con ejemplar castigo los desórdenes de sus soldados, como sin confiarse los unos ni los otros en la distancia, para faltar a su obligación, por no haber alguno que imposibilite con más o menos dilación el arreglarlo.

Las causas que dichos cuadernos alumbran para la pública demostración de haberse puesto por excomulgado a dicho capitán, se reducen a no haber éste cumplido con el precepto anual de Nuestra Santa Madre Iglesia, y haber dado orden expresa a los soldados para que si fuese a verlo el religioso misionero, no le dejasen entrar, prohibiéndole al propio tiempo su comunicación, en lo cual consideró dicho religioso ofendida la jurisdicción eclesiástica que tiene como párroco, y propio de ella el poner por descomulgado a dicho capitán por haber faltado al precepto. Este confiesa lo uno, como el otro, [disculpando la intención y atribuyendo la concesión, como causa, a haber quitado a dichos religiosos un soldado que le servía en ministerio muy diversos, hallarse ya absuelto, por lo cual omite el fiscal ocupar la atención de vuestra excelencia en las menudas e impertinentes circunstancias para lo obrado.

Y descendiendo a lo ejecutado por el gobernador de Sinaloa, que dilatadamente consta en el abultado cuaderno 4 de estos autos, aunque considera el incansable celo, sumo trabajo de dicho gobernador, penalidades experimentadas, acierto en las providencias, dirección, y buena conducta en los medios, y que todo esto influyó y sirvió eficazmente para conseguir el fin de la reducción de aquellas naciones, quitar los incentivos que sucesivamente les movían hacer respetar la real jurisdicción y armas de su majestad, más con la prudencia que con el rigor, y no haber estado de su parte las desgracias acaecidas en algunos indios, que a impulso de su barbaridad se arrojaron al peligro con el ánimo feroz y ciego de matar los soldados y auxiliares, cuya natural defensa les obligó

(sin libertarse de perecer a algunos) a que muriesen otros de los in[va]sores, teniendo ya dicho gobernador en sus cartas individualmente re[la]cionado a vuestra excelencia, con ordenada sucesión de sus progresos, y todo lo acaecido en el que duró su expedición hasta su restitución a su gobernación, tiene el fiscal por inoportuno detenerse en la individual explicación, por considerar que habiendo merecido [ya] la aprobación de vuestra excelencia, en sola ella quedó examinado, y de[ci]dido el arreglado proceder de dicho gobernador.

Lo cuál supuesto, y que al superior arbitrio de vuestra excelencia pertenece el nombramiento de los capitanes que hayan de ser, del uno y del otro presidio, en el caso de tenerse por conveniente, para evitar m[ás] incendio, el retiro del capitán Acevedo, forma en que han de correr, si por sí solos, o el uno al otro subordinado, que sería lo mejor, y asentada la previa calificación de las proposiciones dichas, pasa por último el fiscal a hacer presente a vuestra excelencia fa[ll]tar en estos autos las reales cédulas, que por parte de dichos padres misioneros, se expresan en su representación citando ser expedidas en 28 de septiembre de 1703, dirigida al excelentísimo señor duque de Alburquerque, afirmándo [que] en ellas, no sólo se previno las anuales asistencias de otros religiosos de la Sagrada Compañía, sino que en ell[as] específicamente se ordena a los capitanes y cabos la más ate[n]ta correspondencia con el prelado y religiosos que sirven en dichas misiones, y el que las entradas que se hubieren de hacer en la tierra, las comuniquen con los que asisten en ella, para que de esta suerte se ejecuten con mayor acierto y seguridad de aquellas almas, y se logre el bien espiritual que se desea en lo que se fuere descubriendo.

Pues aunque por el señor fiscal antecedente, en dicho primer cuaderno se ve repetidamente pedido y por vuestra excelencia mandado, se busquen y pongan en estos autos los reales órdenes y cédulas que se hubieren recibido, y conduzcan a las misiones de dicha isla, no se hallan en ellos y menos la expresada, siendo tan importante, para que la grandeza de vuestra excelencia se sirva de mandar, se busque en el oficio y se ponga testimonio de ella, como que necesariamente asentado en los libros, ya que no parezcan o no se hallan autos formados en la antecedente sobre providencias de dichas misiones, para que teniéndose presente por vuestra excelencia, y en dicha junta, sirva de documento a la resolución que hubiere de tomarse.

En cuanto al teniente del nuevo presidio, a quien el gobernador de Sinaloa en su última carta enuncia tener preso por considerarlo culpado en el homicidio de un indio (aunque la muerte de éste en la realidad fue en resistencia), atento a que sólo informado por parte de dicho padre Agustín Luyando, y en forma bastante instruido, consta el mal natural de dicho teniente y de sus hijos, y no haber necesidad de que estos residan en

Californias, pudiendo subrogarse otros de mejores costumbres en su lugar, se sirva vuestra excelencia que por vía de providencia, dicho teniente y sus hijos, ahora ni en tiempo alguno, entren en dicha isla, por no haber delito leve en lugares de indios recién convertidos, o que admita disposición.

Esto es lo que el fiscal comprende, digno de especial pronunciamiento en toda la serie de los autos, como también la existencia y corriente de dos embarcaciones para la conducción de bastimentos, al uno y al otro presidio. Y en cuanto a que su carga y remisión sea de cuenta del capitán del presidio antiguo o del reverendo padre visitador. Aunque a la real hacienda se sirve conveniencia de que se le liberte de riesgo y pérdida en su navegación, que es lo que parece afirma[r] dicho padre Agustín Luyando haber hasta ahora reportado, proveyendo de lo necesario a los soldados, aún habiéndose perdido la embar[cación], como quiera, que siendo dichos religiosos eclesiásticos lo es su peculio, así resiste el derecho esta convención espontáneamente haga, será convenido que aunque no sea a cuenta y riesgo de dichos religiosos, por los motivos expresados, el viaje y conducción del situado. Pero que no [se] haga novedad en cuanto al manejo de dicho barco. De suerte que cuando necesiten de valerse de ellos lo cabos para alguna cosa precisa, lo avisen al superior de dichas misiones o misionero del paraje donde estuviese anclado, y estos a dichos cabos cuando necesitaren para ir del uno al otro en su administración, de suerte que no se impidan unos ni otros, aquello que conduzca al servicio de Dios y de su majestad, ni se ocupen los barcos en otras inteligencias que éste, y la conducción del situado.

Por lo que mira a la creación del capellán en el nuevo presidio, aunque por estar el cuerpo de guardia en distancia de la misión y misione[ro]s, y por esta causa, contingente, y aún necesari[a], los soldados que residen de pie en dicho cuerpo de guardia carezcan del consuelo de oír misa en los días de precepto. Parece necesario que haya dicho capellán, y que su nominación en este caso es propia de vuestra excelencia, hace presente el fiscal en cumplimiento de su obligación, que la manutención de dicho capellán, su sueldo o asistencia, no ha de ser de cuenta de la real hacienda, ni añadirse esta plaza a las ya dotadas, debajo de cuya calidad, cuando se permita la nominación de tal capellán, sea hallándose la parte de dicho presidio, a costearlo y mantenerlo, y pre[vi]niéndosele que no ha de tener jurisdicción alguna en lo eclesiástico, ni tenerse como párroco, sino precisa y únicamente como tal capellán. Y lo segundo, que las leyes municipales cuidadosamente encargan, que las doctrinas que administran religiosos no se encarguen a clérigos, ni por el contrario, por cuya razón hallaba el fiscal, salva la otra más arreglada, como acertada providencia de vuestra excelencia, que la nominación de capellán fuese en uno de los padres de aquella misión, pues como paraje tan remoto de éste superior gobierno, se hace necesario remedio que precava cualquier tropiezo que

pueda ocurrir de disensión entre el capellán secular y dichos misioneros. Pues aunque unos y otros se hallan independientes de su ejercicio en la obligación de su destino, suele la emulación causar, en lo no pensado, artificio para el tropiezo. Y en caso de que vuestra excelencia estime la nominación de capellán en uno de dichos misioneros, no tendrán la pensión los soldados de dicho presidio para su manutención, por no acrecentarse dicho misionero de más carga al número de su dotación, y con los mismos que como misionero se mantenía, se podrá mantener siendo capellán.

Y por cuanto de la exploración de aquella isla y su frecuencia, puede resultar incentivo a que algunas personas españolas quieran ir a vecindarse en ella, y su majestad pueda lograr los derechos de quintos que el buceo de perlas puede producirle, y de que no es justo se le prive o embarace, se servirá vuestra excelencia, siendo de su agrado, mandar que el bando que se publicare en aquellas provincias inmediatas se añada la libre facultad del buceo, y entrada para él a aquella isla y sus costas, como sea por vasallos de su majestad y con patente despacho de vuestra excelencia, y tomada razón de él por oficiales reales de Guadalajara, ante quienes han de afianzar dichos quintos.

Finalmente, en atención a que a la cortedad del fiscal pueden ser reservados otros puntos que, o por lo que ministran los autos, o por noticias extrajudiciales, necesiten de especial providencia en beneficio de la real hacienda, y para quietud de aquellas misiones, difiere en el celo y mejor arbitrio vuestra excelencia a las que deban darse, por ser su ánimo y deseo únicamente el que se consiga el servicio de Dios, el logro de aquellos naturales, el aliento y perseverancia de aquellos ejemplares religiosos ejercitados ya en domesticarlos, y el que con estos tengan los capitanes toda buena correspondencia, estimándolos como a padres y directores, puesto que su majestad se dignó atender a su dirección y experiencias para los progresos de su piadoso y católico imperio, y para que aquellos naturales vivan vida política y sean arreglados en justicia.

México y julio 12 de 1739.

Licenciado Vedoya.

Respuesta del auditor

Excelentísimo señor:

En vista de los autos remitidos a este superior gobierno por el gobernador de Sinaloa, sobre los nuevos acaecimientos de la provincia y misión de Californias, con la respuesta del señor fiscal de 12 de julio del año próximo pasado. Dice que son varios los puntos que se deducen de ellos, pero el principal, a que se debe dirigir este negocio es a la manutención, conservación, paz y quietud de aquella provincia para evitar en lo futuro

las lastimosas fatalidades experimentadas, y que esto, está conseguida con la nueva escuadra formada de treinta soldados (que reside en el Cabo de San Lucas), estando, como deben estar, su cabo sujeto y arreglado a las órdenes del capitán del antiguo presidio de Loreto, pues no siendo así, fuera un cuerpo con dos cabezas, y por eso monstruoso, de que resultaran, sin duda, formidables consecuencias, y la pérdida de aquella provincia y misiones; y para que esto se facilite más, importa mucho, que el cabo que hubiere de ser, de dicha nueva escuadra, sea sujeto práctico del ejercicio militar, benévolo, así a los indios, como a los padres misioneros, para que con el influjo, doctrina y ejemplo de estos, fomentada y autorizada por el cabo y su escuadra, se puedan mantener dichos indios, arreglados y sujetos a razón y justicia y se logre por último la exaltación del santo evangelio y dominios de su majestad; lo que parece tendrá efecto si el superior acuerdo de vuestra excelencia calificare por asentado lo siguiente:

Primero, que dicha escuadra de treinta soldados resida en el Cabo de San Lucas; se gobierne por un teniente y éste ser sujeto subordinado y dependiente del capitán del antiguo presidio de Loreto para que así corra todo debajo de un comando y gobierno que es lo mismo a que se reduce la mayor parte que pide el señor fiscal en su citada respuesta, pues sin nueva erección, y sólo con el aumento de dicha escuadra, se logrará la conservación de aquella cristiandad, y seguridad y resguardo de los obreros evangélicos de cuyas expensas y limosnas, según dice en su memorial el padre Luyando, se fabricó el presidio viejo, sin costo alguno del real erario del que ahora se pide porción de pesos por el gobernador de Sinaloa para la construcción del nuevo que nunca puede costar mucho.

Lo segundo, que el capitán del presidio de Loreto, corra en la misma conformidad que hasta aquí, en la buena correspondencia que debe tener con los padres misioneros, para que así se logre mejor el servicio de ambas majestades, sujeto y dependiente sólo del superior gobierno de vuestra excelencia como hasta ahora, y sin subordinación alguna al gobernador de Sinaloa, por no haberla tenido antes, pues, lo uno se halla distante, y lo otro hay mar de por medio.

Lo tercero, que como dice el señor fiscal, juzga muy necesario, y conveniente, el retiro del cabo don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo, que ha sido, según se reconoce, causa del incendio e inquietudes de aquella provincia, que hasta su ingreso, se había mantenido, desde su conquista, sosegada y quieta, sin que en tan dilatado tiempo haya habido, según tiene entendido, ocuro alguno de aquellos presidiarios contra los padres misioneros, a que se agrega, no juzgar necesario, como tiene manifestado, el empleo que tiene de capitán, bien que providencial sino de un teniente, que siendo servido,

podrá vuestra excelencia nombrar encargándole la más atenta correspondencia con los padres misioneros. Con lo referido, quedan todos los inconvenientes precavidos y desvanecidos, controvertidos; mandando vuestra excelencia en todo lo demás, se haga como en su docta y difusa respuesta, comprensiva de todos los puntos principales que se contienen en este cumuloso proceso, pide el señor fiscal, por lo que omite el auditor, molestar la superior atención de vuestra excelencia y que con testimonio de todo en primera ocasión, se de cuenta a su majestad para que en su vista resuelva lo que sea de su real agrado.

México, 8 de julio de 1740 años

don Pedro Malo de Villavizencio.

México 11 de Julio de 1740 años, como pide el señor fiscal, y propone el señor auditor general, en todo, y líbrense los despachos correspondientes.

Notes

1. Although written in 1739-40, this document still refers to California as an island. Its status as a peninsula had long since been known and demonstrated, but the difficulties of administering the distant peninsula caused it to retain the character of an island. The term "island" was a way to emphasize the separation of California from mainland Sinaloa.

2. The rebellion referred to throughout the document is the Pericúe unrest of 1734 that took the lives of two Jesuit missionaries and several loyal Indians.

3. Jaime Bravo was born in Aragón around 1683 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1700 as a coadjutor brother in Mexico; he was ordained a priest in 1720. He labored in California from 1705 until his death in May 1744.

Clemente Guillén de Castro, born in Zacatecas, New Spain, entered the Society in 1696 at nineteen years of age. He served in the northwest missions from 1713 until his death in California in 1748.

Joseph Lorenzo Carranco from Puebla, New Spain, was twenty-four years old when he entered the Society in 1720. He was sent to California in 1727 and was killed seven years later by Pericúes at mission Santiago.

Nicolás Tamaral was born in Sevilla, Andalucía, in 1686 and went to New Spain and California in 1716. His major efforts were spent in establishing La Purísima Concepción; he was murdered at San Joseph del Cabo in 1734.

4. The Pericúe were a group within the Guaicuro nation; also involved were the Uchities, who lived at the tip of the peninsula.

5. Pótam was a Yaqui town on the mainland. Located on the Yaqui River, it is sixty kilometers southeast of Guaymas, Sonora.

6. These regulations have been published in Naylor and Polzer, *Pedro de Rivera and the Military Regulations for Northern New Spain 1724-1729*.

7. The commander, referred to as either "captain" or "lieutenant" depending on the context, is Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo. The governor of Sinaloa in this document is Manuel Bernal de Huidobro.

8. There was some apprehension that Acevedo might be reappointed, but the resolution pronounced below precluded that eventuality.

[Royol Cédula of King Philip V on the California Missions, 1744](#)

Philip V, no longer distracted by the war with France but still antagonized by English attacks on ships from the Indies, turned his attention to the expansion of the Spanish Empire, which had lagged since the late 1720s because of the burden of conducting wars. The dispute between Governor Huidobro and the Jesuits, which effectively terminated in 1741, as seen in the preceding document, was resolved with the appointment of another governor—this time Don Agustín de Vildósola, a prominent settler from Vizcaya and commander of a reputable military force in Sonora. His role in Sonora and Sinaloa can be followed in the Sinaloa-Sonora section that treats of military affairs on the mainland.

Clearly, Philip V had been impressed with information about northwest New Spain. The president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, Don Francisco Aysa, the Marqués del Castillo de Aysa, had filed detailed summaries of conditions on the coast of the South Sea (Pacific) and the Californias.¹ His concerns were very broad—from the fortification of

Matanchel and Banderas Bay to the settlement of the Islas Marias and the California coast. The ideas contained in his expediente to the king are reflected in this cédula, just as the ideas herein are reexpressed by Father Provincial Cristóbal Escobar y Llamas in his informe of 1745.² This flurry of bureaucratic documents marks a major restructuring of Spanish imperial policy in northwestern New Spain.

Vildósola's influence can be seen clearly in the cédula presented here. The detailed plan—which calls for a sharing of manpower between the existing presidios and the determination to expand missions along the Colorado—contains ideas that had become current in the aftermath of the Yaqui Revolt of the 1740s. The time had come to reconsider and reintegrate military and missionary efforts.

Cédula of Philip V, 1744

To the venerable and devout father provincial of the Society of Jesus in the province of Mexico:³

We have received news in my Council of the Indies regarding events of 1735 in connection with the uprising of the Indians from the Pericúe and Guaicuro tribes in the California province. Incidents that occurred prior to the uprising—resulting in the origin, the advancement, and the current state of the spiritual and temporal conquest of the said province—have also been considered and examined with the greatest precision and diligence. It has been recognized that, despite attempts made since 1523 by Don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle and first viceroy of these provinces, and later by some of his successors and certain other men at various times—with serious waste of royal funds—these men were never able to achieve their purpose, due to the unfortunate events that befell them and the insurmountable difficulties that they encountered. Nevertheless, the proposed conquest was encouraged by the fertility and abundance of that province, as well as the docility of the natives and their inclination to receive and embrace our Christian religion and our civil and political life. This was recognized by the Jesuit missionaries, among them Fathers Juan María de Salvatierra and Eusebio Francisco Kino in 1698, and with particular distinction by Father Francisco María Pícolo in 1716. During this time the missions and conversions were advanced greatly through the individuals of your order, who are the only ones that have dedicated themselves to these matters, and through the alms of the faithful. My royal treasury has also contributed to this great work since 1703, with an annual payment of 13,000 pesos intended specifically for the maintenance of a soldier escort for the missions, and for the crew of the ship that carries missionaries from the coast of Sinaloa to the province.

With this understanding, my council has addressed the manner in which that conquest might be accomplished. They had before them the accounting office report to Father Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, procurator general of the Company of Jesus, concerning his provinces in the Indies and in particular the missions of the Californias, as well as other reports from various members of your order who are knowledgeable and experienced with these conversions. They also had, above all, my fiscal's statement on the importance of applying the most effective and appropriate means of bringing the California province within the pale of the holy church and my royal domain, the fruitful undertaking of which has been frustrated so many times. Despite everything that my glorious predecessors and the viceroys of those provinces have promoted in their Catholic zeal, not a handful of stable ground has been secured in this rough territory.

It has been proposed to me that the most rapid and complete attainment of our purpose must have as its fundamental and solid base the conversion of those natives to our holy faith by the same Jesuit missionaries. Afterwards, a population of Spaniards with a presidio and a fortress can be established in the ample and secure ports as they are discovered in the peaceful, reduced land. Likewise, a pueblo of Spaniards can be established in the center of the province, where the land would be most suitable, as a check against the Indians and a refuge for missionaries should an uprising occur. In order to achieve the reduction of the Indians in the shortest time possible, it will be appropriate for Jesuit missionaries to enter that province from the side opposite that which has been used by the present missionaries, that is, the northern end where the province connects with and is bounded by the continent and tierra firme. This refers to our having discovered and ascertained that the province of the Californias is not an island, as was commonly believed, but is land bordering upon New Mexico along its upper regions, or to the north. In this way, the natives will be surrounded; isolated, they will not be able to leave or withdraw to the territories of other wild Indians.

Having all the missionaries travel from their settlements and respective routes toward the center of the province cannot help but hasten its total reduction. In order to realize that goal, however, it would of course be very important to double the missionaries in all of the reductions of the Indians. This is absolutely necessary to the continued progress of the frontier missions where the Indians still are not reduced. Apart from their general usefulness, what distinguishes these missions is that one of the missionaries can make entradas into the lands of the infidels in order to attract and win them over, while not leaving those already settled without the doctrine and discipline that they need, for it will be given to them by the other religious. Nor are the Indians left without someone to keep an eye on them, to prevent them from plotting some

traitorous act or uprising—a great risk when they remain alone. In this manner, far greater advances will inevitably be achieved, with a lasting integrity.

It is also appropriate that an escort of soldiers be present in the same reductions, to guard the missionaries and make them respected by the Indians, and that they accompany those who make entradas, for the same reasons. The soldiers must always be obedient to the religious and should undertake no actions without their orders, so that some punishment or imprudent invasion does not frighten or drive off the Indians. In this way, it is believed, much ground will be gained throughout that region where the missions are established. It serves equally to further the reduction of the province through new missions that they descend to meet those ascending from the opposite side.

The above measures could be easily carried out in the missions of the same order as in the Pimas Altos or the province of Sonora by placing two missionaries in each frontier reduction of infidel Indians and giving them sufficient escort under the terms expressed above. Thus, the missions of the Pimas Altos can be advanced to reduce the nations of the Cocomaricopas and the Yumas, until reaching the Río del Norte, also called the Colorado, close to where it enters the Gulf of the Californias. According to prior information, the Jesuit missionaries may anticipate a good reception from those missions, and by founding a pueblo of reduced Indians on the banks of the Río Colorado, they will have easy passage to the other shore, which is the land of the Californias. After achieving some progress there with the Hoabonamas tribe or with the Bagiopas,⁴ who are docile and well behaved, they could establish another pueblo to secure the river crossing from both shores, and thus secure communication with the entire mainland.

With this foundation, it will be possible to descend into the land of the Californias in search of the earlier missionaries. The men who remained posted in Terrenate by order of the viceroy, Duque de la Conquista, could serve as the necessary escort for the missions of the Pimas Altos, since they are nearby.⁵ Or the escort that the same duke posted in Pitiqui [Pitic] can be used, since it does not appear that both are necessary, according to the report of Don Agustín de Vildósola, governor of the Sinaloa province.⁶ Alternatively, for greater security, the escort from Pitiqui could travel to Terrenate, and the soldiers of this place could go to the missions of the Pimas Altos. In this way, we would have the necessary escort without increasing the expenditures of my royal treasury on the new missions or on the older missions of the Californias. The same soldiers who are being maintained in that province at my expense will be posted to the frontier reductions.

The same council presented all of this information in a consultation of May 12 of this year. Considering that the proposed measures are so little burden and of such great utility, it would be appropriate to implement them all, as well as any others that might be deemed conducive or opportune by the Jesuit fathers most experienced with that province. I have petitions from them, by your hand, and they await instructions. Naturally, the necessary means for everything will be furnished quickly and up front from the royal coffers of that city, or from the coffers of its subordinate cities, should the viceroy and the missionaries think it appropriate to place the funds in those cities that are closer. The number of Jesuit fathers will be increased so that there are two at each of the frontier reductions of the Indians who are not reduced. It is to be thus in the reductions that exist in the Californias province presently, as well as those that are in the provinces of the Pimas Altos and Sonora, along the part where all lead toward the Río del Norte or Colorado and the Californias. The Jesuits, whose number will be increased for this reason (the number to be determined by you, based upon information from the missionaries of each area who face the rebellious Indians), are to be chosen and paid another stipend up front, such as that fixed for the other missionaries in the province. Also, the number of missions in Sonora should be increased, in addition to those of the Pimas Altos, so that the first missionaries to arrive at the entrance of the Río del Norte or Colorado might cross over and enter the Californias. Likewise, for both to arrive at the same time would make the undertaking that much more effective, as they would not be leaving behind them any tribe of Indians who are not yet reduced and subject to my royal dominion. To which end, the escort should be placed in all these frontier reductions in the manner expressed, with the caution that if there are too many [Indians], soldiers should be taken for this purpose from Terrenate or Pitiqui.⁷

Regarding where to station the soldiers who do not go with the missionaries, one must listen to Don Agustín de Vildósola, governor of Sinaloa and an individual very experienced with those places. Of no less importance is that the escorts, the soldiers as well as the leader of each one, be at the orders of the Jesuit missionary fathers. They must not advance on the Indians, insult or punish them, or do anything more than what the fathers order. Finally, in order to strengthen this control, the salaries of the escorts should be delivered to the missionaries so that they may distribute it themselves, and if any one of the soldiers is a troublemaker, with bad habits, the missionaries could send him away and request another in his place. Without these and greater precautions that some of my zealous ministers in these provinces have proposed on various occasions, the escort could greatly jeopardize the reduction of the Indians. It is necessary to gain the Indians' fear and respect, so that they will not attempt treacheries, and to use flattery to overcome their distrust, providing them at the same time with an example of good habits.

Everything expressed should be attended to, keeping in mind that to apply every effort toward more efficiently furthering the conversion and reduction of those Indians in that vast province who may persist in their faithlessness is an undertaking very worthy of my royal will and my reputation as a Catholic. The achievement of this will doubtless result in the many other benefits of extending and increasing my dominions and the profits of my Real Hacienda, further ensuring freedom of commerce with the Philippine Islands. I have thus decided to approve everything that my council has proposed to me regarding these important goals, and consequently to order my viceroy of these provinces (by a dispatch executed this very day) to immediately dedicate his greatest efforts to the most expedient and complete fulfillment of these ends. You are hereby advised of everything, so that with that knowledge you may contribute your part (as I entreat and charge you) toward the implementation of whatever measures pertain to you, by this my royal resolution. You should also apply all other measures that may lead quickly to the accomplishment of an enterprise so clearly in the service of God and so important to the spiritual and temporal well-being of those heathens. Thus, I await and trust in your well-known zeal, principally because this is an undertaking so singularly fitting to your religious offices, which you have carried out with such success and efficiency throughout my kingdoms in the Indies.

Signed in El Buen Retiro, November 13, 1744.

I, the King.

By order of our lord, the king.

Fernando Triviño.

[Signed with three rubrics.]

To the father provincial of the Society of Jesus in the province of Mexico, including the order that was given to the viceroy of New Spain to implement the spiritual and temporal conquest of the Californias, and charging him with contributing his part to this goal in the manner expressed.

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 64, ff. 380-87.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Cédula de Felipe V, 1744

Venerable y devoto padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de México:

Con motivo de las noticias recibidas en mi Consejo de las Indias de lo acaecido el año de mil setecientos y treinta y cinco en el levantamiento de los indios de las naciones llamadas de Pericu y de Guadicura, en la provincia de las Californias, se han visto y examinado con la mayor exactitud y diligencia los antecedentes que pasan en él y ha causado el origen, progreso y estado actual de la conquista espiritual y temporal de la referida provincia, y se ha reconocido que, habiéndose intentado desde el año de mil quinientos y veinte y tres por don Fernando Cortés, Marqués del Valle y primer virrey de esas provincias, y después por algunos de sus sucesores, y por otros sujetos particulares en varios tiempos, con grave dispendio del real erario, nunca pudo tener efecto por los desgraciados sucesos que sobrevinieron y por las insuperables dificultades que se encontraron, sin embargo de que estimulaba tanto a la meditada conquista la fertilidad y abundancia de aquella provincia, y la inclinación y docilidad que se reconocía en sus naturales para recibir y abrazar nuestra religión cristiana y la vida civil y política, como entre otros misioneros jesuitas lo reconocieron los padres Juan María de Salvatierra y Eusebio Francisco Kino, en el año de mil seiscientos noventa y ocho, y con mayor individualidad y distinción el padre Francisco María Pícolo en el de mil setecientos y diez y seis, en el cual se hallaban ya muy adelantadas aquellas misiones y conversiones por medio de los individuos de vuestra religión, que son los únicos que se han dedicado a ellas, y por el de las limosnas de los fieles, contribuyendo también mi Real Hacienda a esta grande obra con el situado efectivo de trece mil pesos al año, desde el de mil setecientos y tres, destinados especialmente a la manutención de la escolta de soldados de las misiones y de la tripulación del barco que desde la costa de Sinaloa conduce los misioneros a ella.

Con cuyo conocimiento, tratándose en el referido mi consejo del modo como se podría acabar de conseguir esa conquista, y teniendo presente lo que con este motivo informaron la contaduría de él al padre Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, procurador general de la Compañía de Jesús por sus provincias de las Indias, y especial de las misiones de las Californias, y otros sujetos de vuestra misma religión, inteligentes y prácticos en aquellas conversiones, y lo que sobre todo expuso mi fiscal considerando lo mucho que importa el que se apliquen desde luego los medios más eficaces y oportunos para acabar de reducir al gremio de la Santa Iglesia y a mi real dominio, la enunciada provincia de las Californias, cuya fructuosa empresa se ha malogrado tantas veces, no obstante lo mucho que la promovieron con su católico celo mis gloriosos predecesores y los virreyes de esas provincias, sin haberse podido asegurar hasta ahora un palmo de tierra estable en su basto territorio.

Se me ha propuesto que para su más pronto y cumplido logro debe ser la basa fundamental y sólida la conversión de aquellos naturales a nuestra santa fe por medio

de los propios misioneros jesuitas y, consiguientemente, el que en los puertos capaces y seguros que en el terreno pacífico reducido se vayan descubriendo, se haga población de españoles con fortaleza y presidio y que, así mismo, en el centro de la provincia, en donde fuere el terreno más a propósito, se forme algún pueblo de españoles que pueda ser freno de los indios y refugio de los misioneros si sobreviniese algún levantamiento y que, para que se consiga con la mayor brevedad la reducción de los indios, será muy a propósito el que entren misioneros jesuitas en aquella provincia por el lado opuesto a aquel por donde entraron aquellos que hay al presente, esto es, por la parte septentrional, por donde se une y confina la misma provincia con el continente y la tierra firme, respecto de haberse descubierto y averiguado que la provincia de las Californias no es isla, como comunmente se tenía creído, sino tierra confinante con la del Nuevo México por la parte superior o del norte, con cuya providencia quedarán rodeados sus naturales y, como aislados, sin tener por donde salir ni retirarse a territorios de otros indios bravos.

Y caminando los misioneros desde sus establecimientos y líneas respectivas, todo al centro de la provincia, no puede dejar de abreviarse mucho la total reducción de ella pero que para conseguirlo, en el supuesto de ser muy importante el que en todas las reducciones de indios se hallen los doctrineros duplicados, lo es mucho más, y aun absolutamente necesario para hacer progresos en las misiones fronterizas de los indios aún no reducidos; porque en estas, demás de las utilidades generales de todas, se sigue la especial de que pueda uno de los misioneros hacer entradas en las tierras de los infieles para irlos atrayendo y ganando, sin que queden los ya poblados sin doctrina y régimen que necesitan y les dará el otro religioso, y aún también para que no queden sin quien pueda vigilar, a fin de que no maquinen alguna traición o levantamiento, de que tanto riesgo quedándose ellos solos; de lo cual se sigue precisamente lograrse con brevedad progresos mucho mayores y con la solidéz de que sean durables.

Conviniendo también el que en las propias reducciones asista escolta de soldados que guarde las personas de las misioneros y los haga respetados de los indios, y que acompañe a los que hicieren entradas, a los mismos fines, estando siempre a la obediencia de los religiosos, sin emprender acción que ellos no les manden para que algún castigo o invasión imprudente no atemorice o ahuyente a los indios, porque de esa forma se cree que irán adelantando mucho terreno por aquella parte en que están establecidas las misiones; y igualmente conviene que para adelantar la reducción de aquella provincia con nuevas misiones, vayan bajando por la parte opuesta a encontrar a estas que van subiendo.

Y que se pueden practicar con facilidad los medios arriba expresados en las misiones que tiene la misma religión en los pimas altos o en la provincia de Sonora, poniendo duplicados misioneros en cada reducción fronteriza de indios infieles, y dando a aquellos religiosos la suficiente escolta en los términos en que va expresado, con lo cual, adelantándose las misiones de los pimas altos a reducir las naciones de los cocomaricopas y de los yumas, que llegan hasta el Río del Norte, que también se llama Colorado, cerca de donde entra éste en el Golfo de las Californias, de las cuales misiones esperan los misioneros jesuitas (según antecedentes noticias) buena acogida y, fundando un pueblo de indios reducidos a la orilla del mismo Río Colorado, tendrán el paso fácil a la otra orilla, que es ya la tierra de las Californias, y logrando allí algún progreso con la nación de los hoabonamas, o con la de los Bagiopas, que es dócil y de buen trato, podrán fundar otro pueblo, para tener asegurado en una y otra orilla el paso del mismo río y la comunicación con toda la tierra firme.

Y con este cimientto irse bajando por la tierra de las Californias, a buscar los misioneros antiguos; y para la escolta que se necesita en las misiones de los pimas altos, podrá servir la que quedó puesta en Terrenate por orden del virrey, duque de la conquista, por hallarse muy cerca de aquellas misiones, o otra que puso el mismo duque en Pitiquí, pues no parece que son ambas necesarias, según informe de don Agustín de Vildósola, gobernador de la provincia de Sinaloa; o para mayor seguridad podrá pasar la escolta de Pitiquí a Terrenate, y la de este paraje a las misiones de los pimas altos, por cuyo medio se puede tener la escolta necesaria sin aumento de gasto a mi Real Hacienda en las nuevas misiones, ni en las antiguas de las Californias, poniéndola en las reducciones fronterizas y de los mismos soldados que en aquella provincia se mantienen a mi costa.

Y habiéndome hecho presente el mismo consejo todo lo referido en consulta de doce de mayo de este año, y que respecto de que los medios propuestos son tan poco gravosos, y de tanta utilidad, convendría mucho se practiquen todos, y cualquiera otro que tuvieren por conducente y oportuno los padres jesuitas más prácticos de esa provincia, de quienes por vuestra mano tengo pedidos y se esperan los informes; y que desde luego se asista con los medios necesarios para todo ello pronta y efectivamente por las cajas reales de esa ciudad o por otras de sus subalternas, si al virrey y a ellos pareciere conveniente el situarlo en las más cercanas, disponiéndose el aumento de misioneros jesuitas para que haya dos en cada una de las reducciones fronterizas de los indios no reducidos; y que esto sea así en las que ahora existen en la provincia de las Californias, como en la de los pimas altos y también en la de Sonora, por la parte, que unas y otras se inclinan hacia el Río del Norte o Colorado y a las mismas Californias; y que a los religiosos jesuitas que se aumentaren por esta razón (cuyo número habéis de declarar vos, con informe de los misioneros de cada parte que están en fronterizos a los indios

rebeldes) se les señale y pague efectivamente otro tanto estipendio, como el que a los otros misioneros les esta señalado en esas provincias; y que también se haga el aumento en las misiones de Sonora, además de las de los pimas altos, para que los primeros que puedan llegar a la entrada del Río del Norte o Colorado le pasen y entren en las Californias; y asimismo para que si los unos y los otros llegasen a un tiempo, sea la obra más sólida, no dejando a las espaldas nación alguna de indios que no estén reducidos y sujetos a mi real dominio, a cuyo fin en todas estas reducciones fronterizas se les haya de poner la escolta en la forma que va expresada, con advertencia de que si sobre, sí se ha de quitar para este intento la de Terrenate o la de Pitiquí.

Y sobre en donde ha de quedar situada la que de estas no fuere con los misioneros, se ha de oír a don Agustín de Vildósola, gobernador de Sinaloa, sujeto muy práctico de aquellos parajes; y de que es no menos preciso el que en las escoltas, así los soldados de ellas como el cabo que mande cada una, esten a las ordenes de los padres misioneros jesuitas, sin que puedan hacer entrada a los indios, insulto o castigo, ni otra cosa más de lo que los mismos padres les mandaren; y, finalmente, que para que esta subordinación sea más firme, se les entregue a los misioneros el sueldo de las escoltas, a fin de que ellos por su mano se la distribuyan, y que si alguno de los soldados fuere alborotador y de malas costumbres, le puedan los misioneros enviar y pedir otro por él, pues sin estas y mayores precauciones, que algunos celosos ministros míos han propuesto desde esas provincias en diferentes ocasiones, hicieran las escoltas mucho daño para la reducción de los indios, a quienes es necesario tener en temor y respeto para que no intenten alevosías, y tratar con halagos para desvanecer su desconfianza, y al mismo tiempo darles ejemplo de buenas costumbres.

Y atendiendo a todo lo expresado, con la reflexión de ser empeño muy propio de mi real ánimo y del renombre que tengo de católico el aplicar los últimos esfuerzos para promover con mayor eficacia que hasta aquí la conversión y reducción de los indios de aquella dilatada provincia que permanecen en su infidelidad, de cuyo logro resultarán sin duda otras muchas utilidades de la extensión y aumento de mis dominios y del beneficio de mi Real Hacienda, asegurándose más por este medio la libertad del comercio de las Islas Filipinas, he venido en aprobar todo lo que me ha propuesto a estos importantes fines el propio mi consejo; y en su consecuencia ordenar a mi virrey de esas provincias (como lo ejecuto por despacho de este día) que desde luego se dedique con la mayor actividad a su más pronto y cabal cumplimiento.

Y advertiros de todo, para que en su inteligencia concurráis por vuestra parte (como os lo ruego y encargo) a la práctica de lo que por esta mi real determinación os pertenece, aplicando todas las demás diligencias que conduzcan a ver conseguido en breve el

efecto [ilegible] de una empresa tan del servicio de Dios y tan importante para el bien espiritual y temporal de aquella gentilidad; que así lo espero y fío de vuestro acreditado celo, mayormente siendo ésta una obra tan peculiar y propia de vuestro religioso instituto, que con tanto acierto y eficacia habéis desempeñado, y desempeñáis en todos mis reinos de las indias. Fecha en El Buen Retiro, a trece de noviembre de mil setecientos y cuarenta y cuatro.

Yo el Rey.

Por mandado del rey nuestro señor.

Fernando Triviño.

[Señalado con tres rúbricas]

Al padre provincial de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de México; participándole la orden que se da al virrey de la Nueva España para que ponga en práctica la conquista espiritual y temporal de las Californias; y encargándole que por su parte concurra a este intento en la forma que se expresa.

Notes

[1.](#) See the *Testimonio* of the Marqués de Castillo de Aysa AGI, Guadalajara 306, where there are several reports on affairs in the South Sea.

[2.](#) See AGI, Guadalajara 135.

[3.](#) The Jesuit provincial was Cristóbal Escobar y Llamas, who held office from the beginning of 1743 until the beginning of 1747.

[4.](#) The Hoabonamas and the Bagiopas lived on the Colorado River to the north and south of its junction with the Gila. Spanish documents from the first half of the eighteenth century identify these tribes with two others in the Yuma region, the Cutganes and Quíquimas.

[5.](#) The presidio of Terrenate was established in 1741 as the Presidio de Felipe de Jesús de Guevavi, which reference led to years of confusion as to its location. In fact, it was situated about eight kilometers southeast of the mission of Santa María Soamca.

[6.](#) See AGI, Guadalajara, 135.

[7.](#) The garrison at Pitic was a substantial distance from Terrenate and even farther from the Colorado. Not until the establishment of the presidio of Altar in 1752 was there a Spanish military unit that could operate as far west as the Colorado. Not only were the

distances immense, the logistics of operations on the open desert were impossible for lack of water, forage, and remounts.

V

Transfers and Transports

(1748-1762)

Transfer of the Squadron of the South, 1750

The spectacular coastline at the tip of the peninsula of Baja California offers enticing shelter from the violent storms that blow off the Pacific Ocean. For more than two centuries the enclosed bay of Cabo San Lucas seemed an ideal port for the Manila galleons, but every effort to establish a base failed because of its extreme aridity and the constant need to import food, water, and supplies in order to maintain even a tiny contingent.

The jurisdictional flap over establishing a presidio in the south delayed efforts to build a fortification or port facilities. The reality of the situation was finally faced in 1750 when a formal request to move the garrison to Todos Santos was made by Captain Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea and the Jesuit superior at Loreto. The original and insupportable choice of Cabo San Lucas was driven by the needs of the galleon trade, but the continual need to protect the missions drew the garrison inland where it could survive and operate successfully. The choice of Todos Santos was a compromise because it appeared possible, although not ideal as a port for the galleons and relatively convenient as a base from which to react in timely fashion to Indian hostilities.

The following documents record the final thrusts to maintain a southern squadron that was less concerned with being a coastal guard than a military arm of mission security. After this time very little more is said about the southern garrison.

Copy of the permit of the most excellent lord viceroy to move the squadron of the south to the port of Todos Santos in the district of La Paz in the Californias. With four useful pages. Year 1750.

CALIFORNIAS, 1748-1750

Most Excellent Lord:

As commander of this province, I am strictly obliged to inform your excellency about the situation of the royal squadron of the south. Located at the tip of the peninsula, it is 150 leagues away from this presidio, for which reason all supplies are delayed, uncertain, and at risk whether [transported] by land or by sea.¹ The coast is very rugged, and there are no ports. Therefore, I propose that your excellency order the squadron in question to be moved up the coast to the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar (which is the only port in that district) so that the royal service may be accomplished with precision and military services are available when needed.² In this way the natives of those lands will make accommodations to live according to religious discipline. Keeping in mind the necessity to accomplish what has been requested by your excellency for the welfare of this remote province, Reverend Fathers Barco [rector] and Armesto (procurator) are also signing this letter, because they understand the gravity of what I have said.³ May the Divine Goodness protect the important life of your excellency for many happy years.

The Royal Presidio of the Californias, October 1, 1748.

Most excellent lord, your faithful servant kisses the hands and feet of your excellency.⁴

Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea

Witnesses: Miguel del Barco Juan de Armesto

OPINION OF THE AUDITOR

Mexico, Nov. 27, 1748

To the auditor general of war (Signed by his excellency.)

Most excellent sir:

Your excellency will be best served, as proposed in this consultation, if you order this to be carried out by the commander of the armed forces of the peninsula of California. This letter is countersigned by the reverend fathers rector and procurator of the missions of the holy Company of Jesus. In conformity with this proposal, the squadron located in San Joseph del Cabo, which is at the farthest end of this peninsula, will be transferred to

the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, which is the principal port and the first one discovered on that coast of the gulf or channel of the Californias. Located there, the squadron will be in the most suitable place to protect, assure, and strengthen the congregation of those Indians who have been reduced at the mission of San Joseph del Cabo and the rest who are designated as coming from the south. In order to cooperate and give aid promptly to the other squadron at Nuestra Señora de Loreto, both squadrons and the said commander and other officers will dedicate themselves with the help of the zealous missionary fathers to the reduction of the Indians at their respective missions. There they can reside and develop their homes in a way that is most conducive to Christian and civilized teachings, instead of wandering about like vagabonds scattered through the mountains and living off wild fruits. It is most fitting that they be thus separated and settled under the supervision of their respective missionary fathers and [that they] become domesticated and sociable. Otherwise, they may never achieve the desired spiritual goal set up for them or the stability and permanence which your excellency will deign to recommend and order in response to the letters received from the aforementioned commander and the reverend fathers rector and procurator of those missions, all of which is contained in this consultation—or another goal that your excellency in your superior judgment may deem still better.

December 23, 1748

The Marqués de Altamira

CONSULTATION

The need this peninsula of the Californias has due to the plague of locusts that has ravaged the whole country and the total lack of supplies that has occurred even in the province of Sinaloa, from where we are usually provisioned, obliges me to bother your excellency to order that I be paid the 2,924 pesos, 6 reales that I certified last year and certify now again as having been spent for the pacification of the Uchitíes Indians in the south.⁵ These cruel expenditures have continued into the present year of 1749, plus 1,900 pesos, which was the value of the cargo of textiles that was lost in his majesty's ship (may God keep him); the cargo was to be used to purchase supplies for the maintenance of this royal presidio.

Again, I earnestly beseech your excellency just as Don Bernardo Rodríguez, captain of the presidios, did, namely, that the presidio of the south be moved to the headquarters at La Paz. This headquarters is located in a suitable place called Todos Santos, where there is an abundance of water.⁶ The reasons for this request are many and extremely serious; I shall point out only two of them. First, the present location of the presidio is

twice as far from this presidio of Loreto as the other that is under consideration. In case supplies are lacking, as is the case now, it is impossible to provide help during the greater part of the year because the coasts are very rugged. From La Paz onward, there is no port anywhere. For this reason many canoes with their crews have perished at sea. The other presidial location under consideration is not only closer, but is more sheltered from the winds.

The other cause, or reason, is that at present the presidio is at the very end of the peninsula, leaving the ranches and missions on its flanks a great distance away. From this it follows that the military patrols cannot get there, nor can measures be taken with the promptitude that some situations require—[as can be done from] the site being considered in the center of the province.

I am not noting down other reasons for your excellency, from whom all this province is expecting the favor and patronage that we have always experienced; all of us missionary fathers in this province place ourselves at your disposal and offer ourselves humbly with all devotion. We beg the Lord sincerely that he might prosper and protect the life of your excellency for many years

Loreto, November 3, 1749

Your most humble servant and chaplain kisses the hand of your excellency,

JHS. Juan de Armesto

Most excellent lord viceroy

Don Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas

Mexico, January 5, 1750

To the auditor general of war with the letter that Father Juan de Armesto wrote on this subject and concerning which I have not as yet made a judgment.

Signed by his excellency [rubric]

OPINION OF THE AUDITOR

Most Excellent Lord:

Concerning the payment mentioned as the first point in this consultation by the procurator of the missions of the holy Company of Jesus in the peninsula of the Californias, the auditor can say nothing because he has not received prior instructions that ordered it, nor any citations.

The second point was already petitioned by the captain commander and the fathers rector and procurator of the missions in a consultation of October 1, 1748. The auditor rendered his opinion in an order of December 23 of that same year, 1748. Nothing was done at the time, and the reverend father procurator is now bringing it up again.

In the province of the Californias about 250 leagues of land from the tip or beginning [of the peninsula]—which they call "the south"—have been pacified. Going north or northeast along these 250 leagues, there are about thirteen or fourteen missions of the fathers of the holy Company of Jesus, who, since the end of the last century, have converted many of those pagan tribes to our holy faith. But these tribes are so brutish and savage that all the religious fervor of these most zealous missionaries has not been able to bring them together in a pueblo or to uproot them from their ancient and continuous barbarism of living in the mountains and feeding on wild fruits, hunted animals, and fish caught in the marshes. Therefore, the reverend fathers cannot reap the spiritual fruit they could if the Indians were gathered in pueblos to make governing them easier and to teach them, which would make them more docile in the Christian faith and in civil life. Thus, they would learn and practice cultivating crops and raising cattle, and would have industry, commerce, and trade among themselves for their support and maintenance.

Little by little, skill and human industry could make the almost completely dry, sandy and, in some places, rocky and sterile land serviceable, since it has been rendered peaceful in that peninsula. Both Indian men and women generally go about naked. Still, they are easily reduced. Left in the mountains they are just as easily incited to uprisings and rebellions. After that, it is more expensive to pacify them again, as this consultation explains in regard to the Uchities nation. This situation was experienced much more acutely in 1735 and following years with the uprisings of other different tribes of that peninsula. Don Manuel Bernal de Huidobro, governor of Sinaloa, went with soldiers and militiamen to pacify them.⁷

It could be that there has been no spiritual or temporal fruit—or too little and too late—from the conversion of those Indian tribes because for so long they stayed in the mountains and deserts. They have not assembled in mission towns to live a sociable life where they can be taught religious and civic matters under the continual surveillance, communication, and care of the missionary fathers. As fervent care by the missionaries was not enough, they also had to be helped by the soldiers of those squadrons.

Therefore, it is very fitting that the squadron, consisting of an officer and thirty soldiers, which was created in 1736 in the place called San Joseph del Cabo at the tip of the peninsula, be moved and relocated to the headquarters district of Nuestra Señora de La

Paz at the place called Todos Santos. The consultation states that water is abundant there, and from that place the squadron would be better able to maintain communications with [the presidio] of Loreto. At the same time it could look after the missions in the south as the auditor said in his opinion of 1748 and as the commanding captain and the fathers rector and procurator of those missions proposed in their consultation of October 1 the same year. The father procurator is now repeating this in his consultation of November 3 of last year. Your excellency has only to give orders that the testimony in the consultations and the opinions of the auditor be remitted, and to order both civil and ecclesiastical authorities by letter to comply exactly with everything, or with whatever your excellency may deem best.

Mexico, January 10, 1750

The Marqués de Altamira⁸

DECREE

Mexico, January 13, 1750

Let everything be done in accord with the opinion of the auditor general of war.

Signed by his excellency [rubric]

In accordance with the original documents, contained with the appropriate *autos*, and the officer of government and war of this jurisdiction, which is my charge and to which I remit. And that it be clear where it is fitting, by virtue of the mandate of the most excellent viceroy of this jurisdiction, by the supreme antecedent decree, I give the present. Mexico, January 15, 1750.

Juan Martínez de Soria. *Vale*

Reverend Father Procurator:

I am committing to your reverence's hands the attached testimony consisting of two letters from the presidio of Loreto. One, directed to your reverence and signed by Captain Don Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea, was written by the Reverend Father Miguel del Barco and dated October 1, 1748. The other, dated November 3, 1749, treats the same subject as the first, namely, it requests my permission to move the squadron of the south to the mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, giving the reasons why it would be suitable, for the benefit of the presidio of Loreto and the mission fathers, as well as for California itself. It also expresses disadvantages that would be experienced in keeping the mentioned squadron in the south.

The second letter, which deals with the same matter, also requests that your reverence be paid the 2,924 pesos, 6 reales that were spent in 1748 in the pacification of the Uchities Indians of the south, and also the 1,900 pesos that were lost in his majesty's ship in '49. The first payment was mentioned by your reverence in your letter of October 6, 1748. As the testimony says, what was expressed by the auditor general of war is contained in the first two letters, and with this judgment I concur. Therefore permission is granted for the move of the squadron. Your reverence may put this permission into practice for the purpose mentioned because the protection and garrisoning of this island have to be very satisfactory. The management of arms will be easier on the occasions when they are needed.

As to the expenses, it will be necessary for your reverence to report on them with all possible justifications. To call them absolutely essential, proof is needed, such as his majesty has provided for. When this report is ready your reverence may send it for review, and then the payment can be ordered. I remain disposed to give your reverence and all the missionary fathers all the consolations you merit for the fulfillment of your institute, with less difficulty than those deserts offer and better treatment than you receive from intractable heathens.

May God keep your reverence for many years.

Mexico, January 15, 1750

Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas⁹

Reverend Father Procurator Juan de Armesto

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 64

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Copia del permiso del excelentísimo señor virrey para mudar la Escuadra del Sur al puerto de Todos Santos, cabecera de la Paz en Californias. Con 4 fojas útiles. Año de 1750.

CALIFORNIAS AÑO DE 1750 A.D.

Excelentísimo señor:

La precisa obligación que me incumbe de comandante de esta provincia, me fuerza a poner en la comprensión de vuestra excelencia la situación en que está la real Escuadra del Sur, pues hallándose al cabo de la península, hace que la distancia de este presidio sea de ciento y cincuenta leguas, causa que los socorros sean tardos, contingentes y

riesgosos, así por tierra, como por mar, porque la costa, a más de ser brava, es falta de puertos. Bajo de cuyo supuesto, paso a proponer a vuestra excelencia, se sirva de mandar que la situación de dicha Escuadra suba a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar (cuál es el único puerto de aquella jurisdicción), para que así se consiga con exacción el real servicio, siendo los militares socorridos en tiempos oportunos, de que se seguirá el que los naturales de aquellos países se arreglarán a vivir en religión. Y atendiendo a la necesidad, de que vuestra excelencia mande la ejecución de lo que se pide, para el bien de esta remota provincia, firman también ésta los reverendos padres: reverendo Barco, procurador Armesto, sujetos que conocen por ésta, lo que llevo dicho. La Divina Bondad guarde la importante vida de vuestra excelencia por felices años. Presidio real de Californias, y octubre primero de 1748. Excelentísimo señor. Beso la mano y los pies de vuestra excelencia. Su seguro servidor.

Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea.

Testigos: JHS. Miguel del Barco. Juan de Armesto.

PARECER DEL SEÑOR AUDITOR

México, 27 de noviembre de 1748 años.

Al señor auditor general de la guerra, rubricado de su excelencia.

Excelentísimo señor:

Siendo vuestra excelencia servido, mandará hacer, como se propone en esta consulta por el comandante de las armas de la península de Californias, y a que suscriben los reverendos padres rector, y procurador de aquellas misiones de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús. Y que en su conformidad la escuadra situada en San Joseph del Cabo, que es el extremo de dicha península, suba a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, que es principal y primer puerto descubierto en aquella costa del seno o canal de Californias. Situándose ahí dicha escuadra, en el paraje más cómodo y proporcionado, a proteger, asegurar, y fomentar la congregación de aquellos indios reducidos en la misión de San Joseph del Cabo, y demás que allí llaman del sur. Y a corresponderse y darse la mano prontamente con la otra escuadra de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, dedicándose, una y otra, y dicho comandante y oficiales, por medio de aquellos celosos reverendos padres misioneros, a la reducción de los indios a sus respectivas misiones. Y que en ellas vivan de asiento, y formen sus casas en el modo más conducente para que logren la cristiana y civil enseñanza, y no anden vagos y dispersos por las serranías y asperezas, manteniéndose de las frutas silvestres, de que tanto conviene apartarlos, y que se establezcan a la vista de sus respectivos reverendos padres misioneros, domesticados y

sociables. Sin lo cual, tarde o nunca se conseguirá el deseado fin espiritual de aquellos indios, su estabilidad y permanencia. Que se servirá vuestra excelencia encargar y recomendar mucho respondiendo por cartas al expresado comandante, y reverendos padres rector y procurador de aquellas misiones contenidas en esta consulta, o lo que la superioridad de vuestra excelencia sobre todo mejor estimare.

México, diciembre 23 de 1748.

El Marqués de Altamira.

CONSULTA

Las necesidades en que se halla esta península de Californias, por la plaga de langostas, que tiene toda la tierra talada, y por la total falta de bastimento de que ha carecido también la provincia de Sinaloa, de donde se proveía ésta, me obligan a molestar a vuestra excelencia, y volver a suplicar se sirva vuestra excelencia, mandar, se me paguen los dos mil novecientos veinte y cuatro pesos, seis reales que el año pasado certifiqué, y de nuevo certifico, haberlos gastado en la pacificación de los indios urchitíes del sur, sin los crecidos gastos que se continuaron en este presente año de 1749, y mil novecientos pesos que se perdieron en el barco de su majestad (que Dios guarde), los cuales llevaba en géneros para comprar bastimento para la manutención de este real presidio.

También vuelvo a suplicar encarecidamente a vuestra excelencia lo que don Bernardo Rodríguez, capitán de los presidios tiene suplicado, y es: que el presidio del sur se mude a la cabecera de la Paz. La cual cabecera está en un sitio llamado Todos Santos, acomodado y con abundancia de agua. Las causas para esta súplica, son muchas y gravísimas, de las que apuntaré altamente dos. La primera es, que el paraje en donde está ahora el presidio, dista de este presidio de Loreto el doble de lo que dista el otro, que se pretende, y en caso de faltar bastimentos, como ahora han faltado, está imposibilitado de socorro en la mayor parte del año, a causa de las costas, que son muy bravas y no haber puerto alguno en todas ellas, pasado de la Paz para adelante, por lo que han perecido muchas canoas con su tripulación en aquellos mares. Y el que se pretende, a más de la cercanía, tiene puerto seguro de todos vientos.

La otra causa, o razón es: que ahora está el presidio en la punta y último de la península, dejando a las espaldas en (grande) larga distancia las rancherías y misiones; de lo cual se sigue, que no pueden acudir a tiempo los militares a sus correrías, ni se pueden tomar las providencias con la prontitud que piden algunos lances. Y el que se pretende está en el centro de aquella provincia.

No apunto más razones a vuestra excelencia de que toda esta provincia espera este favor, y el patrocinio que siempre hemos hallado en vuestra excelencia, a cuyas órdenes todos los padres misioneros de esta provincia nos ofrecemos rendidos con todo afecto, con el que pedimos encarecidamente al Señor, prospere y guarde la vida de vuestra excelencia por dilatados años. Loreto y noviembre 3 de 1749 años.

Beso la mano de vuestra excelencia, su más rendido servidor y capellán.

JHS. Juan de Armesto.

Excelentísimo señor virrey: don Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas.

México 5 de enero de 1750.

Al señor auditor general de la guerra, con la carta que sobre la propia materia escribió el padre Juan de Armesto, en que hasta ahora no he tomado resolución.

Rubricado de su excelencia.

PARECER DEL SEÑOR AUDITOR

Excelentísimo señor:

Sobre el pagamento, primer punto de esta consulta del reverendo padre procurador de las misiones de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús en la península de Californias, nada puede decir el auditor, por no haberse traído los antecedentes que lo instruyen y se citan.

El otro punto fue ya solicitado por el capitán comandante y padres rector y procurador de dichas misiones, en consulta de primero de octubre de 1748, y definió a ello el auditor, en dictamen de 23 de diciembre del mismo año de 1748, cuya determinación no se tomó por entonces y ahora insta sobre ella el dicho reverendo padre procurador.

En dicha provincia de Californias hay pacificadas como doscientas y cincuenta leguas de terreno, desde su punta o principio, que llaman del sur; internándose para el norte o noroeste, en cuyas doscientas y cincuenta leguas, hay como trece o catorce misiones de dichos reverendos padres de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, que desde fines del próximo pasado siglo hasta la presente, han convertido a nuestra santa fe muchas de aquellas naciones de indios gentiles; pero son estos tan brutos, y salvajes, que todo el religioso fervor de aquellos celosísimos misioneros, no ha podido congregarlos en pueblo, ni desarraigarlos de su antigua continuada barbarie de vivir en los montes y mantenerse en ellos de las frutas silvestres, caza y pesca de las marismas. Por lo que no pueden lograr dichos reverendos padres misioneros el fruto espiritual que lograrían de aquellos indios si se congregasen en pueblos, para su más fácil administración y enseñanza; con

que se docilitarían más en lo cristiano y político, instruyéndose, y aplicándose al cultivo, crías de ganado e industrias, comercios y tráficos entre sí, para su sustento y manutención.

Así poco a poco, el arte e industria podría ir haciendo servible el casi enteramente seco, arenoso, y en partes muy peñascoso estéril terreno pacificado de aquella península, cuyos indios, hombres y mujeres, generalmente andan desnudos, y aunque fáciles a su reducción, quedándose en sus montes, son igualmente fáciles a sus alzamientos y sublevaciones, siendo después más costoso volverlos a pacificar, como expresa esta consulta, por lo tocante a la nación Uchitíes. Y se experimentó mucho más en los años de 1735 y siguientes, con el alzamiento de otras diferentes naciones de aquella península, a cuya pacificación pasó con presidiales y milicianos el gobernador de Sinaloa don Manuel Bernal Huidobro.

Puede ser ninguno, o muy poco, y tarde el fruto espiritual y temporal de todas aquellas naciones de indios, mientras se mantuvieren aún después de reducidos, en los montes y despoblados, y no se congregaren en sus misiones a vida sociable para ser educados cristiana y políticamente a la vista, continua comunicación, y trato de sus reverendos padres misioneros. Y no bastando para ello la fervorosa solicitud de estos, necesitan ser coadyuvados de los soldados de aquellas escuadras.

A este fin, es muy conveniente que la de un oficial y treinta soldados, creada en el año de 1736, en el paraje nombrado San Joseph del Cabo, principio de dicha península, suba y se sitúe en la cabecera de la misión de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, y paraje de Todos Santos, que la consulta expresa ser abundante de aguas, y desde donde se corresponderá mejor dicha escuadra, con la de Loreto. Y al mismo tiempo atenderá las misiones del sur como el auditor expresó en su citado dictamen de 1748, y propusieron en su consulta del primero de octubre del mismo año, el capitán comandante y reverendos padres rector y procurador de aquellas misiones, y ahora lo repite dicho reverendo padre procurador, en esta consulta de 3 de noviembre del año próximo pasado. Sirviéndose vuestra excelencia mandar se les remita testimonio de sus consultas, dictámenes del auditor, y de lo que a ello proveyere vuestra excelencia; encargándoles cristianamente por cartas, el más exacto cumplimiento de todo, o lo que vuestra excelencia mejor estimare.

México y enero 10 de 1750.

El Marqués de Altamira.

DECRETO

México 13 de enero de 1750.

Hagan en todo como parece al señor auditor general de la guerra. Rubricado de su excelencia.

Concuerta con sus originales, que quedan en los autos de la materia, y oficio de gobierno y guerra de este reino de mi cargo, a que me remito. Y para que conste donde convenga, en virtud de lo mandado por el excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino, en superior decreto que antecede, doy el presente. México 15 de enero de 1750.

Juan Martínez de Soria. Vale.

Reverendo Padre Procurador:

Paso a manos de vuestra excelencia el adjunto testimonio, que es de dos cartas escritas desde ese presidio de Loreto; una a primero de octubre del año pasado de 1748, firmada por el capitán don Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea, por el padre reverendo Miguel del Barco, y por vuestra reverencia. Y la otra con fecha de 3 de noviembre de 1749. Diré, y es el asunto de la primera, a solicitar mi permiso, para mudar la Escuadra del Sur a la misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, expresándose las razones de conveniencia que de ello resultarán, tanto al presidio de Loreto, padres misioneros, como a la California, y los inconvenientes experimentados en mantener la citada Escuadra en el sur.

La segunda, contiene el mismo asunto, como también a que mande pagar a vuestra reverencia dos mil novecientos veinte y cuatro pesos y seis reales que el año de 1748 se gastaron en la pacificación de los indios uchitíes del sur, como también que se paguen mil y novecientos pesos que se perdieron en el barco de su majestad el año citado de 1749. De una primera paga, trató vuestra reverencia en carta de 6 de octubre de 1748.

Y porque en el citado testimonio se contiene lo expuesto por el señor auditor general de guerra, en las dos primeras cartas, con sus dictámenes me conformé. Y doy permiso para transmutación de la Escuadra. Puede vuestra reverencia disponer se ponga en práctica la licencia que doy al fin referido, pues la custodia y guarnición de esa Isla, ha de estar a la mayor satisfacción de los padres misioneros, y manejo más fácil de las armas en las ocasiones que lo pide la necesidad.

En cuanto a los gastos, es necesario que vuestra excelencia mande disponer relación de ellos con la posible justificación, porque para calificarlos por inexcusable, se requiere esta circunstancia] como lo tiene prevenido su majestad. Cuya relación comprobada podrá remitir vuestra reverencia para su examen, de donde resultará que se mande pagar. Yo quedo propenso a conferir a vuestra reverencia, y a todos los padres

misioneros los consuelos que acreditan, para desempeño de su instituto, con menos afán del que ofrecen esos desiertos y trato con gente tan indócil.

Dios guarde a vuestra reverencia muchos años como deseo.

México 15 de enero de 1750.

Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas

Reverendo padre procurador, Juan de Armesto.

Notes

1. The distance from the presidio of Loreto to Cabo San Lucas is approximately 560 kilometers.

2. Nuestra Señora del Pilar, founded in 1720, is actually the mission site at La Paz, which is on the eastern coast of the peninsula, whereas Todos Santos is on the west coast near Magdalena Bay.

3. Father Miguel del Barco served as rector of the California missions as well as visitor at various times in the 1750s and 1760s. He was resident at San Francisco Javier del Viggé. Barco was born at Casas de Millán in the province of Cáceres in 1706; he died in exile in Bologna, Italy, in 1790.

Juan de Armesto resided at this time at Loreto, where he completed the stone church. He was later appointed procurator of the California missions, at which time he moved to Mexico City. Armesto was born in the Villa de Monforte de Lemos in Galicia in 1713 and died in exile in 1795, also in Bologna.

4. Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea [Larrea] succeeded his father—Captain Rodríguez Lorenzo, who went blind in 1744—as captain of the presidio at Loreto. He was made captain of the southern presidio by Governor Huidobro in 1736 and then removed in favor of Don Pedro Alvarez de Acevedo.

5. The Uchitíes were a distinct group among the Guaicuros; they lived in the southern reaches of the peninsula. They were brutally mistreated by Spanish forces who had come to put down the general rebellion in 1734. Children were separated from their parents, and eventually most of the tribal group died out to the point that Barco reports only one being alive at the time of the expulsion (1767). See Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica*, p. 243.

6. Although great concern for the Manila galleons caused the Spaniards to concentrate on Cabo San Lucas, where the ships turned eastward to the Mexican coast, the site was logistically untenable. Todos Santos, some hundred kilometers north, was supplied by the watershed from the western slopes of the sierra and was easily accessible from La Paz. It was also situated close to the Pacific Ocean, where small craft from the galleons could take on water and fruit.

7. The position herein expressed about civilizing the Indians and placing them in pueblos was precisely the position taken by Huidobro and that was repudiated by his removal in 1741. These notions continued to persist even to the time of Gálvez's ill-fated expedition in 1768.

8. Rodríguez de Albuérne, the fourth Marqués de Altamira, was former oidor of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. In 1730, he married into a powerful cattle family of Nueva Galicia. His wife was Doña Luisa Pérez de Tagle y Sánchez de Tagle.

9. Juan Francisco Güemes y Horcasitas was the first Conde de Revillagigedo and the forty-first viceroy of New Spain from July 1746 to November 1755.

Muster Roll of the Presidio of Loreto and the Southern Squadron, 1751

The muster roll for 1751 shows the distribution of forces that permitted the southern squadron to be removed to Todos Santos, as mandated in the preceding documents. It is interesting to note the changes of personnel that occurred after the appointment of Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada due to the untimely death of Captain Bernardo Rodríguez de la Rea. The muster roll and the various certifications are presented here to illustrate the level of detail and authority shared by the military commanders and the missionaries responsible for the distribution of the armed forces. Despite the efforts of Governor Huidobro to wrest control of the presidial forces from the missionaries, it is clear from these administrative documents that the Jesuits remained in close supervision of the soldiers and sailors, a relationship that was acceptable to Captain Rivera y

Moncada but that would eventually create difficulties with the military reforms championed by José de Gálvez in the 1760s.

Report of the soldiers in the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, the royal southern squadron, and the naval officers and crew.

With two useful folios. 1751.

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

Royal Presidio of Loreto

Captain Don Fernando

de Rivera y Moncada

Sergeant Don Cristóbal

Gutiérrez de Góngora

Squad Corporal Andrés de Cota

Don Joseph de Robles

Don Santiago Valeria

Don Esteban Robles

Don Joseph de Villalobos

Juan de Leyva

Juan María Peña

Hilario Carrillo

Miguel Carbajal

Francisco Javier Zebreros

Juan Ignacio Rojas

Felipe Romero

Matías Morraz

Joseph Gerardo

Francisco Javier de Armenta

Ignacio de Vega

Ignacio de Lugo

Don Nicolás de Peraza

Don Pantaleón Robles

Don Joseph Joaquín Rivas

Salvador López

Raymundo Carrillo

Luis de Uribe

Joseph Marcelino de Estrada

Juan María Ruiz

Guillermo Carrillo

Cayetano Hernández

Francisco Javier de Ochoa

Royal Squadron of the South

Lieutenant Don Pedro de la Riva

Sergeant Don Manuel de Villavicencio

Squad Corporal Fernando de la Peña

Miguel Cordero

Francisco de Castro Mechas

Juan Rodríguez

Juan Quintero

Francisco de Castro Gueto

Ignacio López

Juan de Dios Morales

Juan María López

Don Pedro Gil

Jerónimo González

Ramón Cordero

Nicolás Peña

Juan Joseph Seseña

Don Francisco Robles

Juan Joseph Cabrales

Diego Joseph Hernández

Francisco de Soto

Juan Nicolás de Estrada

Joseph Moreno

Agustín Félix de Acevedo

Joseph López de Almeyda

Juan Francisco Solís

Gregorio Maldonado

Francisco María Castro

Vicente Miramontes

Joaquín Verdugo

Miguel de Alvarado

Crew of His Majesty's Ship

Rear Admiral Juan Sánchez

Boatswain Gregorio Salcedo

Miguel Navarro

Juan Antonio Medina

Manuel de los Reyes

Joaquín Robles

Francisco Javier Santa Cruz

Domingo Nicolás

Manuel Regalado

Agustín Valenzuela

Norberto de Aguilar

Vicente Otrera

Pedro Adriano

Juan Martín

Juan Pérez

Mateo de Ahome

Cooks

Juan Ignacio

Cristóbal Huirivis

Caulker

Salvador Márquez

Carpenter

Manuel Morillo

Ironsmith

Cristóbal Asencio

I have paid the annual salaries designated by his majesty to all of these men and to the crew of another ship for the transport of supplies. To this I certify and swear, for the satisfaction of the most excellent viceroy and the officials of the Real Hacienda. Loreto, October 13, 1751.

JHS. Juan de Armesto

I, the undersigned captain and commander of these California presidios, certify that since 1741 (the year in which the royal southern squadron was incorporated into this captaincy), the thirty posts assigned at the establishment of this presidio have been and are being paid. Likewise [the fathers] continue to pay and give aid to the individuals and crew of the Loreto presidio who make up the preceding list. In affirmation of this truth, I signed this document in the royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto on October 13, 1751.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

I, Miguel de Barco, father visitor of these California missions, also certify that since 1741, when the southern presidio was established as a dependent of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, the thirty soldiers which comprise that squadron have been and continue to be paid, as well as the thirty posts in the Loreto presidio and the crew of his majesty's ship enumerated in the preceding lists. I sign this in the mission of San Francisco Javier in the Californias on October 14, 1751.

JHS. Miguel del Barco

CALIFORNIAS 1751

Authorization granted to Padre Joseph Echeverría by the Loreto soldiers and the crew of that port so that he could collect the respective wages in their names. With two useful folios. 1751.

In the pueblo and royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto of Californias, April 5, 1751.

In the absence of Lieutenant General Don Pedro de la Riva Sergeant Don Cristóbal de Góngora, captain lieutenant appeared before me and acted as *juez receptor* for lack of a royal or public court clerk in the vicinity. Also appearing were Squadron Corporal Andrés de Cota, Don Fernando Rivera, Juan María Peña, Ignacio de Vega, Juan de Leyva, Hilario Carrillo, Miguel Carbajal, Don Joseph de Robles, Don Joaquín de la Riva, Francisco Javier Zebreros, Juan Ignacio Rojas, Felipe Romero, Don Esteban Robles, Raymundo Carrillo, Matías Morraz, Joseph Gerardo, Francisco Javier de Armenta, Ignacio de Lugo, Don Santiago Valeria, Don Nicolás Peraza, Don Pantaleón Robles, Salvador López, Don Joseph de Villalobos, Luis de Uribe, Joseph Marcelino de Estrada, Juan María Ruiz, Guillermo Carrillo, Miguel Alvarado, and Cayetano Hernández.

Also in attendance was Rear Admiral Juan Agustín Sánchez, Guardian Juan Bautista Luna, Pedro Regalado, Salvador Joseph, Juan Báez, Manuel Carlón, Antonio Velasco, Miguel Argüelles, Joaquín Robles, Agustín Valenzuela, Miguel Navarro, Miguel Mestizo, Mateo Sánchez, Bernardo Adriano, Lucas Valenzuela, Vicente Otreta, Juan Joseph de Ahorne, Martín Yaqui, ship's cook Cristóbal de Yaqui, and Juan Ventura, also a cook. Furthermore, the list includes the carpenter Manuel Morillo, the caulker Salvador Márquez and the ironsmith Cristóbal.

[Erased] It was decided that in the same way as the Reverend Father Juan Francisco Tompes of the Society of Jesus was granted the authority necessary to distribute his majesty's salaries (and has done so satisfactorily up until this moment without losses), so should this power be accorded the Reverend Father Joseph de Echeverría of the

Society or whoever is procurator of the Californias. These men would then appear before the most excellent viceroy of Nueva España or the person charged with governing, and request from the officials of the Real Hacienda and treasury of Mexico City the salaries that the aforementioned soldiers have earned from January 1 of this year until the end of December of the same. Until such time as this power may be revoked the arrangement will continue, with the understanding that all the necessary judicial and extrajudicial formalities are to be executed as if the men and I were present. In these and all related matters we give the father this power without limitation or obligation and empower him to administrate as he sees fit, to choose and swear in substitutes, and to name replacements. This is affirmed and signed by myself, the aforementioned sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and witnesses in attendance, acting as juez receptor on this ordinary paper in the absence of an official seal.

Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Góngora

Luis Ignacio de Valenzuela

Manuel de Arroyo

Andrés de Cota

Joseph de Robles

Juan María de la Peña

Francisco Javier Zebreros

Joseph de Villalobos

Hilario Carrillo

Esteban de Robles

Pantaleón de Robles

Juan de Leyva

Matías Morraz

Guillermo Carrillo

Santiago Valeria

Juan Ignacio de Rojas

Joseph Gerardo

Ignacio de Vega

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Raymundo Carrillo

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

Testimony given by Captain Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada of the Loreto presidio regarding Father Juan Armesto's request for the materials necessary to build a guardhouse. With one useful folio. 1751.

The royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de las Californias and Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, capitán de mar y guerra and of the aforementioned presidio.

This is to certify that the presidio is currently without a guardhouse, the former one having been destroyed in a storm. The Reverend Father Procurator Juan de Armesto, speaking for the presidio he administers, explained the necessity of building another guardhouse that could resist the violent tempests that assail this coast. The presidio is the port for the present conquest and its existence is considered very necessary. In light of the testimony referred to, the father procurator ordered that a guardhouse be built with hardened walls strong enough to withstand the storms. The guardhouse was completed in April of this year, and its cost, according to the detailed accounts drawn up by the father procurator, was 1,433 pesos and 4 reales. This sum is considered by knowledgeable men to be very reasonable in view of the work performed. I, the captain commander, attest to the truth of this report with my signature and those of the men present in the presidio on September 17, 1751.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Juan María de la Peña

Cristóbal Gaez

Joseph de Robles

[Cristóbal Gutiérrez] de Góngora

Joseph de Robles

Esteban de Robles

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 80, no. 442.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Pie de lista de los presidiarios del Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, Real Escuadra del Sur, tripulación y oficiales de marina.

Con 2 fojas útiles. Año de 1751.

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

Presidio real de Loreto

Capitán comandante don

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada

Sargento don Cristóbal

Gutiérrez de Góngora

Cabo escuadra Andrés de Cota

don Joseph de Robles

don Santiago Valeria

don Esteban Robles

don Joseph de Villalobos

Juan de Leyva

Juan María Peña

Hilario Carrillo

Miguel Carbajal

Francisco Javier Zebreros

Juan Ignacio Rojas

Cayetano Hernández

Francisco Javier de Ochoa

Felipe Romero

Matías Morraz

Joseph Gerardo

Francisco Javier de Armenta

Francisco Javier de Armenta

Ignacio de Lugo

don Nicolás de Peraza

don Pantaleón Robles

don Joseph Joaquín Rivas

Salvador López

Raymundo Carrillo

Luis de Uribe

Joseph Marcelino de Estrada

Juan María Ruiz

Guillermo Carrillo

Real escuadra del sur

Teniente don Pedro de la Riva

Sargento don Manuel de Villavicencio

Cabo Escuadra Fernando de la Peña

Miguel Cordero

Francisco de Castro Mechas

Juan Rodríguez

Juan Quintero

Francisco de Castro Gueto

Ignacio López

Juan de Dios Morales

Juan María López

don Pedro Gil

Jerónimo González

Ramón Cordero

Nicolás Peña

Juan Joseph Seseña

don Francisco Robles

Juan Joseph Cabrales

Diego Joseph Hernández

Francisco de Soto

Juan Nicolás de Estrada

Joseph Moreno

Agustín Félix de Acevedo

Joseph López de Almeyda

Juan Francisco Solís

Gregorio Maldonado

Francisco María Castro

Vicente Miramontes

Joaquín Verdugo

Miguel de Alvarado

Tripulación del barco de su majestad

Contraalmirante Juan Sánchez

Guardián Gregorio Salcedo

Miguel Navarro

Juan Antonio Medina

Manuel de los Reyes

Joaquín Robles

Francisco Javier Santa Cruz

Domingo Nicolás

Manuel Regalado

Agustín Valenzuela

Norberto de Aguilar

Vicente Otrera

Pedro Adriano

Juan Martín

Juan Pérez

Mateo de Ahorne

Cocineros

Juan Ignacio

Cristóbal Huirivis

Calafate

Salvador Márquez

Carpintero

Manuel Morillo

Herrero

Cristóbal Asencio

A todos los cuales he pagado los sueldos anuales que su majestad les tiene señalado y además de esto he pagado la tripulación de otro barco para la conducción de víveres, así lo certifico y juro en la mejor forma que convenga, para que así conste al excelentísimo señor virrey y a los señores oficiales de la real hacienda. Loreto y octubre 13 de 1751.

IHS Juan de Armesto

Certifico yo, el infra escrito capitán comandante de estos presidios de Californias, que desde el año de mil setecientos y cuarenta y uno (en el cual año fue incorporada la Real Escuadra del Sur en esta capitanía) se han pagado y actualmente se pagan las treinta plazas de soldados con que fue establecido aquel presidio. Asimismo se ha pagado y al presente se paga y asiste a los individuos y tripulación de este Presidio de Loreto, según consta de la antecedente lista. Y por ser verdad lo firmé en este Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto a trece de octubre de mil setecientos y cincuenta y uno.

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada.

Asimismo yo, Miguel del Barco, visitador de estas misiones de Californias, certifico que desde el año de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno se estableció presidio, el Presidio del Sur, como escuadra y ramo dependiente del de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, y que las treinta plazas que componen dicha escuadra se han pagado y pagan del mismo modo que se han pagado hasta aquí, y actualmente se pagan, las treinta plazas de que se compone el Presidio de Loreto; como también la tripulación de la embarcación de su majestad, según en las antecedentes listas se expresa. Y para que conste lo firmo en esta Misión de San Francisco Javier de Californias, a catorce de octubre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno años.

IHS Miguel del Barco.

CALIFORNIAS, 1751

Poder que otorgaron los soldados del Presidio de Loreto, tripulación del barco de aquel puerto, a favor del padre Joseph Echeverría para que en su nombre pudiese cobrar sus respectivos sueldos. Con 2 fojas útiles. Año de 1751.

En el Pueblo y Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, a cinco días del mes de abril de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno años.

Ante mí y por mí, el sargento don Cristóbal de Góngora, teniente de capitán por ausencia del teniente general don Pedro de la Riva, actuando como juez receptor a falta de escribano público ni real, que no le hay en él ni en muchas leguas en contorno, parecieron el cabo de escuadra Andrés de Cota, don Fernando Rivera, Juan María Peña, Ignacio de Vega, Juan de Leyva, Hilario Carrillo, Miguel Carbajal, don Joseph de Robles, don Joaquín de la Riva, Francisco Javier Zebreros, Juan Ignacio Rojas, Felipe Romero, don Esteban Robles, Raymundo Carrillo, Matías Morrás, Joseph Gerardo, Francisco Javier de Armenta, Ignacio de Lugo, don Santiago Valeria, don Nicolás Peraza, don Pantaleón Robles, Salvador López, don Joseph de Villalobos, Luis de Uribe, Joseph Marcelino de Estrada, Juan María Ruiz, Guillermo Carrillo, Miguel Alvarado, Cayetano Hernández.

Y también el contraalmirante Juan Agustín Sánchez, el guardián Juan Bautista Luna, Pedro Regalado, Salvador Joseph, Juan Báez, Manuel Carlón, Antonio Velasco, Miguel Argüelles, Joaquín Robles, Agustín Valenzuela, Miguel Navarro, Miguel Mestizo, Mateo Sánchez, Bernardo Adriano, Lucas Valenzuela, Vicente Otreta, Juan Joseph de Ahorne, Martín Yaqui, Cristóbal de Yaqui cocinero del barco, Juan Ventura asimismo cocinero. Y también el carpintero Manuel Morillo, el calafate Salvador Márquez, y el herrero Cristóbal.

[tachado] a quienes doy fe conozco, y dijeron que en la forma [ilegible] misma que tenían otorgado su poder al reverendo padre Juan Francisco Tompes de la Compañía de Jesús para que cobrase el sueldo que su majestad, que Dios guarde, les tiene consignado (el cual sueldo han recibido enteramente a satisfacción sin menoscabo hasta hoy día de la fecha) otorgaban y otorgaron todo su poder cumplido bastante el que de derecho se requiere y sea necesario más pueda y deba valer al muy reverendo padre Joseph de Echeverría de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, o al que fuere procurador de Californias, para que en sus nombres y representando sus personas, derechos y acciones pueda parecer y parezca ante el excelentísimo señor virrey de la Nueva España, o de la persona a cuyo cargo fuere su gobierno, a pedir y cobrar de los señores oficiales reales de la real hacienda y caja de la Ciudad de México, los sueldos que los susodichos han devengado en sus respectivas plazas desde primero de enero del presente año de la fecha hasta fin de diciembre de él, y en lo adelante, mientras este poder no rebocaren, en cuya consecuencia y hasta la efectiva paga practique y ejecute todas las diligencias conducentes y que convengan judicial y extrajudicialmente en la misma forma y manera que los otorgantes y yo lo hiciéramos si presentes nos hallásemos, que para todo ello, su anexo, incidente y dependiente le damos y otorgamos este dicho poder sin limitación, relevación, obligación y general administración en forma y con facultad de enjuiciar, jurar y sustituir en uno, dos o más sustitutos, y nombrar otros de nuevo. Así lo otorgaron y firmaron conmigo dicho sargento teniente capitán y los testigos de mi asistencia, con quienes actúo como juez receptor en la forma dicha, y en este papel común por no haberlo de ningún sello.

Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Góngora

Luis Ignacio de Valenzuela

Manuel de Arroyo

Andrés de Cota

Joseph de Robles

Juan María de la Peña

Francisco Javier Zebreros

Joseph de Villalobos

Hilario Carrillo

Esteban de Robles

Pantaleón de Robles

Juan de Leyva

Matías Morraz

Guillermo Carrillo

Santiago Valeria

Juan Ignacio de Rojas

Joseph Gerardo

Ignacio de Vega

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada

Raymundo Carrillo

CALIFORNIAS AÑO DE 1751

Testificación dada por el capitán don Fernando de Rivera y Moneada del Presidio de Loreto de haberse exigido por el padre Juan Armesto las piezas correspondientes para cuerpo de guardia. Con 1 foja util. Año de 1751.

El Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, y en su nombre don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, capitán de mar y guerra y de dicho presidio por su majestad.

Certifica que, hallándose este presidio sin cuerpo de guardia por haberse arruinado con un temporal el que tenía, se representó de parte del presidio el reverendo padre procurador Juan de Armesto, administrador del real situado, la necesidad de exigir otro de nuevo, y de que se levantase de firme, para que pudiese resistir a los vehementes temporales de que es combatida esta costa, pues siendo este presidio la puerta de esta conquista, se juzga por muy necesaria su subsistencia y, en vista de la referida representación, el mencionado padre procurador mandó fabricar un cuerpo de guardia, exigiendo de cal y canto los lienzos que puedan ser combatidos de temporales, el que [se?] entregó a este presidio por abril de este presente año, cuyo costo, según pormenor consta de cuenta formada por dicho padre procurador, fue de mil cuatrocientos treinta y tres pesos cuatro reales, el cual costo, atendidos los pareceres de hombres inteligentes [ilegible], es muy moderado respecto de la enunciada obra [ilegible]; que por ser verdad así lo firmé yo, el sobre dicho capitán comandante, con los demás que actualmente

[ilegible] se hallan en dicho presidio y surgieron [ilegible] por mar, en diez y siete de septiembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y uno.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Juan María de la Peña

Cristóbal Gaez

Joseph de Robles

[Cristóbal Gutiérrez] de Góngora

Joseph de Robles

Esteban de Robles

[Provisioning a Ship for the California Frigate, 1757](#)

Keeping California supplied from the mainland remained a critical issue for the missions and the military throughout the history of the peninsula. Previous documents have spoken of the need for two or more frigates to maintain contact with the mainland and to render some degree of security against foreign marauders. The successes of the English privateer George Anson in the South Sea continued to haunt Spain's settlements, which were no longer safe on just another "Spanish Lake."

The first document gives a detailed look at the supplies typically carried to the peninsula and their costs at mid-century. In the same volume of scattered papers on maritime expenses for the Californias, brief references are made to the history of expenditures for the California ships. One of the summaries is presented here to give the reader a sense of the continual appeals for financial support directed at the Crown since the decision of 1717 to assist the Californias at the king's expense. The whole history of peninsular development hinged on the reliability of manpower and supplies from the mainland. This document was chosen in order to emphasize the importance of maritime communication and to illustrate both the costs of continually providing seaworthy craft and of maintaining individual crews.

California, 1740 and 1757

REPORT OF EXPENSES

I, Captain Don Francisco Montestruque, capitán de mar y guerra, give this detailed report of expenses incurred in this port of Sonz[te] by order of the governor. These expenses were incurred in providing a crew for the frigate *San Francisco*, which is under my command. There were also lesser expenses in preparing the ship to set out for Acapulco to be turned over to his excellency the viceroy of Mexico for his use. These expenses were as follows:

Pilot Don Manuel Adán earns 60 pesos a month and has received	120 p.
Rear admiral Tiburcio Zarría earns 45 pesos a month and has received	90 p.
Guardian Juan Joseph Villegas earns 25 pesos a month and has received	50 p.
Alejo Tobar earns 18 pesos a month and has received	36 p.
Joseph Manuel Arias earns 18 pesos and has received	36 p.
Fernando Coleta earns 18 pesos and has received	36 p.
Santiago Balería earns the same [wage] and has received	36 p.
Miguel Blanco, the same, has received	36 p.
Marcelo Francisco de la Cruz, the same, has received	36 p.
Manuel de los Reyes, the same, has received	36 p.
Domingo Martínez, the same, has received	36 p.
Mathías Rodríguez, the same, has received	36 p.
Juan Gil earns the same and has received	36 p.
Tomás Bini, the same, has received	36 p.
Pascual Cueto, the same, has received	36 p.
Joseph Florentín, the same, has received	36 p.
Matheo Corleto earns 10 pesos a month and has received	20 p.
Feliciano Bino earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.

Benito Morales earns 9 pesos a month and has received	18 p.
Tomás de Aquino earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
Lorenzo Duarte earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
Joseph de Paz earns 9 pesos and has received	18 p.
	838 p.
For 8 boxes of biscuits from Guatemala to the port at 3 pesos each	24 p.
For the purchase and freight of 12 earthen jugs for water from Guatemala to the port	13 p.
For 22 jugs for the same purpose purchased from Don Francisco de Izaguirre as the ship had none	22 p.
For one load of onions, garlic, and red chile peppers	2 p.
For its transport from Guatemala to the port	8 p.
For a bronze mortar for grinding	2 p.
For a syringe [oil can?]	2 p.
For 2 pounds of thread for sewing sails at 6 reales	3 p.
For 109 pounds of canvas in one piece at 2 reales	52 p.
For a steel-tipped hatchet	2 p.
For 2 steel-edged machetes	3 p.
For a bronze lamp	2 p.
For 11 arrobas of tar at 8 reales per arroba, delivered in port	11 p.
For 6 kitchen jars at 2 reales delivered in port	1 p.
For 600 wax candles at 1 real per 6	12 p.
For a box for these candles	0 p.
For 1,000 small nails at 3 reales per 100	3 p.
For 500 round-headed nails at 10 reales per 100	6 p.

For an adze	3 p.
For 6 needles for sewing sails	0 p.
For making 200 sloped nails for door and window frames	12 p.
For 26 pounds of iron for this work at 1-1/2 reales	9 p.
For 12 quintals of meat at 2 pesos a quintal	28 p.
For their transport to the port	3 p.
For 18 arrobas of rice and their transport to the port	9 p.
For 2 bushels of salt	3 p.
For 2 cattle, killed on land for the sailors	12 p.
For 2 wooden supports for pumps	2 p.
For 6 bushels of corn for the sailors and Indians who supplied wood and water for the voyage	6 p.
For a jug of honey	2 p.
For a jug of lard	6 p.
	1,153 p.
For 3 fanegas of beans and their transport to port	9 p.
For 13 days payment to Indians who provided water and wood to the frigate	23 p.
For 28 chickens for the sick	3 p.
For 10 [pesos] that were spent in port for various things pertaining to the ship	10 p.
	1,198 p.

As this account and report illustrates, these expenses concerned the outfitting of the frigate named *San Francisco*. These two payments, made in advance to the people at sea and on land, relate to the other small expenses essential to the voyage commanded by the boatswain. As previously stated, [this amounts to] 1,198 pesos. This sum was given to me by Pedro de Palacios, the treasurer of the royal treasury. I affirm the truth and credibility of this account and report. I sign from Soz.te, May 18, 1740.

Francisco Montestruque

I, Juan Antonio de Torres, Notary Public of Sonz.te, formally certify that the papers herein and the sums in them are part of the account given by Don Francisco Montestruque, capitán de mar y guerra; the account corresponds with the maritime crew's books. The crew were compensated for the voyage on the frigate *San Francisco* from this port to Acapulco by your command. The other minor accounts in the account and report illustrate the importance of the requirements for the dispatching and outfitting of the voyage. So that the present be acknowledged in Sonz.te, on May 18, 1740. 1 MAKE MY SIGN =[sign]= IN TESTIMONY [illegible]

Juan Antonio de Torres

Notary Public

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES

Expenditures for the careening and outfitting of the ships have been as follows:

On November 22, 1719, 4,000 pesos were authorized and on the November 24 were paid to Don Jorge Rodríguez for a sloop purchased for the Californias by order of his excellency Viceroy Marqués de Valero, which order was given on September 30, 1717. The payment was sent in a letter of November, 1719, countersigned by Don Antonio Avilés.

On October 5, 1720, the money was set aside, and on October 21, the sum of 4,699 pesos and 7 reales was paid to Captain Don Felipe de Sandoya for the price of the ship named *San José y las Animas*, which he turned over to the California missions, including the expenses for careening the vessel and for its crew by order of his excellency Don Marqués de Valero and countersigned by Don Antonio Avilés on September 26 of the same year. This was done in conformity with the decision of the junta de hacienda of September 17.

On January 27, 1741, money was set aside and on February 14, 15,758 pesos were paid to the agent of Field Marshal Don Pedro de Rivera (deceased), formerly president of Guatemala. This was for the purchase of the frigate *San Francisco* for commerce and communication with the province of the Californias. The estimated value of the ship was 14,000 pesos. The remaining 1,758 pesos were for its transportation to the port of Acapulco. This was ordered in a dispatch of his excellency the Viceroy Duque de la Conquista and countersigned by Don José de Gorráez, dated February 26, as recorded by the royal officials and the reply of the fiscal.

On February 12, 1737, money was set aside to repair the ship and for incidental expenses. On the thirteenth of that month 13,170 pesos and 2 tomines were paid; of that, 2,375 pesos 2 tomines were paid for the costs and materials used in the repair of his majesty's ship destined for the transport of California supplies. This payment was ordered by his excellency the viceroy-archbishop on February 8 and was countersigned by Don José de Gorráez as based on official reports and agreed upon in a junta de hacienda on April 30, 1735.

Thus on November 14, 1737, a payment was set aside, and on the fifteenth of the same month, 2,705 pesos, 7 tomines and 6 granos were paid out for the repair of his majesty's ship of the Californias from the total of 14,630 pesos 7 tomines and 6 granos. This was by decree of his excellency the viceroy-archbishop on November 11 and was based on reports of the royal officials.

On July 14, 1740, an amount was determined and on the eighteenth of the same month, according to a sworn statement by the governor of Sinaloa, 4,400 pesos were paid for the assistance of the new presidio established on the southern frontier of the Californias as well as for the expense of the boats that brought supplies and their crews. This was by decree of his excellency the viceroy-archbishop on the ninth of that month based on the report of the royal officials.

Likewise, a sum was set aside on December 15, 1742, and on the twenty-second of that month the sum of 4,000 pesos was paid for the repair of the king's frigate *San Francisco y San Miguel* to serve the presidio and missions of the Californias. The amount of 8,947 pesos was set aside for the ship's preparation, wages, and other expenses in its repair. This payment was made by decree of his excellency Viceroy Conde de Fuenclara on the fourteenth of the above month and year based on the report of the accountant of the Armada of Barlovento.

Concerning the *autos* that prompted these payments, they are to be found in the charge of Don José Gorráez and were made in the years specified in the decisions. There also are the royal orders that were made for this purpose in the court of accounts and at the general meetings. This was taken from the payments made to the royal presidio of California in the year 1717 and other records dealing with payments made in previous years to the royal presidio. There are also royal documents and orders accompanying the amount decided upon on April 13, 1722. This amount, 18,265 pesos and 4 tomines, was paid for the post of that presidio on April 15, 1722. In the same tribunal your excellency ordered that (if it were deemed necessary) with the agreement of the royal officials of Acapulco, the cost of the purchase of the *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, the replacement for the ship lost in the port of Santa María de Ahorne, could be used as an

example for replacement for providing supplies to the presidios and missions. This was done so that, in view of the documents provided and the decrees involved, your excellency might deign to decide what action would be for the good of the Real Hacienda.

Mexico, May 31, 1749

Miranda Villegas

There was a meeting of the royal treasury on this date attended by the following:

His excellency Don Agustín de Tomasa Villalón Mendoza y Fernández, Marqués de las Amarillas, Commander of the Queen in the Order of Santiago, Gentleman of the Court of His Majesty, Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, Lieutenant Colonel of the Royal Spanish Guards, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of this New Spain and President of its Real Audiencia; Don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri and Don Domingo Valcarcel y Formenta, the first *decano* and second *subdecano*, both of the Order of Santiago and also of the Council of His Majesty and his judges in this Real Audiencia.

Also present were Don Luis de Mosqueira, Marqués de Aranda, of the same council and its attorney; Don Juan Crisóstomo de Barrueta, regent of the tribunal of the Real Audiencia of accounts of this New Spain; Don Joaquín Antonio de Cortillas and Don Ildfonso de Mella y Ulloa, both chief accountants; and Don Pedro María de Somoza y Torres and Don Pedro Toral Valdés, royal officials of the Real Hacienda and treasury of this court. Licenciado Don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, attorney of this Real Audiencia and general accountant of the royal taxes of this kingdom; and Don Juan Antonio de Arce y Arroyo, auditor general of the royal duties paid in the kingdom.

A report was made of the results at the request of the reverend father procurator general of the Californias regarding the repair of a boat to carry the missionary fathers and needed supplies for the royal presidio and the missions. This boat would replace the one being used for this purpose which has become disabled.

What is certain is that the Reverend Father Juan Javier Vilchof of the Company of Jesus when he was procurator of the Californias became aware that the boat then in the port of Acapulco had not been examined for its fitness even though his excellency the viceroy of this realm had ordered it to be repaired in order to travel to the aforementioned islands. The father consequently ordered that men experienced in the structure and construction of ships should examine the ship and report to him on its condition. The examination was done and the ship's hull was found to be unserviceable. He ordered Don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, captain of the Californias, to have these men

appear before him and make a certified statement as to this matter so that when his excellency the viceroy of this kingdom had been informed, he might deign to take the most prompt means for the ship's repair. The captain required Manuel de los Reyes, the ship's foreman, to appear before him to give testimony with Manuel Morillo, chief carpenter, and Pedro de Navarrete and Joaquín Robles, both carpenters. They asserted that the keelson of the ship was worn away at the main mast, the stem of the prow was rotted, and the same was true of the main mast. The timbers of the wheelhouse, because they were made of poplar, were eaten away by termites. The rudder hinges had been displaced due to the lack of wood. The starboard poop was completely torn up along with its strengthening ring bolts. Finally, a forehook on the prow, which extended from port to starboard, was completely rotted and could be lost at the slightest movement.

With this testimony, the Reverend Father Juan de Armesto, priest of the Company of Jesus and procurator of the California missions, presented himself to his excellency the viceroy and reported that the ship was totally incapable of service on account of its age and the decay of the keel and keelson. As a result there was danger of leaving the missions, the royal presidio, and the missionaries abandoned for lack of a ship capable of transporting the needed supplies, which are so scarce in that land. The reverend father requested that a suitable boat be purchased with a keel of approximately 17 varas and a hold of 2-1/4 varas from the keelson to the deck timbers. Everything else should correspond to these proportions because the ship must be able to anchor in various ports and in shallow coves. In view of all this, the viceroy was asked to order that an account to be made of the number of ships that the royal treasury had bought for this purpose, and in which years, in order to decide what might now be made available.

A report was also made of action taken on May 28, 1757, showing that in similar cases the needed boats had been purchased. Other similar expenses were incurred for the repair of ships needed for taking wages and provisions to California. This was all at the expense of the royal treasury and agrees with the amounts provided for this purpose from 1719 to 1754, totaling 40,618 pesos, 4 tomines, and 1 grano.

There is also a record of the letter of his majesty's fiscal, dated June 6 of this year. In it, he requests that various documents be given him to guide his petition. In another letter, dated September 26, he referred to the claim of the reverend father procurator and requested that in conformity with the law they might call a meeting of the hacienda to present the various requests that had been made together with the *autos* of his excellency the viceroy-archbishop who was then governing New Spain and who ordered

a payment of 1,375 pesos and 2 tomines be made to Padre Juan Francisco [Tompes]. Also involved in the discussion were the events of 1749 when it was shown that by the decision of the junta of the royal treasury, on July 3 of that year, his excellency the Conde de Revillagigedo ordered the sum of 6,000 pesos be paid to the reverend father procurator. Orders were also given by that same most excellent gentleman to call a meeting of that same group to discuss this matter with the attention and care it demanded. In this meeting it was decided by common agreement that the ship which was formerly used to carry the missionaries of California and their wages and supplies was now incapable of doing so due to its age and its worn-out keel and keelson. It would risk being shipwrecked if it continued to sail, thus leaving the Christian mission in a state of total helplessness. Thus it was agreed that another boat should be purchased by the royal treasury to serve the royal presidio on the California island and that his excellency the viceroy of this realm should charge the president of the royal treasury of Guatemala to buy a frigate from among the ships that might be in the military zone at the time or in any other port under its jurisdiction. The ship should have a keel of about 17 varas and a hold of 2-1/4 varas from the keelson to the deck beams with all the necessary masts, spars, rigging, and equipment. Before the purchase is made, the ship should be completely examined by experts and royal officials of the treasury. If the boat is found to be in proper condition, it should be sent to the port of Acapulco and a payment authorized to be drawn from the royal treasury.

At the same time the president should be informed that the amount such a ship would cost could be used to construct another. He could then take all necessary means to build it quickly so that it could be sent on to the service of the Californias without buying another. This decision was ordered and signed.

Mexico, October 6, 1757. Testified to on November 8

[Signatures]

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 68, 3.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

California 1740 y 1757

MEMORIAL DE GASTOS

Cuenta y relación por menor que yo, el capitán de mar y guerra don Francisco Montestruque, doy de los gastos que se han causado en este Puerto de Sonz[te] de orden del superior gobierno de este reino, así en la dotación de la gente de mar de la

fragata nombrada *San Francisco*, a mi comando, como las demás menudencias de su rancho y apresto para su salida a navegar y entrega en Acapulco a disposición del excelentísimo señor virrey de México, a saber:

El piloto don Manuel Adán gana cada mes 60 pesos y tiene recibidos	120p.
El contraalmirante Tiburcio Zarría gana cada mes 45 pesos y tiene recibidos	90p.
El guardián Juan Joseph Villegas gana cada mes 25 pesos y tiene recibidos	50p.
Alejo Tobar gana cada mes 18 pesos y tiene recibidos	36p.
Joseph Manuel Arias gana 18 pesos y tiene recibidos	36p.
Fernando Coleta gana 18 pesos y tiene recibidos	36p.
Santiago Balería gana lo mismo y tiene recibidos	36p.
Miguel Blanco ídem y tiene recibidos	36p.
Marcelo Francisco de la Cruz lo mismo y tiene recibido	36p.
Manuel de los Reyes lo mismo y tiene recibido	36p.
Domingo Martínez ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Mathías Rodríguez ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Juan Gil gana lo mismo y tiene recibido	36p.
Tomás Bini ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Pascual Cueto ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Joseph Florentín ídem y tiene recibido	36p.
Mateo Corleto gana 10 pesos cada mes y tiene recibidos	20p.
Feliciano Bino gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.
Benito Morales gana 9 pesos al mes y tiene recibidos	18p.
Tomás de Aquino gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.
Lorenzo Duarte gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.

Joseph de Paz gana 9 pesos y tiene recibidos	18p.
	838p.
Por el flete de 8 petacas de bizcocho, desde Guatemala al puerto, a tres pesos cada una	24P.
Por la compra y flete de 12 botijas para la aguada, desde Guatemala a el puerto	13p.
Por 22 botijas para lo mismo que se le compraron a don Francisco de Izaguirre, por no tener ninguna el navio	22p.
Por una carga de cebollas, ajos y ajíes	2p.
Por su flete desde Guatemala a el puerto	[6]p.
Por un almirez	2p.
Por una jeringa	2p.
Por 2 libras de hilo para coser velas, a 6 reales	3p.
Por 109 libras de lona en una pieza, a 2 reales	52p.
Por una hacha calzada de acero	2p.
Por 2 machetes calzados de acero	3p.
Por un candelero de bronce	2p.
Por 11 arrobas de alquitrán, a 8 reales arroba, puesto en el puerto	11p.
Por 6 ollas para la cocina, puestas en el puerto a 2 reales	1p.
Por 600 candelas de cebo, a seis al real	12p.
Por un cajón para dichas candelas	0p.
Por mil tachuelas, a 3 reales el ciento	3p.
Por 500 estoperoles, a 10 reales el ciento	6p.
Por una azuela	3p.
Por 6 agujas de coser velas	0p.
Por la hechura de 200 clavos de alfagia de media escora y de barrete	12p.

Por 26 libras de fierro que se gastaron para dichas obras, a real y medio	9p.
Por 12 quintales de carne, a 2 pesos quintal	28p.
Por su flete a el puerto	3p.
Por 18 arrobas de arroz y su flete al puerto	9p.
Por 2 fanegas de sal	3p.
Por 2 reses en pie que se mataron para la gente de mar en tierra	12p.
Por 2 suelas para bombas	2p.
Por 6 fanegas de maíz para la gente de mar e indios que han asistido a la aguada y hacer la leña para el viaje	6p.
Por una botija de miel	2p.
Por una botija de manteca	6p.
	1,153P.
Por la de enfrente	1,153 pes
Por 3 fanegas de frijoles y su flete a el puerto	9 p.
Por 13 días a los Indios que hicieron la aguada y leña para la fragata	23p.
Por 28 gallinas para los enfermos	3p.
Por 10 [pesos] que se gastaron en remitir a el puerto varias cosas perteniente a el navio	10p.
	1,198p.

Por manera que según parece de esta Cuenta y Relación, importa lo gastado para la habilitación de la fragata nombrada *San Francisco* aun estas dos pagas que se les ha hecho adelantadas a la gente de mar como la del rancho que necesitaba y otras menudencias precisas [ilegible] para el viaje que pidió el contramaestro como ya expresado mil ciento noventa y ocho pesos. Los cuales me entregó el Señor Tesorero de estas reales cajas don Pedro de Palacios y por ser así cierta y verdadera esta Cuenta y Relación. Lo firmo Sonz[te] en diez y ocho de Mayo de mil setecientos cuarenta.

Francisco Montestruque

Juan Antonio de Torres, Escribano Público de esta Provincia de Sonz.te certifico en debida forma a los papeles que la presente vienen que las partidas de que se compone esta Cuenta y Relación dada por el Capitán de Mar y Guerra, Don Francisco Monestruque son las mismas que constan por el libro de la dotación de gente de mar habérseles satisfecho a cada uno de por si para hacer el presente viaje desde este puerto a el de Acapulco en la fragata nombrada *San Francisco* de su comando y las demás partidas que en dicha cuenta expresan por menor constan así mismo [se] que se han necesitado haber los su despacho y habilitación para salir a navegar. Y para que conste la presente en Sonz.te en diez y ocho días de mes de mayo de mil setecientos y cuarenta años, HAGO MI SIGNO = [signo] = EN TESTIMONIO [ilegible]

Juan Antonio de Torres

Escribano Público

SUMARIO DE LOS GASTOS

Gastos erogados en sus carenas y habilitaciones son en la manera siguiente:

En veinte y dos de noviembre de mil setecientos y diez y nueve se libraron y pagaron en veinte y cuatro del, cuatro mil pesos a la parte [ilegible] de don Jorge Rodríguez, por el valor de una balandra que se compró para Californias en virtud de carta orden de el excelentísimo señor virrey Marqués de Valero el treinta de septiembre de setecientos diecisiete, habiéndose hecho el pago por un despacho de veinte del referido noviembre, y año de diez y nueve, refrendado de don Antonio Avilés.

En cinco de octubre de mil setecientos y veinte se libraron, y en veinte y uno del mismo se pagaron, cuatro mil seiscientos noventa y nueve pesos y siete reales al capitán don Felipe de Sandoya, por el valor del barco nombrado *San José y las Animas* que entregó para las Misiones de Californias, incluso los gastos que ejecutó en su carena y tripulación por el mandamiento que precedió del excelentísimo señor Marqués de Valero, refrendado de don Antonio Avilés, su fecha, veinte y seis de septiembre de aquel año, en conformidad de lo determinado en junta de hacienda celebrada en diez y siete del citado septiembre.

En veinte y siete de enero de mil setecientos cuarenta y uno se libraron y pagaron en catorce de febrero de él, quince mil setecientos cincuenta y ocho pesos al apoderado del señor mariscal de campo don Pedro de Rivera (difunto), presidente que fue de Guatemala, por la compra de la fragata nombrada *San Francisco*, para el tráfico y correspondencia con la Provincia de Californias; los catorce mil pesos por el valor que se consideró de dicha embarcación, y los mil setecientos cincuenta y ocho restantes por su

transporte al Puerto de Acapulco, lo que se practicó por despacho del excelentísimo señor virrey Duque de la Conquista, refrendado de don José de Gorráez. Su fecha, veinte y seis del propio mes de febrero, sobre informe de oficiales reales y respuesta fiscal.

Consta por lo que mira a carenas y otros gastos precisos a la habilitación y conservación de dichas embarcaciones, que en doce de febrero de mil setecientos treinta y siete se libraron, y en trece de dicho mes, en partida de trece mil ciento setenta [ilegible] y un pesos y dos tomines, se pagaron, dos mil trescientos setenta y cinco pesos y dos tomines, por el valor de los costos y géneros de la carena del barco de su majestad destinado para el situado y demás de Californias, cuya satisfacción se fincó por mandamiento del excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey de ocho de aquel mes, refrendado de don José de Gorráez, en consecuencia de informe de oficiales reales, respuesta fiscal, y de lo determinado en el primer punto en junta de hacienda de treinta de abril de mil setecientos treinta y cinco años.

Y así mismo, en catorce de noviembre de mil setecientos treinta y siete se libraron, y en quince del mismo mes, en partida de catorce mil seiscientos treinta pesos, siete tomines y seis granos, se pagaron, dos mil setecientos cinco pesos siete tomines y seis granos por la carena del barco de su majestad de Californias, por decreto de el excelentísimo señor arzobispo virrey de once de el referido mes, sobre informe de oficiales reales.

Y en catorce de julio de mil setecientos y cuarenta se libraron, y en diez y ocho del mismo mes se pagaron, cuatro mil y cuatrocientos pesos, que por relación jurada del gobernador de Sinaloa se convirtieron en el socorro del nuevo presidio establecido en la frontera del sur de Californias, y en costo de la lancha y canoa que condujo los bastimentos y gente de mar, cuya satisfacción fue en virtud de decreto de el excelentísimo señor virrey arzobispo de nueve del citado mes, sobre informe de oficiales reales.

Y también, que en quince de diciembre de mil setecientos cuarenta y dos se libraron, y en veinte y dos de él se pagaron, cuatro mil pesos para reparo de la fragata del rey San Francisco y San Miguel, destinada para la asistencia del Presidio y Misiones de Californias, en cuenta de ocho mil novecientos cuarenta y siete pesos, en que se reguló el costo de su apresto, jornales y demás gastos de su habilitación; cuya satisfacción se hizo por decreto del excelentísimo señor virrey Conde de Fuenclara en fecha catorce del expresado mes y año, y con informe del contador de la Armada de Barlovento.

Y por lo que mira a los autos y diligencias que motivaron estas pagas, se hallan en el oficio del cargo de don José Gorráez, hechos en los años que los ejemplares especifican, y allí también constarán los reales órdenes que para el efecto se hubieren expedido,

como en el Real Tribunal de Cuentas, la real cédula y juntas generales [ilegible], para la satisfacción de la resulta sacada por él de lo pagado a el Presidio de Californias el año de mil setecientos diecisiete por razón del aumento con que se concurrió, además de el que en los antecedentes años se hacía a dicho presidio, y cuyo real rescripto y demás instrumentos acompañaron el libramiento de trece de abril de mil setecientos y veinte y dos, de cantidad de dieciocho mil doscientos sesenta y cinco pesos y cuatro tomines, que se pagaron por el situado del consabido presidio en quince del referido abril, y año de mil setecientos veinte y dos; y en el mismo tribunal se servirá vuestra excelencia demandar (si como [ilegible] lo antecedente lo juzgare por necesario) que con reconocimiento de las que [ilegible] oficiales reales de Acapulco pongan el ejemplar del costo que tuvo la compra de la embarcación nombrada Nuestra Señora del Carmen, perdida en el Puerto de Santa María de Ahorne, cuyo remplazo se pretende para la habilitación y conducción de bastimentos a aquellos presidios y misiones para que, con vista de los expresados ejemplares y autos nominados que les precedieron, se sirva vuestra excelencia de determinar lo que hallare por más seguro a la Real Hacienda.

México y mayo 31 de 1749

Miranda Villegas, marzo.

En la junta de hacienda a que hoy día de la fecha mandó convocar y tuvo el excelentísimo señor don Agustín de Tomasa Villalón Mendoza y Fernández, Marqués de las Amarillas, comendador de reina en el Orden de Santiago, gentilhombre de la cámara de su majestad con entrada, teniente general de los reales ejércitos, teniente coronel de las reales guardias españolas, virrey, gobernador y capitán general de esta Nueva España y presidente de la Real Audiencia de ella; con asistencia de los señores don Francisco Antonio de Echavarri, y don Domingo Valcarcel y Formenta, el primero decano y el segundo subdecano, ambos del Orden de Santiago, del consejo de su majestad, sus oidores en esta Real Audiencia; de la de el señor don Luis de Mosqueira, Marqués de Aranda de el mismo consejo, y [ilegible] fiscal en ella; con la de los señores don Juan Crisóstomo de Barrueta, regente del tribunal de la Real Audiencia de Cuentas de esta Nueva España, don Joaquín Antonio de Cortillas, y don Ildefonso de Mella, y Ulloa, contadores mayores de él, y de la de don Pedro María de Somoza y Torres, y don Pedro Toral Valdés, oficiales reales de la Real Hacienda y Caja de esta corte; de la de el licenciado don José Rafael Rodríguez Gallardo, abogado de esta Real Hacienda y contador general de reales tributos de este reino; y de la de don Juan Antonio de Arce y Arroyo, contador general de reales alcabalas de él; se hizo relación de los autos hechos a pedimento del reverendo padre procurador general de las Islas Californias sobre que se habilite una embarcación proporcionada que conduzca a los padres misioneros, y demás

aprestos necesarios de aquel real presidio y misiones, en lugar del barco que está sirviendo en este destino, por hallarse inhábil de continuar su carrera, y lo que de ellos consta es que, hallándose el reverendo padre Juan Javier Vilchof de la Compañía de Jesús y procurador en dichas islas, noticioso de no haberse registrado lo interior del barco en el Puerto de Acapulco cuando por orden del excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino se mandó carenar, para que hiciese viaje a ellas encargó lo ejecutasen hombres inteligentes en la fábrica y construcción de barcos, para que le dijese el estado en que se hallaba, y habiendo estos hecho el reconocimiento necesario, y asegurándole que los principales constitutivos de su casco estaban en estado de imposibilidad, y de no poder servir en adelante, requirió a don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moneada, capitán comandante de aquellas islas, para que hiciese comparecer ante sí a los sujetos, que por encargo suyo le reconocieron y registraron hasta el fondo, le tomase sus declaraciones e hiciese diese certificación circunstanciada de el hecho para que, informado de él el excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino, se sirviese de dar las más prontas y eficaces providencias, para su habilitación. Y habiendo con este motivo dicho capitán hecho comparecer ante sí a Manuel de los Reyes, contra maestre de dicho barco, a Manuel Morillo maestro de carpintero, a Pedro Navarrete y Joaquín Robles, de oficio carpinteros; contestemente depusieron que la sobrequilla de dicho barco estaba rendida en la carlinga de el palo mayor, el pie de roda podrido, los planes, especialmente de las maestras, de la misma calidad, la toldilla y sus latas, por ser de álamo, llenas de comején, que las llaves se habían salido de su lugar a causa de no tener fuerza, que se hallaba despoblado de todos los maderos necesarios, su corazón comido, la llave de popa del lado de estribor reventada junto a el mismo perno, de donde nace la fuerza, y por último que una buzada de proa que abraza de babor a estribor estaba podrida de medio a medio, y en estado de no poder servir sin conocido riesgo de perderse con cualquier leve motivo; y habiendo con testimonio de lo referido presentándose ante el dicho señor excelentísimo el reverendo padre Juan de Armesto, presbítero de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesús, y procurador de las Misiones de Californias, haciéndole relación de lo referido, y la incapacidad con que la real embarcación se hallaba de poder servir en su destino por vieja, vencida su quilla y sobrequilla, y el riesgo que amenazaba de quedarse aquella cristiandad, real presidio y padres misioneros en un total desamparo por no tener embarcación suficiente en que poder transportar el situado y bastimentos, de que tanto escasea aquella tierra, y pedídole se sirviese de socorrer esta necesidad mandando comprar embarcación suficiente para que los conduzca, de diez y siete varas de quilla, muy poco más o menos, y de dos varas y cuarta de puntal desde la sobrequilla a las latas de la cubierta, con lo demás correspondiente, según arte a estos tamaños; para que, teniendo el buque suficiente, no excediese en su tamaño con mayores costos y menos proporción, para surgir como es preciso en varios

puertos y caletas de poco fondo, se sirvió en su vista dicho señor excelentísimo mandar que oficiales reales de estas cajas informasen el número de barcos que de cuenta de la Real Hacienda se habían comprado a este fin, en qué años, y cuanto hallasen por conveniente a este asunto. Se hizo asimismo relación, del que ejecutaron a los veinte y ocho de mayo de este año, y de su tenor consta que en casos semejantes se han comprado las embarcaciones necesarias, y se han hecho otros gastos conducentes a ellas, para que se habiliten a el propuesto fin de conducir el situado y los víveres necesarios a la California de cuenta de la Real Hacienda, comprobándolo con las determinadas cantidades erogadas a este fin desde el año de mil setecientos diecinueve hasta el pasado de mil setecientos cincuenta y cuatro, en que se percibe haberse ministrado de cuenta de Real Hacienda la cantidad de cuarenta mil seiscientos diez y ocho pesos, cuatro tomines y un grano; se hizo asimismo relación de la respuesta del señor fiscal de su majestad, su fecha, seis de junio de este año, en que vino pidiendo se le pasasen varios documentos para arreglar su pedimento, y de lo que en vista de ellos produjo a los veinte y seis del pasado septiembre en que, definen lo a la pretención de dicho reverendo padre procurador, concluyó pidiendo el que, en conformidad de la ley, para tomar resolución sobre este asunto se procediese a celebrar junta de hacienda, y que en ella se tuviesen presentes los autos formados gobernando esta Nueva España el excelentísimo señor reverendo padre Juan Francisco [ilegible], [ilegible] mil trescientos setenta y cinco pesos y dos tomines, y los hechos por el año pasado de setecientos cuarenta y nueve, en que consta que por determinación de junta de Real Hacienda celebrada en tres de julio del referido año, mandó el excelentísimo señor Conde de Revillagigedo pagar seis mil pesos a dicho reverendo padre procurador; se hizo asimismo relación de ambos antecedentes, y del superior decreto de dicho señor excelentísimo, en que mandó se convocase a la presente junta y tratara y conferenciara en ella esta materia con la atención y cuidado que pide su naturaleza. Se resolvió de común acuerdo que: respecto a que el barco que sirve para la conducción de misioneros de las Islas Californias, su situado, y bastimento de aquel real presidio, se halla incapáz de poder continuar en su destino por viejo, vencida su quilla y sobrequilla, tanto que, continuando en su carrera, se expone al riesgo de perderse, y a el de quedarse con este motivo aquella cristiandad en un total desamparo; el que de cuenta de Real Hacienda se compre otro proporcionado que haga el servicio del Real Presidio e Islas Californias, y que esta diligencia la encargue el excelentísimo señor virrey de este reino al señor presidente de la Real Audiencia de Guatemala, previniéndole que, de las embarcaciones que pueda haber en el Realejo u otro de los puertos de su gobernación, compre una fragatilla de diez y siete varas de quilla, muy poco más o menos, y de dos varas y cuarta de puntal desde la sobrequilla a las latas de la cubierta, o un barco proporcionado que equivalga, con toda sus arboladuras, tarcias y demás aprestos necesarios, haciendo se

reconozca y avalúe antes por peritos, con intervención de oficiales reales de aquellas cajas y que, hallándolo de toda condición, lo remita a el Puerto de Acapulco, librando su importancia para que se le satisfaga en estas reales cajas, y que al mismo tiempo se le prevenga a dicho señor presidente que hallando el que con la cantidad que haya de costar dicha embarcación se puede construir otro de nuevo, pase a hacer se ponga en ejecución, y a dar todas las providencias necesarias a fin de que su apresto y habilitación se consiga con la mayor brevedad, para que pase a hacer el servicio de dichas islas, omitiendo la compra del antecedente; y así lo proveyeron y rubricaron.

México, seis de octubre de mil setecientos cincuenta y siete = tenido [8] y noviembre.

[firmas]

[Shipwrecks and Shipbuilding, 1759](#)

Even the ordinary risks of ocean travel were subject to continual bureaucratic monitoring. This account reveals the minute accounting required as well as the relative values of scarce parts and materials. Not all of the autos included in the document have been translated because of the duplication of information. This is the account of the loss of the San José on its maiden voyage across the gulf, after having been newly constructed in Nicaragua for service in the California missions and presidios. Contemporary interest in Spanish shipwrecks often entertains the notion that ships mysteriously vanished in remote regions. This account clearly demonstrates how closely monitored wrecks and salvage operations were, even in as remote a place as Cabo Pulmo on the great barrier reef dividing the Pacific Ocean from the Sea of Cortés.

SHIPWRECK, 1759

Most excellent sir:

In October of 1759, here in this camp, I received the news that his majesty's frigate, which came for the service of this conquest, was lost 130 leagues away. I immediately set out for the site and found that the hull was broken in pieces. I arranged for the wood, iron, and the sails to be salvaged as much as possible, at the expense of the reverend father procurator. Through the great efforts of the same father, he

accomplished all that could be done, and I duly reported his diligence, along with the little that could be saved, to the most excellent Marqués de las Amarillas.

On March 9 of the present year, 1761, I received a letter from that Real Audiencia (then governing), dated February 23, 1760, in which it was suggested to me that I make a new inspection of what is serviceable, and that I report on whether it will have some market in this region. I must state to your excellency that, in addition to [the hull] being broken in pieces, the listed items were useless, and the nails were removed. Having been unfit for transport for so many months, its greatest destruction was done by the activities of others. Only the launch, or rowboat, remained unscathed; however, in this land, it is a useless bauble because [its hull] is not made in one piece, as is required here. The rigging is in fragments, with only one six-inch laid rope remaining, which is in average condition. Of the sails, the sprit sail and mizzen topsail are serviceable and are being used on his majesty's ship. Of the rest, there are only some bits and pieces for which, in these regions, there is no use beyond their employment in the repair of his majesty's ship. What does have value is the iron that will be reduced by half when made into [bars] in order to be useful. Their weight was 68 arrobas and 70-1/2 libras, and they will be 34 arrobas [illegible]. There was a grapnel, as well as one anchor, the search for which took some effort. The other could not be found, nor could other various items that were lost with the force of the wind and water, such as the keelson, which up to now has not been found. All this is being transported at costs beyond comprehension, due to the 260 leagues distance coming and going and the necessary payments to those who have been working. Regarding its sale, as I was instructed in the aforesaid letter—there is no individual on this peninsula who would buy it, not even at a lower price. They would not be able to move it, nor would it be of use to them.

I do not believe an account can be provided that is more reliable than the one I have given, for as much was done as could be, with no time lost.

I wish your excellency perfect health and, awaiting your orders, I pray that God protects your excellency for many years. Loreto of the Californias, April 16, 1761.

Your excellency's very humble servant,

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

The most excellent Don Joaquín de Montserrat, Marqués de Cruillas¹

I, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of this province of the Californias, [state the following]:

Inasmuch as I do not have an inventory of the items and equipment that were removed from the ship, which I believe necessary, I hereby order the sergeant Don Joseph Francisco de Ortega to go to the mission of Santiago.² There he is to find out from Reverend Father Francisco López³ whether the carpenter, Manuel Morrillo, supplied him with a memorandum of everything he received that was salvaged from the ship at Puromo.⁴ In the event nothing has been recorded in writing, he is to go to Puromo and to the port of Santiago, where he will draw up a formal inventory of the aforesaid. This he will forward, signed, to the said reverend father for the corresponding bills.

Dated December 17, 1759, in Santa Genoveva, to which I hereby attest.⁵

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Santiago, December 14, 1759

In compliance with the captain's order, I immediately went to learn from the Reverend Father Francisco López whether he had a formal memorandum of all that pertained to receiving [the remains] of his majesty's lost ship. Although it is recorded in writing, the reverend father thought it best that we—his reverence, the captain who came on the ship, and I, the sergeant—go to the beach of Puromo, to make an inspection of the wood and the rest that was there. On the return from Puromo, we went to the port of Santiago,⁶ where we have just attested to the nails and the rest, in consideration of which I make the following inventory:

First the hull, broken in pieces, with some parts still intact such as some entire planks forming, for example, the boat's shape.

37-1/2 arrobas of nails, whole and broken

11 arrobas, 22 libras of spikes

12 pillory rings with their spikes

25 *cadena*s of shrouds [ropes for the masts]

1 mainmast cinch

1 jib boom cinch

2 topsail rods

8 deadeyes with their iron cinches

1 mainsail, in two pieces

1 main-top-gallant sail, without the triangular sails

the entire sprit sail

1 entire mizzen topsail

1 jib

1 quarterdeck awning, without a sailcloth

1 6-inch laid rope, in average condition

1 small, old hawser

various pieces of rigging cordage

Carrying forward, I state on the facing [page]:

1 gudgeon of the rudder

1 pump handle, iron, in two pieces

1 sledgehammer

1 saw

2 axes

1 large anchor and one kedge anchor

1 iron pot

1 mariner's compass

1 brass mortar with its pestle

the entire ship's rudder, with its rudder pintles

3 topmasts

2 small topmasts for top-gallant sails

the main yard and foresail

the mizzen-topsail yard and fore topsail

the sprit-sail yard

the bowsprit with its jib boom

the wood from the mizzenmast

the rigging and tackle in pieces

1 entire pump

the foremast—that is, the cut log

the main mast, broken in pieces

To the truth of this, I hereby sign.

Joseph Francisco de Ortega

JHS. Francisco López

Joseph Echegoyen

Following is a list of everything salvaged from the ship lost at Puromo that was brought to this camp of Loreto, 130 leagues distant from the aforesaid Puromo, and utilized in his majesty's new ship.⁷ Here, almost all the iron was reworked, and the wood that could be used was mended for the new ship:

The spikes, nails, and other pieces of iron that were reworked (the weight of the chains of the shrouds, pillory rings, deadeyes, and two topsail rods being regulated) and put in order that they could be used on the new ship—all total, they weigh 36 arrobas, 8 libras, which was entered on the expenses without charging anything, as is recorded on the preceding form:

3 capuchinos [a particular type of knee brace]

18 small knee braces

6 large knee braces

10 beams from the cabin

23 swabs

3 boards

1 boat or rowboat

1 capstan

2 masts adapted to serve as the mainmast

1 topmast for the topsail

3 yards

the bowsprit

the rudder, without gudgeons or rudder pintles

4 sets of rigging and tackle

2 bowsprit bees

1 bit

1 bonnet

3 ladders

1 six-inch laid rope, in average condition

1 large anchor

1 kedge anchor

1 saw

1 iron jar

1 sledgehammer

1 mariner's compass

1 brass mortar

2 axes

and various pulleys

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Francisco de Aguian [illegible]

Ramón Nicolás Cordero [illegible]

[Following is a list of] expenses pertaining to the ship of his majesty (may God keep him), which was built in this royal presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias

over a period of more than one year (the said ship has an untarnished keel of 17-1/2 varas, is 20 varas from the stem to the helmpost, 6 varas in breadth, and 2-3/4 varas in depth):

First, for 2 pieces of cottonwood for the keel, and 1 of sapodilla for the keelson	50 p
1 stern post and 1 keel forepart of mesquite	15 p
170 pieces of cedar lumber, in various standard sizes, averaging 3 pesos each	510
65 cedar logs for the planking, at 4 pesos	260
To saw the said logs	775
For the mesquites, entered in 36 double frames	178
164 arrobas, 3 libras of worked iron, at 11 pesos per arroba	1,80
Itemization entered: 36 arrobas, 8 libras of iron from the lost ship, which is what could be utilized with refurbishment, as will be seen on the following:	0 p.
To the engineer contracted to oversee the construction of the ship, also giving him approval	1,60
1 master carpenter, 1 ironsmith, and 1 caulker, paid annually by our lord the king	0 p.
2 principal journeyman carpenters, earning 18 pesos per month, approved for a period of one year	497
2 helpers at 15 pesos per month, approved for the aforesaid period	425
6 woodcutters at 12 pesos per month, approved for the aforesaid period	1,05
2 cooks and 2 to carry firewood and water at 8 pesos, approved for the aforesaid period	514
3 caulker's helpers at 14 pesos per month, approved for the aforesaid period	601
To arrange everything necessary to launch the ship and for the people who helped in its launching	125
2 logs for the foremast	15 p
1 anchor, weighing 14 arrobas, 5 libras, at 4 reales per libra	77
1 grappling iron for the boat or rowboat, weighing 2 arrobas, 6 libras, at 4 reales	28
42 arrobas, 19 libras of agave thread for the rigging and cordage, at 10 pesos, 7 reales per arroba	465

64 arrobas, 8 libras of <i>istle</i> for the same, at 6 pesos, 6 reales	434
681-1/4 varas of canvas, at 4 reales	340
41 varas of rough linen for the jib, at 4 reales	20
2 arrobas, 7 libras of spooled thread, at 21 pesos, 4 reales	49
25 arrobas, 13 libras of unspun muslin, at 2 pesos per arroba	51
Page subtotal	9,4
Subtotal carried forward	9,4
41 arrobas, 14 libras of unspun hemp, at 3 pesos, 1 real	129
17 chunks of pitch, weighing 68 arrobas, at 2 pesos, 7 reales	195
21 chunks of coal tar, weighing 84 arrobas, at 2 pesos, 7 reales	241
20 arrobas of molten tallow, at 3 pesos	60
18 arrobas, 6-1/2 libras of solid tallow, at 2 pesos	36
50 tinajas of fresh water, at 12 reales	75
1 arroba, 7 libras of scupper-nails	17
1 jar, 2 dippers, 2 metates, 2 spits, 1 frying pan, 1 bell, 4 axes, 6 drills, 2 adzes, 2 hammers, 1 crowbar, and other caulker's tools, totaling	64
Corrected total	10,

I certify that the above amount has been spent in building and fitting out the aforesaid ship, called the *Concepción*, in which was also used those salvaged items from the ship lost at Puromo, as is seen in the facing plan, which is rubricated. So that it might be clear to his excellency the viceroy and the officers of the Real Hacienda, I beg and request Don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of the Californias, to please confirm what I hereby sign in Loreto of the Californias on October 26, 1761.

JHS. Lucas Ventura

I, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of this province of the Californias, certify and attest to the extent I am able as to how, because of the loss of his majesty's ship that came to this land, one has been built at this presidio with the

measurements and sizes expressed above. The shipwrights and laborers that worked on it have been paid, and the total of expenses referred to above by the very reverend father, Lucas Ventura of the Society of Jesus, procurator and administrator of the royal funds, is correct and firm. It is owing to his great attentiveness and determination that the construction has been brought to its completion, and I suppose that one who is experienced with the barrenness of the Californias, upon seeing this ship and its strength and hearing that it was built there, would have some difficulty believing it and would comprehend all the toil that went into accomplishing such a thing. Likewise, I certify as correct the list on the page that follows, where it is noted that those items from the lost ship were employed. So that it might be recorded appropriately, I hereby sign with witnesses in attendance, with whom I am acting as delegate judge, for want of a royal notary. Dated October 27, 1761 in this presidio of Nuestra Señora de Loreto.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Francisco de Aguían [illegible]

Ramón Nicolás Cordero [illegible]

DEPOSITIONS REGARDING THE SHIPWRECK

I, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, his majesty's captain in chief of land and sea in the Californias, hereby certify and attest as to how, while I was at the presidio of Señora de Loreto on October 20 of the present year, Gabriel Ojeda, a soldier, arrived, having been sent with the message that his majesty's ship was stranded. Well informed of the ship's destruction, I set out for that part of the south, after speaking with Reverend Father Procurator Lucas Ventura about taking steps to repair the said ship, in the event that [enough of the ship] might have remained for this action. Leaving Loreto on October 21, I arrived at this mission on the twenty-ninth day of the said month, having suffered no delay, I left in the afternoon of the same day for Puromo, which is the place where the ship ran aground. Accompanying me were the captain who navigated the ship, Don Joseph [de] Echegoyen, and the boatswain, Mauricio de Santa María, a native of Realejo.⁸

We arrived there the following day in the afternoon. I saw some pieces of the ship along the beach, along with some of the wood that it was bringing to Loreto from Matanchel. I went to where most of the ship's remains were and found it turned on its side, in complete ruin. Part of the prow was detached in such a manner that it was behind the stern. I have heard that the keel is split or broken, but I did not see this, for the pounding of the water had caused it to become somewhat buried. I withdrew and arrived at this mission on the thirty-first of the said month, having discovered no other

recourse than to gather together the wood and retrieve the iron, along with whatever wood could be salvaged. I find the repair of the ship to be unfeasible, the only remedy is to build a new one.

For his excellency's satisfaction, and so that he may have individual accounts of everything, I was obliged to order that the necessary sworn statements be written down, in order to carry conviction, and with testimony be reported to his excellency. The first is that of the said Don Joseph de Echegoyen; those of the others are to follow.

Thus, I provided, ordered and signed, acting as delegate judge with witnesses, for lack of a public notary, and on this common paper, none of which is stamped. Dated November 2, 1759, at mission Santiago.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Mariano Báez

Mariano Carrillo

Declaration: In the aforesaid mission, I, the captain in chief, by virtue of what I have ordered, immediately received the oath of Don Joseph de Echegoyen, made with due solemnity, under which he promised to answer truthfully whatever might be asked.

In response to my query as to the ship's destination, he said that it was bound for Loreto. Asked how it was that a ship traveling to Loreto ran aground in Puromo, he replied that the main reason was not finding anyone in Matanchel who would provision it. Second, the long voyage from Matanchel to this Santiago shore—on which the ship experienced winds that alternately blew strong and were calm—took twenty-four days. As he was unable to procure more provisions from Matanchel than four head of cattle, twelve loads of bananas, and one load of corn, the ship, carrying twenty-four men with the witness and pilot and with orders given by his excellency in Matanchel, arrived at the aforesaid coast of the mission of Santiago with no more provisions than some beans and a few fish caught at sea.

He cast anchor at the aforesaid shore on October 7, between eight and nine o'clock at night, using the best anchor and cable that the ship carried. The launch was put into the water immediately, and around midnight, he dispatched a cabin boy with a letter to the reverend father of the mission of Santiago, requesting provisions to continue the voyage to the presidio of Loreto. The reverend father promptly sent the necessary supply, which arrived at the shore on October 8, a little before prayers. However, the weather did not permit sending the launch to land for the provisions.

When I asked him why, having anchored at the coast or port of Santiago, they departed from there, he stated that a violent wind came in from the northwest. He had cast anchor in fifteen fathoms of water, playing out the entire cable to its end. This proceeded to give way, with the body of the ship dragging the anchor until it was in seven fathoms of water, where it held out against the said wind for twenty-four hours. After twenty-four hours, seeing that the weather was becoming stronger all the time, and having made every effort to raise or hoist the anchor—which was not possible, due to the surf and the wind—he was obliged to lengthen the end of the cable by hand, and went running with the foresail as far as the inlet of Puromo, which is twelve leagues leeward of the said Santiago coast. There he found shelter from the northwest wind and from the north wind as well.⁹ He cast anchor in the said inlet with an anchor and cable that remained. This was on October 9, at one o'clock in the afternoon. The wind blew from the north and the northwest for two days, but on the third, which was October n, the wind finally shifted, blowing from the east. It shifted so violently that, with no more cable than what he had in the water and without a safe passage anywhere through which to steer clear, and seeing that the wind was reviving more, he wanted to try to throw the topmasts down. While he was passing the top rope to the main topmast, the cable gave way; not having any cable other than the one that broke and being unable to repair the cable, [he could not prevent the ship being] driven toward the shore. It was not even an hour before the ship's bottom was breaking up, and the witness states that when he disembarked, there were already boards from the ship's bottom on land. He escaped to land in a life buoy, and that same night the ship split in half.

When I asked the witness about the condition of the ship and whether, in his opinion, it could be salvaged, his response was no, that only some wood, boards, nails, and bolts could be used.

[The witness stated] that this is the truth, under obligation of the dated oath. Having read this, he confirmed it as his account and stated his age to be thirty-one years, more or less. He will sign this with me and those in attendance, with whom I acted as stated, and hereby attest.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Joseph de Echegoyen

Mariano Báez

Mariano Carrillo

Declaration: Mission Santiago, November 3, 1759. By virtue of what I, the captain in chief, have ordered, I summoned and had appear before me the boatswain of his majesty's ship, Mauricio de Santa María. I received from him an oath made to God with the sign of the cross, under which he promised to speak truthfully about what he knew and might be asked.

When I asked about the ship's destination, he responded that it was bound for Loreto. Asked how a ship that was traveling to Loreto ran aground in Puromo, he replied that it was because they steered upward toward the port of Santiago in search of provisions. They entered the aforesaid port on October 7. On October 8, the wind came from the northwest, then shifted to the north, obliging them to let go of the anchor by hand and leave in search of Puromo, to seek shelter there. They remained there on the tenth day of the said month, and on the eleventh, the wind came in from the east-northeast. The cable was cut because the said shelter seemed to have many snags where they might have hit shore with the hull of the ship, unable to free the ship's hull or to throw the masts down to lighten its weight.

Asked from where they came, he responded [that they came] from the port of Matanchel. Asked whether they provisioned themselves in Matanchel, he replied that eleven or twelve loads of bananas were brought on board, which lasted some ten or eleven days, and that a measure of corn and four head of cattle—two dead, and two living—were loaded. Asked if he knew whether there would have been someone in Matanchel to provision the ship, or if it appeared to him (or if he knew) that the aforesaid loaded supply was sufficient to make the voyage to Loreto, he replied that it did not appear to be sufficient, that he did not protest because it did not fall upon him to do so, and that from the mouth of his captain he knew that Don Juan Lozano was supplying whatever provisions might have been wanted. Asked if he knew why more provisions were not taken on board, he replied that he did not know, but that there was still meat from [the supply] they obtained in Acapulco, which, although bad, could be served.

Asked if he knew whether there might have been a failing on the part of the pilot, he answered no, only that he had guided them to the shelter where they went, which was not a good anchoring place. The witness was asked to state whether the ship came well provided with moorings and, if not, what the moorings lacked, whether anchor or cable. He responded that the cable and its two good moorings were sufficient. Asked whether it was perhaps customary among sailors to observe some of the pilot's practices, and if so, whether this had been done with the pilot who came, he answered and said that it was customary to hand the ship over to him so that he, as the pilot who had authority

and who was knowledgeable, would proceed as he had learned. Asked whether this was done on the ship, he answered yes, but that it was too late.

Asked about the rigging and the sails, he replied that the two topsails and the foresail were lost, and that the rigging cordage was still hanging from the ship. Asked whether he thought the ship could be mended, he answered no, but the nails, bolts, and chains could be freed from most of it. He also said that of the two anchors, one was bent. He made that determination in Acapulco, and it was not repaired—although it was not the anchor that was lacking but the cable.

[The witness stated] under obligation of the dated oath that this is the truth of what he knows and what has been asked of him. Having read this, he affirmed and ratified it as his account and stated his age to be thirty-one years. Because he did not know how to sign his name, the witness said that the boatswain's mate who came on the ship should sign for him. Thus, I signed the statement with the said boatswain's mate and those in attendance, with whom I acted as stated, to which I hereby attest.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada

Signing for the boatswain, Mauricio de Santa María, in accordance with the aforesaid

Nicolás Ferramola

Mariano Carrillo

Antonio Baldado

[Several depositions from other members of the crew were omitted for reasons of repetitiveness.]

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 68, 8.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

NAUFRAGIO, 1759

Excelentísimo señor:

Por octubre de 59 recibí la noticia en este real de haberse perdido 130 leguas de aquí la fragata que de cuenta de su majestad (que Dios guarde) venía para el útil de esta conquista. Luego inmediatamente me puse en camino para dicho paraje, y encontré que el casco estaba hecho pedazos; procuré a costa del reverendo padre procurador que se sacase la madera, fierro y velamen cuanto mejor se pudiese. Con grandes costos del

mismo padre se hizo cuanto se pudo, cuyas diligencias, y lo poco que se pudo salvar, remití jurídico al excelentísimo señor Marqués de las Amarillas.

Y en el día 9 de marzo de este presente año de 1761, recibí una carta de esa Real Audiencia (entonces gobernadora), su fecha, 23 de febrero del año pasado de 1760, en la que se me intima haga un nuevo reconocimiento de lo servible, y que informe si en este país tendrá alguna venta; a lo que debo decir a vuestra excelencia que a más de haberse hecho pedazos, estos mismos quedaron inservibles, sacada la clavazón, y con haber estado tantos meses sin poderla acarrear, por diligencias que se hicieron, fue mayor su ruina; solamente la barquita o bote quedó ileso, pero para esta tierra es alhaja inútil, por no ser de una pieza como aquí se requiere. La jarcia hecha pedazos, y sólo quedó un calabrote de seis pulgadas, que llaman de media vida. Del velamen queda servible, y aún sirviendo en el barco de su majestad, la cebadera y sobremesana; de lo demás sólo algunos pedazos, y todo esto no tiene más destino, ni se puede dar en estos países, que el de ocuparlo en reparos del barco de su majestad. Lo que puede tener estimación es el fierro, que hecho varetones para que pueda servir, mermará la mitad; su peso fue de 68 arrobas 70/-21 libras, y quedará en 34 arrobas [ilegible]. Quedó un anclotito y una ancla, que costó buscarla; la otra no se pudo encontrar, como ni otras varias cosas que con la fuerza del viento y agua perecieron, como la sobrequilla, que hasta ahora no ha parecido. Todo esto se ha estado acarreamo con los costos que se deja entender en la distancia de 260 leguas en ida y vuelta, y precisos pagamentos a los que han estado trabajando. En cuanto a venta, según se me ordena en dicha carta, no hay sujeto en esta península que lo compre ni aun por menos precio, así por no poderlo conducir, como por no servirle.

Razón más formal que la que tengo dada, no hallo ni se puede dar, pues se hizo cuanto se pudo sin pérdida de tiempo.

Deseo sea perfecta la salud de vuestra excelencia y, quedando pronto a sus ordenes, ruego a Dios guarde por muchos años la vida de vuestra excelencia. Loreto de Californias y abril 16 de 1761.

Muy a las plantas de vuestra excelencia, su menor súbdito y servidor.

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada.

Excelentísimo señor don Joaquín de Montserrat, Marqués de Cruillas.

Don Fernando de Rivera y Moneada capitán comandante en esta Provincia de Californias por su majestad, que Dios guarde:

Por cuanto no tengo hecho inventario de las cosas y pertrechos que libraron del barco, el que tengo por necesario, por lo que ordeno al sargento don Joseph Francisco de Ortega pase a la Misión de Santiago, y que allí se informe del reverendo padre Francisco López si le entregó el carpintero Manuel Morrillo el apunte de lo que se salvó y recibió del barco en el Puromo y, en caso de no constar por apunte, que pase al dicho Puromo y al Surgidero de Santiago, en donde formará de lo dicho inventario formal, el que entregará firmado a dicho reverendo padre para los efectos que convengan.

Fecho en Santa Genoveva en diecisiete de diciembre de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve años, de que doy fe.

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada.

Santiago y diciembre catorce de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve años.

En obediencia de lo mandado por el señor capitán, luego incontinenti pasé a informarme del reverendo padre Francisco López si tenía su reverencia apunte formal de todo lo perteneciente a la recepción del barco perdido de su majestad, que Dios guarde, y, aunque consta de apunte, tuvo dicho reverendo padre a bien pasásemos su reverencia, yo el sargento, y el capitán que venía en el barco, a la Playa del Puromo a hacer como hicimos inspección de maderos y demás que allí había; a la vuelta del Puromo fuimos a el surgidero de Santiago, en donde acabamos de dar fe de la clavazón y demás, por cuya atención hago inventario siguiente:

Primeramente, el casco hecho pedazos, con algunas piezas de cuenta enteras, como tablas, algunas de ellas enteras verbi gracia, la barca,

37-1/2 arrobas de clavazón entera y quebrada,

11 arrobas 22 libras de pernos,

12 argollas con sus pernos,

25 cadenas de los obenques,

1 cincho de palo mayor,

1 cincho del botalón,

2 varillas de las gavias,

8 vigotas con sus cinchos de fierro,

1 vela mayor en dos pedazos,

1 juanete mayor sin las cuchillas,
la cebadera entera,
1 sobremesana entera,
1 foque,
1 toldo del alcázar sin un paño,
1 calabrote de 6 pulgadas de media vida,
1 guindalecita vieja,
varios pedazos de cabos de labor,
a la vuelta digo a enfrente
1 hembra del timón,
1 sacanabo de las bombas, en dos pedazos, de fierro,
1 mandarria,
1 sierra,
2 hachas,
1 ancla grande y un anclotillo,
1 calderito de fierro,
la aguja de marear,
1 almirez con su mano,
el timón del barco entero con sus machos,
3 masteleros,
2 masteleritos de juanete,
verga mayor y trinquete,
la verga de sobremesana y velacho,
la verga de cebadera,

el bauprés con su botalón,
el palo de la mesana,
la jarcia hecha pedazos,
1 bomba entera,
el trinquete, esto es, el palo picado,
el palo mayor hecho pedazos,
Y por ser así verdad, lo firmo.

Joseph Francisco de Ortega.

JHS. Francisco López.

Joseph de Echegoyen.

Razón de lo que se ha aprovechado en el barco nuevo de su majestad, que Dios guarde, de lo recogido del que se perdió en el Puromo y se condujo a este Real de Loreto, que dista 130 leguas de dicho Puromo; y aquí se labró de nuevo casi todo el fierro, y lo que se pudo aprovechar de la madera se compuso para el nuevo barco, y es lo que se sigue:

Por pernos, clavos y otros pedazos de fierro, que se labró de nuevo y, regulado lo que pesaron las cadenas de los obenques, argollas, vigotas y dos varillas de las gavias, que se compusieron para que pudieran servir al barco nuevo, hacen por todo las 36 arrobas 8 libras que se entraron en los costos, sin cargar nada, como consta de la forma antecedente,

3 capuchinos,

18 curvitas,

6 dichas grandes

10 latas de la cámara

23 lampazos

3 tablas

1 barca o bote

1 cabrestante,

2 palos que sirven ajustados para palo mayor

1 mastelero de la gavia

3 vergas

el bauprés

el timón sin hembras ni machos

las 4 guarniciones de jarcia

2 gavietas

1 bita

1 bonua [boneta]

3 escaleras

1 calabrote de 1/2 vida de 6 pulgadas

1 ancla grande

1 anclotillo

1 sierra

1 olla de fierro

1 mandarria

la aguja de marear

1 almirez

2 hachas

y varios motones.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Francisco de Aguian [ilegible].

Ramón Nicolás Cordero [ilegible].

Costos que ha tenido el barco de su majestad, que Dios guarde, fabricado en este Real Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto de Californias, en más de un año (tiene dicho

barco 17-1/2 varas de quilla limpia, 20 varas de la roda a la limera, 6 varas de manga, y 2-3/4 varas de puntal):

Primeramente, por dos piezas de guérigo para quilla, y una de palo María para sobrequilla en

Por 1 codaste y 1 pie de roda de mezquite

Por 170 piezas de madera de cedro de varios tamaños derechos, y de vuelta a 3 pesos una con otra

Por 65 trozas de cedro para tablazón, a 4 pesos

Por aserrar las dichas trozas

Por los mezquites, que entraron en 36 cuadernas dobles

Por 164 arrobas 3 libras de fierro labrado a 11 pesos arroba

Item. entraron 36 arrobas 8 libras de fierro del barco perdido, que es lo que se ha podido aprovechar después de renovado, que es lo que se verá en la foja siguiente

Al maestro que corrió con la fábrica del barco por ajuste, y dándole también la razón

Por 1 maestro carpintero, 1 herrero y 1 calafate pagados anualmente por el rey nuestro señor

Por 2 oficiales de carpintero principales, ganando 18 pesos al mes y razón por el tiempo de un año

Por 2 ayudantes a 15 pesos al mes, y razón por dicho tiempo

Por 6 hacheros a 12 pesos al mes y razón en dicho tiempo

Por 2 coz [cocineros] y 2 que acarreaban leña y agua a 8 pesos y razón en dicho tiempo

Por 3 ayudantes de calafate a 14 pesos al mes y razón en dicho tiempo 601 pesos 4

Por componer lo necesario para la bota del barco y la gente que ayudó a su bota 125 p.

Por 2 palos para el trinquete 15 p.

Por 1 ancla con 14 arrobas 5 libras, a 4 reales libra 77 pesos 4

Por 1 rezón para la barca o bote, con 2 arrobas 6 libras, a 4 reales 28 p.

Por 42 arrobas 19 libras de pita para jarcia a 10 pesos 7 reales arroba 465 p.

Por 64 arrobas 8 libras de ixtle para lo mismo a 6 pesos 6 reales 434 pesos 2

Por 681-1/4 varas de lona a 4 reales	340 pesos 5
Por 41 varas de cotense para el foque a 4 reales	20 pesos 4
Por 2 arrobas 7 libras de hilo a carrete a 21 pesos 4 reales	49 p.
Por 25 arrobas 13 libras de estopa de coco, a 2 pesos arroba	51 pesos -1/4
Pasa a la vuelta	9,404 pesos -1/4
Suma de la vuelta	9,404 pesos -1/4
Por 41 arrobas 14 libras de estopa de cáñamo a 3 pesos 1 real	129 p.
Por 17 trozos de brea con 68 arrobas a 2 pesos 7 reales	195 p.
Por 21 dichos de alquitrán con 84 arrobas a 2 pesos 7 reales	241 p.
Por 20 arrobas de sebo frito a 3 pesos	60 p.
Por 18 arrobas 6-1/2 libras de sebo sin freír a 2 pesos	36 p.
Por 50 tinajas de aguada a 12 reales	75 pesos
Por 1 arroba 7 libras de estoperoles	17 p.
Por 1 olla, 2 cazos, 2 metates, 2 asadores, 1 sartén, 1 campana, 4 hachas, 6 barrenas, 2 azuelas, 2 martillos, 1 pie de cabra, y demás hierros de calafate, todo en	64 p.
Suma salvo yerro	10,223 p.

Cuya cantidad certifico haberse gastado en construir y habilitar dicho barco que se llama la Concepción, en el que sirven también las cosas que se han podido aprovechar del que se perdió en el Puromo, como se ve en la plana de enfrente, que [ilegible] rubricada. Y para que conste al excelentísimo señor virrey y señores oficiales de la Real Hacienda, pido y suplico a don Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moneada capitán comandante por su majestad, que Dios guarde, de Californias, se sirva autorizarla, que firmo en Loreto de Californias a 26 de octubre de 1761.

JHS. Lucas Ventura.

Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada capitán comandante en esta Provincia de Californias por su majestad (Dios le guarde) certifico y doy fe en cuanto puedo y debo, como por haberse perdido el barco de su majestad que venía para esta tierra, que se ha fabricado uno en este presidio con las medidas y tamaños que arriba se expresan, y quedan pagados maestros y operarios que en él trabajaron, y que es cierta y segura la suma de los gastos que asimismo arriba se refieren por el muy reverendo padre Lucas Ventura de la Compañía de Jesús, procurador y administrador del real situado, debiéndosele a su gran cuidado y empeño el haber llevado hasta el fin la fábrica; y supongo que el que sea práctico de la esterilidad de Californias y que vea este barco y su fortaleza, oyendo decir que acá se fabricó, se le ofrecerá dificultad al creerlo y concebirá lo que se [ilegible] afanaría para conseguirlo. Asimismo certifico cierta la lista de la plana siguiente, en que se da nota de las cosas que se aprovecharon del barco perdido para que conste donde convenga, lo firmo con testigos de asistencia, con quienes actúo como juez receptor, a falta de escribano real. Fecho en este Presidio de Nuestra Señora de Loreto en veinte y siete de octubre de mil setecientos sesenta y uno.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

Francisco de Aguí [ilegible].

Ramón Nicolás Cor.

DEPOSICIONES SOBRE EL NAUFRAGIO

Don Fernando de Rivera y Moneada, capitán comandante de mar y tierra en Californias por su majestad, que Dios guarde, certifico y doy fe cómo, hallándome en el dicho Presidio de mi Señora de Loreto el día veinte del mes de octubre del presente año, llegó Gabriel Ojeda, soldado, por haber sido enviado con el aviso de que dió a el través el barco de su majestad, por lo que, bien entendido de la ruina de dicho barco, me puse en camino para esta parte del sur, después de haber hablado con el reverendo padre procurador Lucas Ventura con diligencia de que se compusiese dicho barco, caso de que hubiese quedado para eso; y habiendo salido de Loreto el día veinte y uno de dicho mes, llegué a esta misión el día veinte y nueve, y sin admitir demora, en el mismo día por la tarde pasé para el Puromo, que es lugar donde varó el barco. Acompañáronme a él el capitán que conducía el barco, don Joseph Echegoyen, y el contra maestre Mauricio de Santa María, natural del Realejo.

Y llegamos allí el día siguiente por la tarde. Ví por la playa algunas piezas del barco, y otras de la madera que traía de Matanchel para Loreto; pasé para donde se hallaba lo mayor que quedaba del barco, y el costado sobre que está ladeado está enteramente arruinado; la parte de la proa separada, de manera que estaba detrás de la popa, de la

quilla he oído que se rajó o quebró, no la vi a causa de que batía el agua y por consiguiente algo había de estar enterrada; me retiré y llegué a esta misión en treinta y uno de dicho mes, sin hallar más composición que es que junten la madera y se saque el fierro, y de madera lo que se pueda. Por lo impracticable que hallo composición del referido barco, el que sólo se remediará con fabricar otro de nuevo.

Y para satisfacción del señor excelentísimo y que de todo tenga su excelencia individual noticia, debía mandar y mando se tomen las declaraciones necesarias juramentadas para que hagan fe, y con testimonio dar cuenta al señor excelentísimo, y sea la primera la de dicho don Joseph de Echegoyen, y después que sigan las de otros.

Así lo proveí, mandé y firmé, actuando por receptoría con los de asistencia, por falta de escrivano público, en este papel común, por no haberlo sellado. Fecho en la Misión de Santiago, en dos del mes de noviembre, año de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve.

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada.

Mariano Baez.

Mariano Carrillo.

En dicha misión incontinenti yo el capitán comandante en virtud de lo por mi mandado recibí juramento a don Joseph de Echegoyen, que hizo con la debida solemnidad, bajo del cual prometió decir verdad en lo que le fuere preguntado.

Y siéndole por mí preguntado para dónde conducía el barco, respondió y dijo que para Loreto. Y preguntado que fue cómo, si conducía el barco para Loreto, cómo varó el barco en el Puromo, respondió y dijo que el primer motivo fue no haber hallado en Matanchel quién lo abastimentara; por lo segundo, viaje largo, experimentando vientos contrarios corrientes y calmas, que tardó de allí de Matanchel veinte y cuatro días a esta playa de Santiago, no habiendo sacado de Matanchel más bastimento que cuatro reses y doce cargas de plátanos y una carga de maíz, trayendo el barco veinte y cuatro plazas con el declarante y el práctico, que por su excelencia le dieron en Matanchel, que llegó a esta dicha playa de la Misión de Santiago sin más bastimento que un poco de frijol y pescado que se cogía en la mar.

Que dió fondo en la dicha playa el día siete de octubre de las ocho a las nueve de la noche, con la mejor ancla y amarra que traía el barco, que echó la lancha incontinenti al agua, y despachó con una carta a un mozo, como a media noche, al reverendo padre de la Misión de Santiago, pidiendo bastimento para proseguir el viaje para el Presidio de

Loreto, y que le despachó prontamente el reverendo padre el bastimento necesario que el día ocho del dicho mes de octubre del dicho mes allegaría a la playa poco antes de la oración, que no le dió lugar el tiempo para enviar la lancha en tierra por los bastimentos.

Y siendo por mi preguntado por qué causa, habiendo dado fondo en la playa o surgidero de Santiago, se salieron de allí, respondió y dijo que les entró un viento deshecho por el noroeste, que de quince brazas de agua en que dió fondo, habiendo arriado a chicote, a chicote todo el cable, que vino a dar con el cuerpo del navío agarrando el ancla hasta en siete brazas de agua, donde aguantó con el dicho viento hasta veinte y cuatro horas, y que, visto que a las veinte y cuatro horas que el tiempo iba cada vez refrescando más, habiendo hecho diligencia para poder levantar o alzar la ancla, que no fue posible por el mar y viento que había, que le obligó alargar chicote por la mano, y que fue corriendo con el trinquete hasta la ensenada del Puromo, que está doce leguas a sotavento de esta dicha playa de Santiago, donde halló abrigo para el dicho viento noroeste, y del norte también, que dió fondo en la dicha ensenada con una amarra que le había quedado, que fue el día nueve de octubre a la una de la tarde, y que le estuvo soplando dos días el viento norte y noroeste, que a los tres, que fue el once de octubre, que le saltó de repente viento por el leste, tan recio, sin más amarra que la que tenía en el agua, y sin tener rebasadero por ninguna parte para echarse para afuera, y que, visto que el viento iba refrescando más, quizá hacer diligencia de echar los masteleros abajo, que en el tiempo que estaba pasando el virador al mastelero mayor le faltó la amarra, y sin tener más amarra que la que le faltó, que se fue a la playa sin poder remediar, y que no tardó una hora sin que largara los fondos; y dice el que declara que, cuando saltó en tierra, que ya había tablas del fondo en tierra, que salió en una guindola a tierra, y que aquella misma noche se partió por en medio el navío.

Y preguntado por mi el declarante que cuál es el estado del barco y que, según su inteligencia, si tiene composición, respondió y dijo que no, que sólo se podía aprovechar alguna madera, tablas, clavazón y pernería.

Y que esta es la verdad, so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene, y leída que le fue esta su declaración, en ella se ratificó y dijo ser de edad de treinta y un años poco más o menos, y la firmará conmigo y los de asistencia, con quienes actúo como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Fernando de Rivera y Moneada.

Joseph de Echegoyen.

Mariano Baez.

Mariano Carrillo.

Declaración. Misión de Santiago y noviembre tres de mil setecientos cincuenta y nueve. En virtud de lo mandado por mí, el capitán comandante, hice comparecer y compareció ante mí el contra maestre del barco de su majestad Mauricio de Santa María, a quien le recibí juramento, que hizo a Dios y la Señal de la Cruz, bajo del cual prometió decir verdad en lo que supiere y le fuere preguntado.

Y por mí que le fue preguntado para dónde navegaba el barco, respondió que para Loreto; y preguntado que fue cómo, si navegaba para Loreto, varó el barco en el Puromo, respondió que porque botaron arriba en demanda del Puerto de Santiago por bastimento, y que entraron a dicho puerto el día siete de octubre, y que el día ocho les entró el tiempo por el noroeste, y se cambió a el norte, adonde los obligó a dejar la ancla por la mano; y salieron en demanda del Puromo a buscar abrigo allí, y que se mantuvieron allí el día diez de dicho mes, y el día once les entró el tiempo por el nordeste, y que se les cortó la amarra porque dicho abrigo parece ser tener muchas ratoneras, por donde hubieron de dar en la playa con el casco del barco, sin poder haber librado el casco del barco, ni por haber botádole los palos abajo por aliviarlo de peso.

Y siendo preguntado que de dónde venían, respondió que del Puerto de Matanchel. Preguntado que fue si no se aviaron en Matanchel de bastimentos para llegar a Loreto, respondió que se embarcaron once o doce cargas de plátanos, que duraron como diez u once días, y que embarcaron una carga de maíz y cuatro reses, dos muertas y dos vivas. Y preguntado que fue si no supo que en Matanchel hubiera habido quien abastimentara el barco, o que si le pareció o supo que el bastimento dicho embarcado fuese suficiente para haber hecho el viaje a Loreto, respondió y dijo que no le pareció que era suficiente, que no repugnó porque no le tocaba al que declara repugnarlo, y que por boca de su capitán supo que don Juan Lozano le ofertaba cuanto bastimento hubiera querido. Y preguntado que fue si no supo el porqué no se embarcó más bastimento, respondió, que no supo, que carne todavía había, que aunque mala podía suplir, y era de la que sacaron de Acapulco.

Y preguntado si supo que no hubiese habido defecto de parte del práctico, respondió que no, sólo que lo hubiese llevado al abrigo donde fueron, no habiendo buen surgidero. Y preguntado que fue el que declara si venía bien aviado el barco de amarras, y que qué fue lo que faltó de la amarra, si la ancla o el cable, respondió que el cable, y que suficientes sus dos amarras buenas [ilegible]. Y preguntado que fue si en la marinería acaso se usa observar alguna circunstancia con el práctico, que, si se usa, si se había observado con el práctico que venía, respondió y dijo que sí se usa entregarle el barco para que él, como práctico que tenía mando y sabido esto, hubiera andado como

había aprendido; y preguntado si se observó esto en el barco, respondió que sí, pero ya tarde. Y preguntado por la jarcia y velas, respondió que las dos gavias y el trinquete se perdieron, que por lo que toca a la jarcia de encapilladura está pendiendo del barco todavía; y preguntado que fue si según su inteligencia es componible el barco, respondió que no, que lo que es clavazón, pernería y cadenaje se puede escapar la más parte de ello; dijo también que, de las dos anclas, la una estaba vencida, que en Acapulco lo propuso, y no se remedió, aunque no faltó por ella sino por la amarra.

Y que es la verdad de lo que se sabe y se le ha preguntado, so cargo del juramento que fecho tiene; y leída que le fue esta su declaración, en ella se afirmó y ratificó, y dijo ser de treinta y ocho años, y por no saber firmar dijo que firmara por el declarante el guardián que venía en el barco, y lo firmé con el dicho guardián, y los de asistencia, con quienes actúo como dicho es, de que doy fe.

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada.

En la conformidad antedicha por el contramaestre Mauricio de Santa María firma:

Nicolás Ferramola.

Mariano Carrillo.

Antonio Baldado.

Notes

1. The Marqués de Cruillas was the forty-fourth viceroy of New Spain and held office from October 1760 to August 1766.

2. Santiago de los Coras was established in 1721 by Father Ignacio María Napoli. Approximately 135 kilometers south of La Paz, it was the site of the outbreak of the Pericúe rebellion in 1734. The mission itself was about 25 kilometers from the site of the wreck.

3. Francisco López was not a priest but a Jesuit brother, an aide to Father Lucas Ventura, the procurator.

4. *Puromo* in the text is *Purum* in the writings of Miguel del Barco. Apparently it is the modern Cabo Pulmo because this is where the mountains reach the sea, the meaning of *purum* according to Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica*, p. 332.

5. Santa Genoveva was the name given to one of the prominent peaks in the Victoria Mountains that lie between Santiago and Todos Santos. It may also have been a ranchería in close proximity to mission Santiago.

6. The port of Santiago may have been either at the Bahía de los Frailes or at La Ribera; its location is uncertain from the text.

7. The new ship was ordered built by Lucas Ventura, who hired Gaspar Molina, a Filipino shipwright of unproven skill, to build the replacement vessel at Loreto from hardwoods cut near Matanchel on the mainland and mesquite from San Juan Londó on the peninsula. The ship was launched August 1761 and christened the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*.

8. Realejo was the port in Nicaragua where the frigate *San José* had been built for the Californias. With a new crew it was taken to Acapulco and then Matanchel to take on cargo for the missions and presidio. It was on its maiden voyage across the gulf when violent winds drove it ashore at Puromo.

9. This description is consistent with the Bahía de los Frailes, which provides some protection from winds coming from these directions.

[Father Lucas Ventura on the Military Situation in the Peninsula, 1762](#)

This brief letter from Lucas Ventura summarizes the military situation in the southern peninsula and, indeed, in all of California only five years before the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain. No permanent settlement or fortification had yet been placed on the Pacific side of the peninsula—the combined result of finding neither a suitable anchorage nor a place with sufficient water, wood, and forage to sustain a garrison year-round. As Ventura relates, the priority for expansion had shifted to the northern part of the peninsula, and the goal of establishing a southern fortification lapsed. Explorations by Fathers Fernando Consag and Wenceslaus Linck had opened new routes to the north that would later be followed by the Alta California expeditionary forces (in 1769).¹

Your Excellency:

Upon the return of his majesty's ship from Acapulco, I received news of your excellency's orders. Had I known of them earlier, I would not have left here until such time as your excellency indicated. I am ready to obey them promptly as in all else that your excellency may ask of me. At the same time, the news arrived of the outbreak of war between our Catholic monarch and England.² Here, your excellency, there is neither a fort nor a castle; Loreto is an open beach. There are seventy military men, including a captain, lieutenant, and sergeant, and because the land is so vast, they are divided into several escorts. Their weapons are the musket, the sword, and the leather shield, while the uniform is a leather doublet with several layers of chamois—everything suitable for withstanding the Indians. There are sufficient horses, and also mules, for the ruggedness of the land, and the rough hills that are abundant here provide protection for the soldiers as soon as they withdraw.

Many heathens have come to the new mission, named San Francisco de Borja.³ It is located at the north of this peninsula, at 30 degrees latitude, between the Bay of Los Angeles and the opposite coast, or the South Sea. At the mission, there is a missionary with a permanent escort.⁴ He has already baptized 190 Indians since August, and more than 200 are receiving instruction in the divine mysteries so that they may be baptized later. There are also many people in these territories who are expected to be reduced to Christianity within a short while.

May our Lord God protect your excellency's important life and health for many years. Loreto of California.

Lucas Ventura JHS

From the Archivo General de la Nación, Californias 66, 3.

DOCUMENTO ORIGINAL

Excelentísimo señor:

Al regreso del barco de su majestad, que Dios guarde, de Acapulco, tuve noticia de los órdenes de vuestra excelencia que, a saberlo antes, no hubiera salido de aquí hasta el tiempo que vuestra excelencia señala; y quedo pronto a obedecerlos, como todos los que vuestra excelencia fuere servido intimarme. Al mismo tiempo llegó la noticia del rompimiento de guerra de nuestro católico monarca con la Inglaterra. Aquí, excelentísimo señor, no hay fortaleza ni castillo alguno, esto de Loreto es una playa rasa; los militares son sesenta, incluso capitán, teniente y sargento, y como la tierra es tan dilatada, están repartidos en varias escoltas; sus armas son escopeta, espada y adarga, el uniforme una cuera de varios haces de gamuza, propio todo para resistir a

indios; asaz de caballos y también de mulas, por la aspereza de la tierra, y por eso mismo, a poco se retiran tienen defensa en lo fragoso de los cerros, que son aquí en abundancia.

Han acudido muchos gentiles a la nueva misión llamada San Francisco de Borja, que está al norte de esta península, a los treinta grados de latitud, entre la Bahía de los Angeles, y la contracosta o Mar del Sur; está en ella con escolta de asiento un misionero, que ha bautizado ya ciento y noventa desde agosto, y quedaban en la instrucción de los divinos misterios para bautizarse después más de doscientos; hay también en aquellos territorios mucha gente que se espera esté reducida y cristiana dentro de poco tiempo.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde por muchos años la importante vida y salud de vuestra excelencia, Loreto de California.

Lucas Ventura IHS

Notes

1. Fernando Consag was born in Croatia in 1703 and arrived in Mexico in 1730 after his early training in the Society of Jesus. He worked as a missionary in California from 1732 until his death in 1759.

Wenceslaus Linck was born in Bohemia in 1736 and arrived in California in 1762. He died in exile in Oelmutz in 1790.

2. Great Britain had declared war on December 15, 1761. By June 1762 Admiral Sir George Pocock had sailed for the Caribbean to seize Havana. Brigadier General Sir William Draper took Manila in the Philippines, so it would appear that California was caught in a pincer of British naval forces.

3. San Francisco de Borja was founded in 1762 by Wenceslaus Linck at the site of the spring of Adac, previously explored by Father George Retz.

4. The missionary was the recently arrived Linck.

