

THE MISSIONS AND CAMINO REAL OF BAJA CALIFORNIA: A BINATIONAL VIEW

JULIA BENDÍMEZ PATTERSON, ANTONIO PORCAYO MICHELINI, AND LEE PANICH

From the end of the seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century, missionaries from the Jesuit, Franciscan, and Dominican orders founded numerous missions in Baja California. In this article we introduce readers in Alta California to these missions, which along with El Camino Real de las Californias, were the most important institutions used by the Spanish Crown to colonize the Pacific coast of North America.

THE SPANISH COLONIAL SYSTEM

The mission, the presidio, and the pueblo, all located along El Camino Real, were the three institutions used by the Spanish Crown to colonize the frontiers of New Spain in which the dominion of the Spanish Empire had not yet been consolidated. Of the three, the mission system was the most important and the others (particularly in Baja California) largely supported the objectives of the missions. In the mid-sixteenth century, Spain applied in its territories a policy called *reducción y congregación* (literally, reduction and congregation), the goal of which was to control the indigenous groups who lived in lands claimed by Spain. In Baja California, the region's native inhabitants spoke many languages, including (from south to north) Pericú, Guaycura, Monqui, Cochimí, Kiliwa, Paipai, Cucapá, and Kumeyaay (Figure 1). These societies traditionally practiced a seasonally-mobile hunting and gathering lifestyle focused on small tribelets, whereas the missionaries used the policy of *reducción y congregación* to create larger communities based on agricultural subsistence. This was achieved through the conversion of non-Christian native people who then formed a reliable workforce, contributed to the economic self-sufficiency of the missions, and continued the expansion of the Spanish empire (Figure 2; Table 1, p. 140-141) (For more information on the Baja California missions, see Aschmann 1959; Burckhalter

About the Authors

Julia Bendímez Patterson is the Director of the National Institute for Anthropology and History in Baja California (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia en Baja California, INAH). She is a graduate in Anthropology and has worked on a master's degree in Archaeology at San Diego State University, California. For more than 20 years she was a researcher at the Institute of Social Investigations and taught at the School of Sciences and Education, both at the Autonomous University of Baja California (UABC). She has published numerous articles on archaeology and ethnographic studies focused on the northern half of the peninsula of Baja California in a series of UABC journals and publications such as the *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* and the *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly*.

Antonio Porcayo Michelini received a degree in Archaeology from the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (ENAH) in Mexico City. Since 2004, he has been a research archaeologist for the Baja California Center of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). His interests include desert prehistory and geomorphology, mission-related archaeology and human adaptations to the diverse natural environments of the Baja California peninsula. Currently he is working on an archaeological project with the San Diego State University in the Coronado Islands in the Pacific coast and is part of the core group of INAH Baja California Center for the candidacy of the Camino Real of the Californias.

Lee Panich is an assistant professor of anthropology at Santa Clara University. From 2005-2008, he conducted archaeological

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2013; Crosby 1994; Engelhardt 1929; Meigs 1935; Nieser 1960; Vernon 2002; Wade 2008).

The Jesuits

The missions of the peninsula originated when Don José Sarmiento y Valladares, Viceroy of New Spain and Count of Moctezuma, granted leave to Jesuits Eusebio Francisco Kino and Juan María de Salvatierra to establish missions in California. Their charge was to take possession of the land on behalf of the king without requesting a single penny from the royal treasury.

On October 5, 1683, Father Kino discovered in the central part of the peninsula the mouth of a stream which he named San Bruno and where, the following year, rose the walls of a church, some rooms for indigenous habitation, a fortress with barracks, and a warehouse. Together, these structures formed California's first mission, called San Bruno. However, the absence of fertile soil for agriculture and difficulty moving supplies from Sinaloa led the military and other settlers to abandon the mission in 1685.

A decade later, Father Juan María Salvatierra asked permission to try the colonization of the mysterious peninsula again, and in 1696 the Audiencia of New Galicia gave its authorization. The Society of Jesus released Salvatierra from his position as rector of the College of Guadalajara, to be devoted to the founding of missions in California. On October 11, 1697, Salvatierra set sail on a schooner from the port of El Yaqui to the peninsula. He recognized the ruins of the mission of San Bruno and on October 18th he reached the inlet of San Dionisio, today Loreto. Finally, on the 25th of the same month the Mission and Royal Presidio of Our Lady of Loreto was officially founded, on a site called Conchó by the region's native Monqui people.



Figure 1. The indigenous language groups of Baja California at contact (after Laylander 1987).

The mission of Loreto has been known as “mother of the California missions” because it was the basis for the expansion of the mission system along the arid, rugged topography of the peninsula (Crosby 1994). By 1767, Jesuit missionaries had built approximately 21 sites, including both missions and *visitas* (outlying chapels occasionally visited by the padres). By that time, the Jesuits were accused of the accumulation of wealth, having excessive influence, possession of large estates, and the theft of labor from the natives, all of which put them in conflict with secular landowners and miners. These disagreements reached the ears of King Carlos III, who decreed the expulsion of the Jesuits from his overseas domains. On February 3, 1768, all of the peninsula’s 16 Jesuit missionaries departed from Loreto to return to Europe (Crosby 1994:382-385).

The Franciscans

In 1767, the Spanish Crown invited the Franciscans to take over the former Jesuit missions in Baja California. They accepted the charge, and 18 missionaries under the direction of Father Junípero Serra traveled to the peninsula. The expedition was intended, in addition to occupying the existing Jesuit missions, to continue north to what is today the United States. This was a strategy to counter the occupation of land by the Russians, who were establishing themselves in the North Pacific, particularly in Alaska. After walking through deserts, mountains, and valleys, Serra founded the first Franciscan establishment of the peninsula in 1769 (Hackel 2013:155-158). The Mission of San Fernando Velicatá served as a supply base and support for the Alta California missions (Sauer and Meigs 1927). That same year, Serra established Mission San Diego de Alcalá some 350 km to the north.

The Dominicans

In 1772, four years after the arrival of the Franciscans, missionaries of the Dominican Order arrived at the port of Loreto. They were led by Fray Vicente Mora, and came to continue the work of evangelization in the lands ceded by the Jesuits and Franciscans. Above all, they filled



Figure 2. The missions of Baja California (after Crosby 1994).

the vacuum that existed between the mission of San Diego de Alcalá in the north and San Fernando Velicatá in the south, simultaneously attending to the former Jesuit missions on the peninsula, which by that time were sparsely populated. In 1773, the first boundary line was established, which delimited the territory into two: the Franciscans remained in Alta California and the Dominicans in Baja California.

New Dominican missions were founded up to the early years of Mexican independence, although the ensuing centers of population did not necessarily prosper (Meigs 1935). By 1834 there were only three Dominican missionaries in the region: Father Felix Caballero, in the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte; Father Tomás Mansilla, in Santo Tomás de Aquino; and Father Gabriel Gonzalez in the mission of Santa Rosa de Todos Santos.

In the north of the peninsula, the Kumeyaay rebel leader Jatñil precipitated the abandonment of the fledgling mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, in 1840. Father Caballero left for San Ignacio, where he died the same year. Father Mansilla left his post at Mission Santo Tomás in the mid-nineteenth century. Father Gabriel Gonzalez was the last president of the Dominican Order in Baja California, from 1840 until 1855, when the jurisdiction of the missions was given to Father Escalante, appointed vicar general of Baja California by the Archdiocese of Mexico, which ended the Dominican period of 82 years on the peninsula (Nieser 1960).

EL CAMINO REAL DE LAS CALIFORNIAS

El Camino Real, which connected all the missions in Baja California, was in places a wide road through the rocky desert terrain and in others, only a small, barely visible footpath (Figure 3 and 4). This route covered a long itinerary filled with fledgling religious establishments and settlements of natives who were engaged in hunting, gathering and fishing, and who did not always willingly accept the message of European missionaries. The history of El Camino Real began with the establishment of the mission of Our Lady of Loreto Conchó, founded in 1697; from there, the original Camino Real continued south to the region of Los Cabos, and north along the peninsula.

The need for the Jesuits to identify trails emerged as soon as they established their first mission, in 1697, and began traveling to evangelize neighboring native communities. The first written reference to the construction of El Camino Real dates from 1698. In 1699 the road was extended west through the Sierra La Giganta to establish the mission of San Francisco Javier Viggé-Biaundó.

About the Authors, continued

and ethnohistorical investigations focused on the native inhabitants of the Dominican mission of Santa Catalina in Baja California, Mexico. Since then, he has worked with researchers from the Baja California Center of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia to understand indigenous exchange networks involving obsidian and ceramic artifacts. His current research also includes investigations of indigenous life during the colonial period in the greater San Francisco Bay area.



Julia Bendímez Patterson



Antonio Porcayo Michelini



Lee Panich



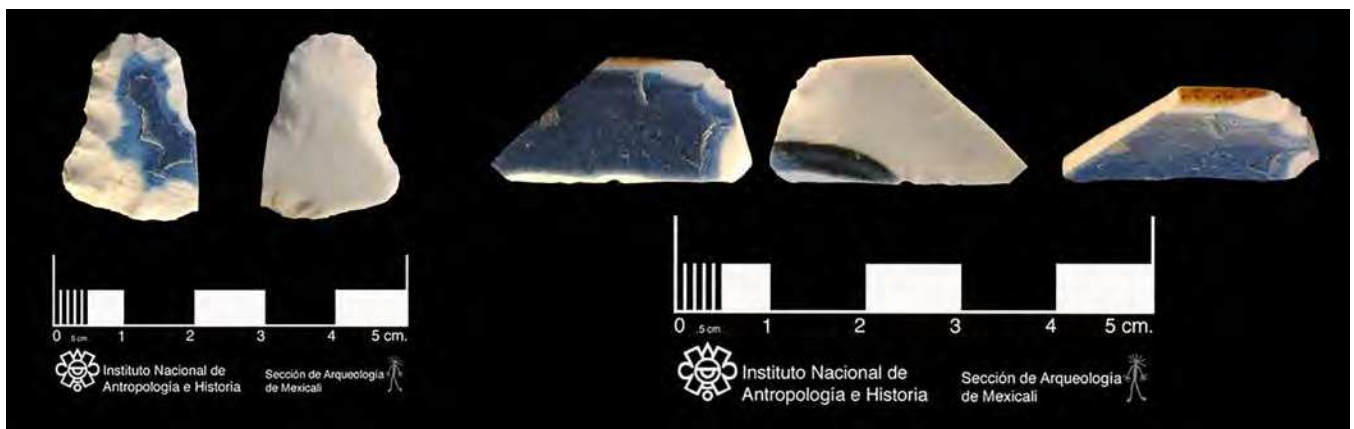
Figures 3 & 4. Sections of El Camino Real near Mission San Borja. Photo by Genaro Gerardo Gaxiola.

According to Crosby (1977), an existing trail used by native people was the basis for the new road. From there the El Camino Real was extended with the founding of each mission, north and south. By the time of the Jesuits' expulsion in 1768, El Camino Real reached the mission of Santa María de Los Ángeles. In later years, it was extended along the most favorable routes from Santa María to San Diego de Alcalá and points north, eventually reaching present-day Sonoma County, California.

According to Father Juan Jacob Baegert, it was Father Salvatierra who conceived the idea of opening a path to the interior of the peninsula (Baegert 2013:149; see also Baegert 1952). The road was indispensable to the expectation of future missionary growth and Jesuit preparations to penetrate further inland and establish more missions, but it is also worth considering that the transportation of vital goods by sea posed many dangers and obstacles. The Baja California missions developed parallel to those in Sonora, and it was thought that El Camino Real would facilitate future communication by land between the Sonoran missions and those the Jesuits planned to establish in Baja California (Baegert 2013:150).

Baegert mentions that many vital supplies were arriving from the mainland. Among them were "... many loads of corn and dry beans, many horses and mules, butter and frequently meat" (Baegert 2013:156). Other foreign products that moved along El Camino Real were buckles, belts, shoes, socks, hats, habits, albs, chasubles, choir capes, linen, ribbons, combs, snuff, sugar, blankets, soap, wax, chocolate, bells, religious paintings and carvings, altars for churches, and so on (Baegert 2013:157, 163, 190). Besides the movement of these goods, El Camino Real allowed for a rapid military response against indigenous groups in case of any uprising, given that the distances between the missions were great "... leaving the missionary fathers and their escort without relief" (Del Barco 1988:345).

Figure 5. Chinese porcelain fragments from Mission Calamajué. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.



Archaeological research offers testimony to this story. At Mission Calamajué (Porcayo 2015a), for example, remnants of Chinese porcelains attest to the circulation of goods along El Camino Real (Figure 5). These may have been goods distributed to the missions after “... the Philippine ship left something in San Jose del Cabo” (Baegert 2013:217). At Mission San Fernando Velicatá—perhaps the most important mission during that time—various items transported along El Camino Real have been noted. These include fragments of ceramics from Mexico City and Puebla (Rojas and Porcayo 2015), as well as metal objects, including Franciscan crosses dedicated to the Immaculate Conception (Figure 6) (Porcayo 2015c), medals (Figure 7) and rings (Figure 8). Even at the most remote missions, such as Mission Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir, the remains of Mexican, British, and Chinese ceramics have been documented archaeologically (Panich 2010:80).

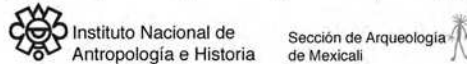
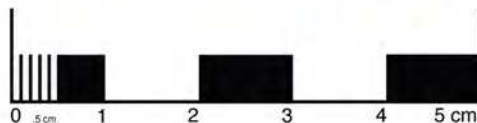
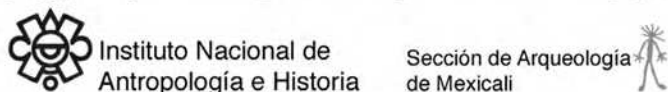
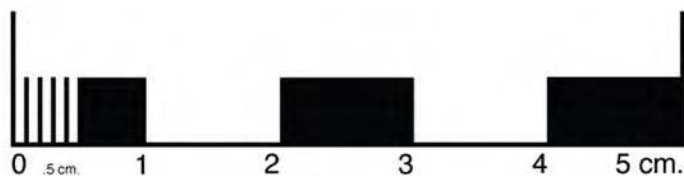
With regard to the northern part of the Camino Real, Crosby (1977) indicates that the old colonial roads have eroded over time due to the region’s soft sedimentary soils and more abundant rainfall. For this reason, the southern extent of El Camino Real, which passed over



Figure 6 (above). Bifacial bronze cross of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, recovered in July 2016 at San Fernando Velicatá. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.

Figure 7 (below, left). Bifacial bronze medal of San Miguel Archangel and the souls of purgatory, recovered in July 2016 at San Fernando Velicatá. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.

Figure 8 (below, right). Copper ring likely representing the three Franciscan vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, recovered in July 2016 at San Fernando Velicatá. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.



mountains and plateaus, is today much better preserved than the portion north of the mission of Santa María de Los Ángeles.

Relation of El Camino Real to Native Trails

The desert landscape that characterizes Baja California has a common denominator: ancient and historic Indian trails radiating to the horizon in all directions. Could there be a relationship between these indigenous trails and El Camino Real? While many observers indicate that the early colonial routes followed existing Indian trails, Baegert illuminates how the Spanish viewed El Camino Real on the peninsula. He states that "... the main roads had been made to make them comfortable and passable (Baegert 2013:31). As Crosby (1977:12) explains,

"The Jesuit proclivity for selecting direct routes and constructing straight roads has been noted along with some of the factors which curbed their desires. However, they were not easily detoured. These religious taskmasters were not loathe to expend the labor of their soldiers and Indians in removing sizable obstacles. This distinguishes Jesuit roads from nearly all subsequent work in the Baja California uplands. When open country was available, Jesuit trails were layed out as if by transit. Their remarkable straightness exceeds that of the best work by subsequent ranchers, miners, etc. "

From the above discussion, we can deduce El Camino Real represented new construction spurred by distinct needs (although, like the missions themselves, the roads were constructed with native labor). Rather than simply the movement of the human body and what an individual could carry (as in prehistoric times), the missionaries moved horses, mules, and all of the previously mentioned supplies. It was difficult to move such cargoes on indigenous trails in a manner that was "comfortable and passable." However, the missionary use of native trails did occur in certain times and places due to extreme need or lack of reasonable alternatives.

For Baja California's central desert, archaeological evidence also reveals another story: that the indigenous world continued to have independent routes, which both intersected and paralleled the mission system. Some items moved from the missions to autonomous villages while people themselves moved far from their homelands, either willingly or involuntarily, to distant mission establishments.

At the archaeological site known as El Espinazo del Indio, located north of the present town of Cataviña, archaeological research in 2011 revealed a mission-style monochrome earthenware vessel in an otherwise "prehistoric" context (Porcayo 2012, 2014)(Figure 9 and 10). X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis demonstrated that the vessel



was made at Mission San Fernando Velicatá (Panich and Porcayo 2014), indicating that native people moved this vessel far from El Camino Real to their own village. A similar mission-style bowl was recently found in the Sierra de San Andrés, bordering the Pacific in the southern part of the state (Figure 11). Donated to the Baja California INAH Center by two Americans, its presence in such a remote location (roughly 50 kilometers from the closest mission, San Borja) again confirms that introduced objects circulated along indigenous routes during the mission period (Porcayo 2016).

Figure 9 (above, left). Mission-era vessel in situ at Espinazo del Indio. Photo by Antonio Porcayo Michelini.

Figure 10 (above, right). Restored mission-era bowl from Espinazo del Indio. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.

During the archaeological work at El Espinazo del Indio (Porcayo 2012), fragments of a Yuman pipe documented for the first time contact between the more northerly Yuman groups and the Central Desert's native Cochimí. This link was reaffirmed recently

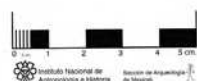


Figure 11. Restored mission-era bowl from la Sierra de San Andrés. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.

during the Proyecto Prehistoria de Baja California: Fase San Fernando Velicatá. There, an almost complete Yuman pipe (Figure 12) was recovered in a mortuary context (Rojas et al. 2016). This suggests that the individual, who was buried among Cochimís, was likely of Yuman descent – possibly Kiliwa or even Paipai or Kumeyaay. Because the remains are currently under study (Martin Rojas Chavez, personal communication, July 2016), all we know so far about this individual was that she or he died at Mission San Fernando Velicatá, perhaps after having walked these indigenous and missionary paths, carrying a Yuman-style ceramic pipe that accompanied her or him until death.



IMPACTS TO INDIGENOUS GROUPS

Missionary work that spread across the peninsula via El Camino Real brought several religious and military clashes with indigenous groups in Baja California. But, without a doubt, the most serious impacts were the epidemics that decimated the peninsula’s indigenous populations. Genetically vulnerable to the destructive effects of foreign pathogens that arrived with the Jesuits, some of the most devastating epidemics among native groups occurred in 1742, 1744, and 1748. Writing of those years, Miguel Del Barco mentions that “So many were killed in these three plagues that there was not even one sixth of the people the Pericú nation had before” (Del Barco 1988:243).

Similarly, Baegert mentions that: “... a Spaniard who had just recovered from smallpox gave a piece of cloth to a Californian, and this rag cost, in a small mission and in just three months of the year 1763, more than 100 Indians ... No one would have escaped the contagion, if the core of them, recognizing the contagion, had not put their feet to the ground, moving away from the hospital to a sufficient distance” (Baegert 2013:104).

Archaeologically, one of the most dramatic cases of these epidemics is the one that has been documented at Mission San Fernando Velicatá with the excavations that have been conducted there since 2013 by

Figure 12. Yuman-style ceramic pipe from San Fernando Velicatá. Photo by Isidro Madueño González/CINAHBC.



the National Museum of Anthropology and the Baja California INAH Center (Rojas and Porcayo 2015: 139-140). Here, several individuals were encountered in a mass grave that probably corresponds to the epidemics of 1781 (Magaña 2013: 308-320). The bones of these individuals attest to the imprint of the Spanish arrival and missionary efforts that culminated in their death by disease, and likely also by forced labor to which the indigenous converts were subjected to build the monumental work of missionary infrastructure, in this case Dominican (Rojas and Porcayo 2015) (Figure 13).

Figure 13. The remains of the adobe Dominican mission at the site of San Fernando Velicatá. Photo by Antonio Porcayo Michelini.

In the central part of the Gulf of California coast between the bays of Calamajué and San Luis Gonzaga, new archaeological research is clearly demonstrating the devastation of the Spanish arrival perhaps as in no other part of the Peninsula. Recent work carried out by the Baja California INAH Center (Porcayo 2015b) has focused on Missions Calamajué (Figure 14) and Santa María de los Ángeles (Figure 15), the penultimate and last Jesuit missions, respectively. In this region, prehistoric archaeological evidence dating to before the arrival of missionaries is numerous, diverse, extensive, and ends at precisely the moment when the indigenous population was concentrated in these two missions. However, the missions are located in very arid lands and lacked the means to support large sedentary populations



Figure 14 (above), remains of Mission Calamajué. Photo by Antonio Porcayo Michelini.

Figure 15 (below), Remains of Mission Santa María de los Ángeles. Photo by Isidro Madueño González.



via agriculture and stockraising, and these vain attempts led to complete population collapse in the area. The surviving Indians were relocated first to San Fernando Velicatá, and then further north (see discussion below).

As archaeologists we could now ask, what was the overall impact of missionization on the peninsula? Objectively speaking, most of the southern half of the current state of Baja California (and all of Baja California Sur) is now totally depopulated of Native Californians, although there are a handful of people with native genetic traces among the few remaining ranchers. There was a time before European arrival when the traditional life of this area was vigorous and vibrant, successful and completely adapted over millennia to their deserts. These native lifeways ended in forced labor in the construction of the mission complex, epidemics, and displacement of populations increasingly north. All that remains in these areas is a desert landscape full of material reminders of the wealth and richness of native history and culture. With the careful recovery and study of these remains, the archaeological record stands as a testament to those who called these regions of the peninsula home. Further north, due to fortuitous historical contingencies, the Yuman groups (Kiliwa, Paipai, Cucapá, and Kumeyaay) have persisted to this day, allowing us to link the archaeological evidence of the northern peninsula with these living cultures.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ALTA CALIFORNIA

Baja California has long been referred to as “The Mother of California” (North 1908). The historical and cultural connections between the two regions are profound. Here, we examine one aspect of this special relationship that was made possible by El Camino Real, namely the south-to-north migration of colonists and indigenous people from the Baja California peninsula to Alta California.

Early Colonial Settlers

The first permanent colonists to enter Alta California did so in 1769, arriving both by land and by sea. Those who came by land departed from Mission San Fernando Velicatá following parts of what would become El Camino Real. These groups included Franciscan missionaries Junípero Serra and Juan Crespi, numerous soldiers, and a large contingent of native Cochimi people. Two later expeditions brought several hundred more individuals to Alta California from mainland Mexico, specifically from Sonora and Sinaloa (Mason 1998). The first involved a group of 240 settlers who

traveled overland from Sonora to Alta California, arriving in January 1776. The expedition was led by Juan Bautista de Anza, and followed a route he had previously scouted with Father Francisco Garcés and Cochimí Indian Sebastián Taraval (Beebe and Senkewicz 2001:193). The second was led by Fernando Rivera y Moncada—who had a long history of military service, exploration, and leadership in Baja California and later in Alta California. He brought civilian families and colonial soldiers from Sinaloa to Alta California in 1781. Yet the Yuma Uprising of that same year effectively closed the overland route between New Spain and California, and led to the deaths of Rivera and Garcés. Thus, those individuals who arrived prior to 1781 formed the nucleus of the Alta California colony. Included in that count are the members of the original expeditions from Baja California in 1769 as well as the members of the Anza and Rivera parties from Sinaloa and Sonora.

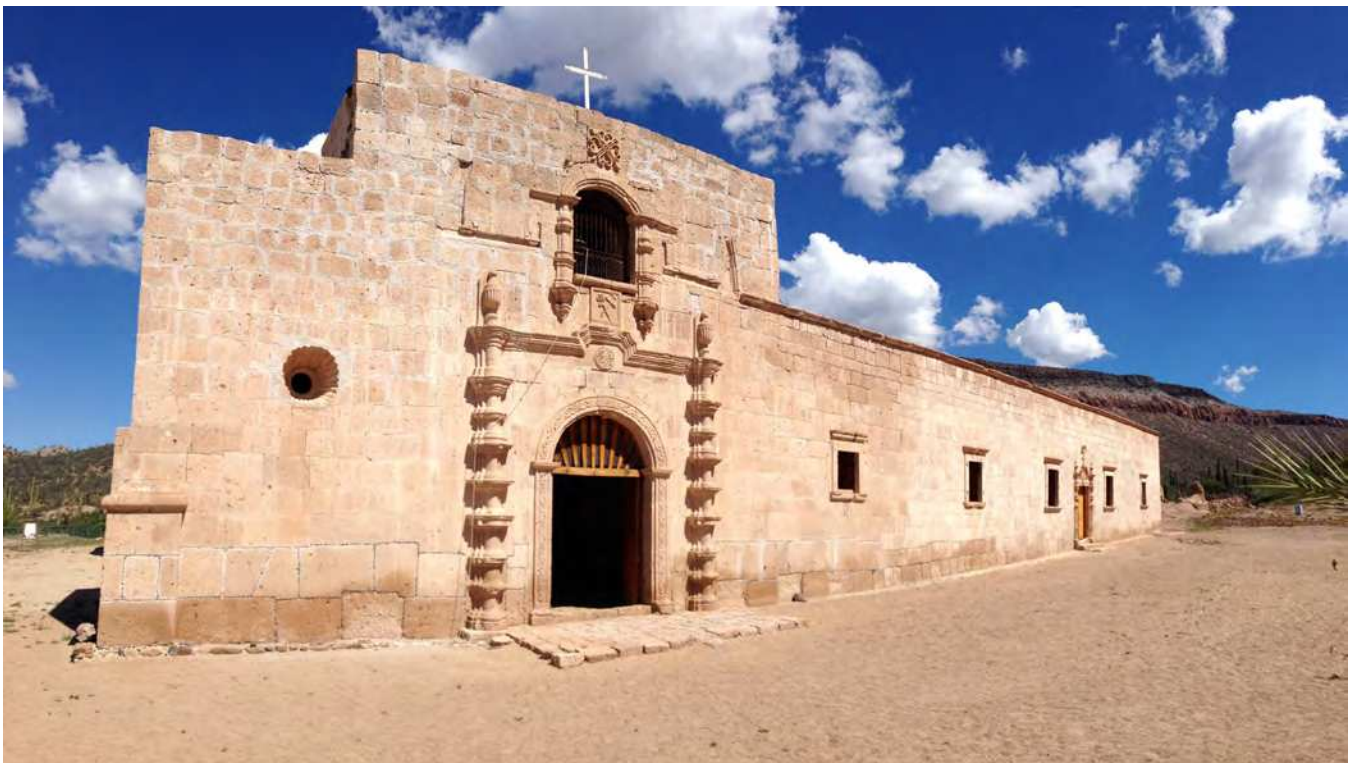
Historian William Mason (1998) has investigated the colonial census of 1790 with regard to the demographic patterns of the *gente de razón* in Alta California at that time (the census generally did not enumerate native people). He speculates that fewer than 300 new individuals came to Alta California between 1790 and 1820 (Mason 1998:44), suggesting that those settlers already in the province by 1790 had a significant influence over its eventual development. With that in mind, it is interesting to note the geographic origins of colonial settlers who came to Alta California. Mason (1998:65) provides a tabulation of the origin or birth place of the adult individuals listed in the 1790 Alta California census by geographic region: of 395 individuals with origins listed, the majority relate to the Rivera and Anza expeditions: 189 were from Sinaloa and 64 were from Sonora, underscoring the influence of mainland Mexico on Alta California. Baja California, however, provided the third most individuals with 57. Interestingly, most of those individuals from Baja California were from the southern region of the peninsula, including Loreto and towns in the Cape Region (San Antonio, Santa Ana, and San José del Cabo).

After the Yuma Uprising of 1781, the primary means of reaching Alta California was by sea and by following El Camino Real north from Baja California. For much of the Spanish period in Alta California, then, the immigration of *gente de razón* was limited primarily to soldiers serving along the Dominican frontier who transferred to the San Diego Presidio Company (Mason 1998: 42-43). The Camino Real facilitated movement of people, goods, and ideas throughout both regions, but it appears that much of the *gente de razón* who originated in Baja California stayed in southern California, close to what would eventually become the international border.

Cochimí Participation in the Colonization of Alta California

While the 1790 census offers a snapshot of individuals and families who moved north from Baja California, it largely excludes indigenous people and others living at the Franciscan missions. Among indigenous people who moved northward with the Franciscans to open Alta California to Spanish colonialism are the 60 or so Cochimí who accompanied the expeditions of 1769 (Lacson 2009:14-17). These individuals hailed largely from the Central Desert missions of San Borja (Figure 16), San Ignacio, Santa María and La Purísima Concepción. In 1773, another group of Cochimí, including families and young men, made the trek north from Mission Santa Gertrudis to Alta California to bolster the agricultural program in the region's young mission system (Lacson 2009:28; Street 1996). Thus the early Alta California colony included a sizable population of Cochimí from the central peninsula. The Cochimí from that area had lived in the Jesuit missions and knew what it would take to establish new missions in Alta California, with several serving as interpreters during the initial forays northward. Although many deserted the Franciscans after bouts of starvation and violence during their journey, the Cochimí literally helped to blaze the path of El Camino Real north from San Fernando Velicatá (Street 1996). Those who continued on to Alta California aided in the founding of several of the early missions there, including the missions of San Diego, San Carlos Borromeo, and San Gabriel (Lacson 2009:124; Street 1996).

Figure 16. Mission San Borja. Photo by Lee Panich.



In Autumn of 1769, roughly 15 Cochimí traveled with Gaspar de Portolá to reconnoiter the port of Monterey. During that trip, the party also ventured northward and is credited with being the first group of Europeans to discover San Francisco Bay. Of course, their party was not entirely of Euroamerican descent, as it included a relatively large contingent of Cochimí men (Milliken et al. 2009:89). Seven years later, in 1776, the Spanish formally colonized the San Francisco Bay region with the establishment of the Mission and Presidio of San Francisco. Among the group of 75 individuals who came north from Monterey were 13 Indian servants, most of whom were from Baja California (Milliken et al. 2009:95)

Alta California Sacramental Registers

To obtain more detailed information about what became of these Cochimí and other native individuals who traveled El Camino Real northward to Alta California, Panich (2015) conducted a preliminary search for individuals from Baja California who appear in the sacramental registers from missions in Alta California. This research was conducted using the Early California Population Project Database hosted by the Huntington Library (Huntington Library 2006). A total of 173 individuals from Baja California were identified in the Alta California sacramental registers dating from 1772 to 1850.

Considering the ethnicity of those individuals from Baja California who made the long trek to Alta California, 110 were recorded as *Indios* or other terms denoting indigenous people, 30 were listed as *gente de razón*, and another 33 did not include direct information regarding their ethnicity. We can also look at the geographical distribution of the migrants. Forty are listed simply as coming from Baja California or Antigua California, but others list distinct missions or other locations. In looking at the origin and/or baptismal mission for those individuals appearing in the Alta California sacramental registers, two main regions of Baja California stand out: the central desert missions such as San Borja, San Ignacio, and San Fernando, as well as missions on the Dominican Frontier such as Santo Tomás and San Miguel. In contrast to the census of 1790, very few individuals listed in the mission sacramental registers are from the southern peninsula.

In examining the geographic distribution of where individuals from Baja California were noted in Alta California sacramental registers, it is clear that many stayed in southern California, particularly in regions around San Diego and Los Angeles. Yet there is a notable presence in the north as well. There were roughly 25 marriages recorded in the greater San Francisco Bay region that were between local indigenous people and Indians who came north from Baja

California. These types of marriages often took place soon after the founding of particular missions: of the first eleven weddings recorded at Mission Santa Clara, for example, the grooms in three cases were Indians from Baja California (Huntington 2006; Milliken et al. 2009).

In terms of indigenous people from Baja California, it appears that they enjoyed a relatively high status in the Alta California missions. Many have occupations indicating that they worked closely with the Franciscans in the management of the missions (Milliken 1995:93-94). One notable Baja California Indian who came to Alta California was Raymundo Morante who lived at Mission San Francisco de Asís. He is well known for leading punitive expeditions against rebellious Indians from the San Francisco Bay area in the late 1790s (Milliken et al. 2009:104). Another man listed as an Indian from the Baja California mission of San Ignacio even married a woman listed as *gente de razón*, which is an extremely rare form of inter-ethnic union for Alta California (San Gabriel marriage # 606). The groom was living at Mission San Gabriel, while the bride was from a *vecino* family in the Pueblo of Los Angeles.

In addition to the individuals listed in sacramental registers for baptism, marriage, or death, there are records for nearly 400 baptisms in which people from Baja California served as godparents in the Alta California missions. Because serving as a godparent implies certain kinds of social relationships, these records are especially important for understanding which Alta California missions had influential populations of Indians from Baja California. Instances of Baja California Indians serving as godparents were most common in the southern missions, including 25 at Mission San Diego and an astounding 231 at Mission San Gabriel. However, Mission San Carlos on the central coast of Alta California did have 55 such records, possibly reflecting the importance of the Cochimí Indians who accompanied the Franciscans during their early expeditions northward. Little information is available regarding the specific origins of the Baja Californian godparents, but Mission San Borja has by far the highest representation with 75 such ceremonies, all at Mission San Gabriel.

CONCLUSION

People living in Alta California often have a fairly limited view of the history of Spanish colonization of our region. For too many, the historic period begins in 1769 with the arrival of the Franciscans, and

is conceived of as an interaction between “Europeans” and “Indians.” The historical and archaeological investigation of El Camino Real de las Californias, spurred by the quest for a nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage list, will require us to take a broader perspective. Prior to the founding of Mission San Diego, the intercultural exchanges and conflicts of the colonial period had already been unfolding for more than seven decades in Baja California. The famous 21 missions of Alta California were in fact contemporaneous with and connected to more than two dozen additional missions to the south, all linked by El Camino Real. Further, the early colonial settlers of Alta California had markedly diverse backgrounds, including people with mixed European and Native American ancestry. Among them were many individuals and families from mainland Mexico, as well as numerous soldiers, Indians, and others who came to Alta California from Baja California. By adopting a broader view on the colonial history of the Californias, one that takes into account the enduring connections with New Spain, Baja California, and with the myriad indigenous groups impacted by colonization—who in many cases have persisted to the present day—we can more fully understand our region’s deep and complex history.

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Table 1. Missions and *visitas* of the Baja California Peninsula.

MISSION NAME	ORDER	PERIOD	LATITUDE	LONGITUDE
<i>Misión de San Bruno</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1683-1685	26°13.071'	111°22.724'
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora de Loreto Conchó</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1697-1829	26°00.641'	110°20.592'
<i>Misión de San Francisco Javier Viggé-Biaundó</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1699-1817	25°51.663'	111°32.627'
<i>Visita de San Juan Baustista Londó</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1699-1750	26°13.501'	111°28.405'
<i>Misión de San Juan Bautista Ligüi</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1705-1721	25°44.334'	111°15.874'
<i>Misión de Santa Rosalia de Mulegé</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1705-1828	26°53.227'	111°59.170'
<i>Misión de San José de Comondú</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1708-1827	26°03.618'	111°49.315'
<i>Misión de La Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1720-1822	26°11.426'	112°04.377'
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora del Pilar de La Paz Airapí</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1720-1748	24°09.703'	110°18.782'
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Huasinapí</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1720-1795	26°55.086'	112°24.393'
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Norte Apaté</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1721-1741	25°03.343'	110°53.055'
<i>Misión de Santiago Añiñí</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1724-1795	23°28.516'	109°43.066'
<i>Misión de San Ignacio de Kadakaamán</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1728-1840	27°17.023'	112°53.905'
<i>Misión de San José del Cabo Añuití</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1730-1840	23°02.947'	109°41.538'
<i>Misión de Santa Rosa de las Palmas (Todos Santos)</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1733-1825	23°27.621'	110°13.115'
<i>Misión de San Luis Gonzaga Chiriyauquí</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1737-1768	24°54.158'	111°17.429'
<i>Visita de San Pablo</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1740-1780	27°48.50'	113°15.10'
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Sur Chillá</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1741-1768	24°53.280'	111°01.878'
<i>Misión de Santa Gertrudis La Magna</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1751-1822	28°03.085'	113°05.083'
<i>Misión de San Francisco de Borja Adac</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1762-1818	28°45.104'	113°45.552'
<i>Misión de Calamajué</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1766-1767	29°25.255'	114°11.698'
<i>Misión de Santa María de los Ángeles Kabujakaamang</i>	<i>Jesuit</i>	1767-1769	29°43.888'	114°32.821'
<i>Visita de La Presentación</i>	<i>Franciscan</i>	1769-1817	23°43.956'	111°32.575'

Table 1, continued.

<i>Misión de San Fernando Velicatá</i>	<i>Franciscan</i>	1769-1818	29°58.319′	115°14.180′
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Viñadacó</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1774-1832	30°04.010′	115°43.098′
<i>Misión de Santo Domingo de la Frontera</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1775-1839	30°46.249′	115°56.204′
<i>Misión de San Vicente Ferrer</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1780-1833	31°19.375′	116°15.547′
<i>Misión de San Miguel Arcángel de la Frontera</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1787-1833	32°05.679′	116°51.314′
<i>Misión de Santo Tomas de Aquino III</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1791-1849	31°33.513′	116°24.817′
<i>Misión de San Pedro Mártir de Verona</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1794-1824	30°47.35′	115°27.45′
<i>Visita de San Telmo</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1796-1839	30°58.10′	116°05.35′
<i>Visita de San Telmo de Abajo</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1796-1839	30°58.15′	116°09.20′
<i>Misión de Santa Catalina Virgen y Mártir</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1797-1840	31°39.483′	115°49.752′
<i>Misión de El Descanso</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1817-1834	32°12.20′	116°54.323′
<i>Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Norte</i>	<i>Dominican</i>	1834-1840	32°05.445′	116°34.571′