

Baja California Indians in the Spanish Maritime Service, 1720-1821

BY W. MICHAEL MATHES

The general concept of Baja California Indians, Cochimí, Guaycura and Pericú, presented by eighteenth century Jesuit, Franciscan and Dominican missionaries has been one of marginal, indolent and inept peoples requiring extensive instruction to become adapted to Western civilization.¹ While this may have been true in part, as well as a means employed by missionaries to justify their presence on the peninsula and the retention of their charges as neophytes, it has, nevertheless persisted to the present.

These ethnological concepts notwithstanding, the aboriginal peoples of Baja California, unlike their contemporaries of the Atlantic, Gulf of Mexico and southern Pacific coasts of North America, were skilled in dealing with the sea. The aboriginal construction and use of rafts (*balsas*) among the coastal Indians of Baja California was universal and well noted by observers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.² These balsas were constructed from three, five or seven bundles, up to two meters in length, of reed-grass (*carrizo*) or logs of *corcho* (*Erythrina flabelliformis*) or other trees, depending upon the availability of materials. Joined by cords or wooden pegs, the bundles or logs were tapered from the center to the sides to form a type of prow; propulsion was by means of single or double bladed wooden paddles or by hand paddling.³

With these primitive craft, the Cochimí, Guaycura, and particularly the Pericú of Cabo San Lucas, La Paz and Islas Cerralvo, Espíritu Santo and San José demonstrated remarkable dexterity in fishing and in hunting sea turtle. Carrying from one to four persons, balsas were used for communications between the peninsular coast and gulf islands by the Cochimí and Pericú, by the former between the Pacific coast and Isla de Cedros, and by the Guaycura across Bahía Magdalena to Isla Margarita. While there

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was no apparent aboriginal maritime contact between the peninsula and Sonora and Sinaloa, coastal transit was commonplace, with early observers reporting seaborne travel over thirty kilometers distant from land.⁴ Notwithstanding other deprecatory statements regarding Baja California natives, these skills of navigation were subsequently recognized by the Jesuits who, after over a century and a half of attempted secular settlement on the peninsula, succeeded in establishing a permanent mission under Juan María de Salvatierra at Nuestra Señora de Loreto-Conchó in 1697.

The isolation of Baja California, its arid climate and harsh topography had resisted permanent settlement, however the establishment of Jesuit missions in the agriculturally productive river valleys of Sinaloa and Sonora provided an excellent source for supply and avenue of communication for the new California missions. Following patterns set by Fernando Cortés in 1535 and Isidro de Atondo y Antillón in 1683-1685, the Jesuits in Baja California initiated seaborne supply and communications between Loreto and the mainland coast on a regular basis in 1698, utilizing small brigantines and longboats. Although trans-gulf voyages were dangerous due to weather and the poor condition of the vessels, they proved to be the mainstay of the missions throughout their history.⁵

In January 1701, Salvatierra, acting as visitor of the Jesuit missions of northwestern New Spain, founded San José de la Laguna de Guaymas in Sonora as a supply station for the California missions. Nevertheless, the older missions of the lower Río Yaqui, with their large herds and ample fields, Santa Bárbara de Huírivis, San Miguel de Belén, La Asunción de Nuestra Señora de Rahún, San Ignacio de Tórin and Santísima Trinidad de Pótam, and that of La Exaltación de la Santa Cruz del Río Mayo, were the more usual sources of supply, with Santa Bárbara de Huírivis at the mouth of the Río Yaqui maintaining several warehouses and granaries for storage of provisions for California, as well as anchorage facilities for ships out of Loreto.⁶ In that supply from the Sonora coast was destined not only to the California missions but also to the Real Presidio of Loreto, crews of the ships, often soldiers, were in the employ of the latter as well as the Jesuit Province of California. It is most probable that an occasional neo-

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phyte formed a part of these crews, however no specific mention was made to this effect and, in fact, little mention of the nature of supply-ship crews appeared in early documentation.

The lack of adequate maintenance and poor navigational skills of the crews caused continuous failures of trans-gulf vessels and, due to the high losses in this regard, as well as the high costs of new ships, in 1720 Father Juan de Ugarte determined to construct a brigantine in California. Employing Indian loggers and carpenters in Arroyo San José de Magdalena, *giéribó* (*Populus brandegeei*) was cut and hewn, and on 14 September 1720 the first ship built in the Californias, *El Triunfo de la Cruz*, was launched. While primarily intended for routine supply voyages, *El Triunfo de la Cruz* was assigned in 1721 to explore the gulf coasts of the peninsula and Sonora as far north as the mouth of the Río Colorado in search of better routes between the two coasts. Commanded by Father Juan de Ugarte and an English pilot, Guillermo Strafford, the brigantine sailed from Loreto on 5 May with a crew of four Spaniards and thirteen Baja California Indians. Accompanying the ship was the longboat *Santa Bárbara* crewed by five Baja California Indians, one Yaqui and two Filipinos and, while no details were given in regard to the service of the seamen, the success of the expedition, which returned to Loreto on 15 October, indicated that the Indians served competently, probably as a result of prior maritime experience. Shortly following her return to Loreto, on 1 November, with Fathers Juan de Ugarte and Jaime Bravo and crewed by neophytes from Loreto, *El Triunfo de la Cruz* sailed to La Paz for the founding of that mission.⁷

While maritime service by neophytes was apparently irregular and informal between 1697 and 1767, the continual transit between Loreto and the Sonora-Sinaloa coast during that period indicates that it was necessary and commonplace. Certainly the shipyard at Loreto employed neophytes for repairing as well as the construction of the longboats *Concepción* and *Lauretana*.⁸ In the main, however, Jesuit policy in California resisted civil settlement and interference, thus preventing extensive employment of Indians in the few secular agricultural, livestock raising, pearl fishing and mining enterprises there, and it was not until the expulsion of the Jesuits in January 1768 that Indian employment in the naval service was formalized.

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Following the expulsion of the Jesuits and their replacement by Franciscans in March 1768, Visitor General José de Gálvez, as a part of his plan for the occupation of Alta California, established the Naval Department of San Blas on the coast of Nayarit on 16 May. The department, under Commissary Francisco Hijosa, was empowered with the control of all maritime activity in relation to the Californias including recruitment, payment of salaries, ship construction and repair, mail and supply. Thus, the remaining ex-Jesuit ships *Concepción*, *Lauretana*, *Guadalupana*, *San Francisco Xavier*, *Pilar* and *Rosario* were incorporated into the San Blas fleet, the first being used to carry the Gálvez family to Ensenada de Cerralvo on 12 May. To oversee activities in California, Gálvez followed twelve days later, however, bad weather delayed his arrival at Cerralvo until 5 July.⁹

During his sojourn in Baja California, Gálvez conferred with Fray Junípero Serra, president of the Franciscan missions, and Gaspar de Portolá, captain of the overland expedition planned to Alta California. The Californias were to be explored, occupied and supplied as far to the north as possible, with San Blas playing a major role in this expansion. While no specific provisions were made for the employment of Baja California Indians in this enterprise, as a part of the crew of the *San Carlos* under Vicente Vila, Juan José Carpio and Juan Antonio Carpio, Indian cowboys from Loreto, sailed for Monterey in 1769, and some eight to twelve Baja California Indians, primarily Cochimí, were incorporated into the Portolá overland expedition to San Diego to serve as drovers, cowboys and overseers in the Alta California missions.¹⁰ Also in that year, Matías Félix, a Cochimí, was appointed master (*arráez*) of the longboat *Guadalupana*, newly commissioned for mission supply.¹¹

Although administratively subject to the Department of San Blas, the Loreto naval service generally functioned independently, particularly in relation to recruitment. Rank and salaries, established by Gálvez in 1768, were uniform in the two departments without regard to caste. The highest rank out of Loreto was that of boatswain (*contramaestre*) with a salary of 300 pesos per year, followed by boatswain's mate (*guardián*) at 216 pesos, *arráez* at 120 pesos and seaman (*marinero*) at 96 pesos.¹² To provide continuous recruitment in the Loreto service the Colegio

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de Marina was established in that port and was attached to the presidial complement. Thus, recruitment of mariners was carried out by presidio commandants, and maritime personnel were incorporated into the muster of the presidio, however, neophyte enlistees also remained as charges of the mission and were included in the annual census as a part of its population.¹³ Furthermore, although enlistments were formal, pay and retirement was disbursed from the presidial allotment, and maintenance was provided by the crown, neophytes in the naval service could, at any time, petition and receive a release from service to return to mission life, and were considered temporarily detached from their mission on enlistment.¹⁴ Annual salaries were raised in 1772 to 350 pesos, 280 pesos, 200 pesos, 120 pesos and 60 pesos for guardian, master (*patrón*), carpenter and caulker (*carpintero, calafate*), marinero and cabinboy (*paje*) respectively. However, these were adjusted by Royal Order of 26 March 1774 to 336, 240, 144 and 60 pesos.¹⁵

Baja California Indians enlisted in the naval service were principally employed in the transportation of mail and supplies between Sinaloa and Sonora and Loreto, between Loreto and Mulegé, La Paz and San José del Cabo, and in the carrying of salt from the pans of Isla del Carmen to Loreto, however, when a shortage of seamen occurred at San Blas, they were transferred to that port. During the Franciscan administration of the missions from 1768 to 1773, such use of neophytes in maritime service was opposed, and in June 1770, Father President Fray Francisco Palóu formally requested Governor Matías de Armona to restrict service to voyages related solely to mission supply and communications.¹⁶ This request had little impact however, and in the census of Loreto taken by Palóu on 19 May 1773, preparatory to the transfer of the peninsular missions, the following neophytes, all Cochimí, were listed as in the naval service: Damián and Baltasar Careaga from San José de Comondú, Estanislao Montes from San Francisco Javier, Francisco Javier from Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, Plácido, Lucas, Timoteo, Benito, Ignacio and Cosme from San Ignacio, Benno, Alonso, Salvador and Pablo from Santa Gertrudis, Diego, Basilio, Policarpo, Simón, Tadeo, Ignacio, Nicomedo and Juan Nepomuceno from San Francisco Borja; and the Guaycura Sigismundo Lascano from La Purísima Concepción

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de Cadegomó.¹⁷ With the arrival of the Dominicans a similar census was taken by Father President Fray Vicente de Mora on 1 August 1774, indicating a decrease in the number of neophyte seamen to sixteen through the deletion of Estanislao Montes, Sigismundo Lascano, Plácido, Lucas, Timoteo, Cosme, Pablo, Nicomedeo and Juan Nepomuceno, and the addition of Juan Ignacio Marín and Faustino Vega from the Pericú mission of Santiago.¹⁸ Such a decrease was probably due to the removal of some neophytes to Alta California by the Franciscans as had been reported by Palóu to Governor Felipe Barri on 19 July 1773.¹⁹

This decline in numbers of seamen was but temporary, and maritime service continued to attract neophytes. Furthermore, with increased activity of the Naval Department of San Blas in exploration of the Pacific northwest after 1774, the demand for personnel in coastal navigation increased substantially. In 1775, in response to pressure from the Dominicans, Governor Felipe de Neve ordered Commissary Francisco Hijosa to return Baja California Indian sailors serving in San Blas to Loreto. On 20 June Hijosa replied that some Indians were being returned forthwith, but that others could not be returned because they were badly needed by the maritime commandant, Lieutenant Ignacio de Arteaga.²⁰ While no specific mention was made in contemporary documentation, it is quite possible that some Baja California Indians may have served aboard the *Santiago* and *Sonora* under Bruno Hezeta and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra on their voyage from San Blas to Nootka Sound in 1775, as well as on the subsequent voyage of the *Princesa* and *Favorita* under Arteaga and Bodega to southern Alaska in 1779.

Since complaints to Neve were of little effect, on 20 February 1777 Mora wrote directly to Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa. The communique opened with an attack on Neve by stating that housing for Indian sailors in Loreto was substandard in that the governor required the sailors to construct their own homes without building and maintenance allowances. Furthermore, Mora continued, the norm was to employ as many neophytes as possible in the maritime service and during their enlistment they were mistreated and unjustly punished, citing the case of Matías Félix who, on 29 June 1776, was placed in irons for sixteen days due to delays in the arrival of the mail and supply

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boat from Todos Santos to Loreto, and of the arbitrary reduction of Indians serving with the rank of *arráez* to that of *marinero*. Finally, neophytes taken from domestic service at Santiago and Santa Rosalía de Mulegé for a specific voyage had not been returned to their missions as promised and very frequently Indians were recruited prior to the harvest season, thus reducing the subsistence production level at the missions.²¹ Despite the forcefulness of these complaints, they were not acted upon and, in fact, maritime service by neophytes increased to the extent that their relationship to the missions virtually ceased. To a great degree enlistment accomplished more efficiently the function of the mission, Hispanization of the Indian culturally and linguistically.

Following the governmental division of the Californias in 1777, activities of the Naval Department of San Blas were increasingly directed toward supply and communications in Alta California, with Monterey as the principal destination, and only occasional service to Loreto. Spanish involvement in the American Revolution and the subsequent declaration of open warfare upon England in 1780 further drew upon the resources of San Blas, thus creating a need for greater self-sufficiency of the maritime service at Loreto, making it virtually independent and at the same time highly reliant upon the recruitment of Indian personnel. This status remained throughout the final four decades of Spanish domination in the Californias as a result of later involvement in the settlement of Nootka from 1788 to 1795, the Napoleonic Wars from 1795 to 1815, and the Wars of Independence in New Spain from 1810 to 1821.²²

Regulations and salaries at Loreto remained subject to those applied to San Blas, and vessels in the trans-gulf service were subject to requisition by the Naval Department which also retained ultimate responsibility for their major repairs or replacement.²³ In 1781 salaries were set at 360, 144 and 60 pesos for the ranks of *patrón*, *marinero* and *paje*, respectively.²⁴ These were made subject to special wartime taxation of one peso applied to Spaniards and Indians alike under a Royal Order of 17 August 1780 which was received by presidial Commandant Joaquín Cañete in Loreto on 1 January 1782.²⁵ Salaries were subsequently reduced by the regulations decreed by Viceroy Manuel Antonio

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Flores on 12 October 1798 to 240, 192 and 120 pesos for patrón, arráez and marinero, although the rations allowance of the armed fleet was to be provided in addition to regular pay.²⁶ These salaries remained in force until 1821; however, due to financial exigencies, they were often not paid and many Loreto mariners accrued large credits in the account ledgers of the presidio, amounts which were never paid in most cases.²⁷

The irregularity of pay notwithstanding, maritime service provided independence, prestige and social mobility to Indians of Baja California and thus attracted large numbers of recruits. Prior to 1791 the naval complement at the Real Presidio of Loreto fluctuated between seventeen and twenty-five men, despite the expansion from two to three crews by order of Commandant General of the Provincias Internas Teodoro de Croix on 22 April 1782.²⁸ After 1791 the complements ran from twenty-five to thirty men until the beginning of the Wars of Independence in 1810 when they were again reduced, often to as few as fourteen men. Of these complements eighty to eighty-five percent were Indian seamen, caulkers and carpenters, varying in age from seventeen to forty years, who generally enlisted for one year and, while the post of patrón was occupied by a Spaniard,²⁹ the remaining positions were held by Spaniards, Mestizos and Indians without caste distinction. Although desertions were occasional and dismissals to return to mission life, to rejoin families and for poor health or incompetence were frequent throughout the period, some individuals served for many years and established a family tradition of maritime service.

Between 1781 and 1821 Yaqui, Cochimí and Guaycura continuously appeared on the maritime service muster rolls at the Real Presidio of Loreto. Among the former, the missions of Huírivis, Pótam, Tórin and Bamoa are represented, as are the names Guadalupe Asacamea, Ignacio Achumea, José Ignacio Auguise, Gabriel Justo Ayala, José Ignacio Ceabacot, Irivi, José de Luna, Diego Piute, Juan Taumea, José Antonio Tegueco and José Antonio Reyes as short term enlistees. Longer service among Yaqui was reflected in the records of Juan Ignacio Achemea (1799-1804), Juan Bacotmea (1785-1789), Luis Cocmea (1787-1795), Tomás Contreras (1789-1790), José Faustino Guainamota (1798-1801), Hernando Sevismea (1791-1800) and Francisco

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Siamea (1795-1800), with family service by Juan Pedro Alvarez of Pótam (1783) and Guadalupe Alvarez (1814-1820), Ignacio Alamea (1791-1803), Pedro Alamea (1807-1814) and Andrés Alamea (1816-1820), and Julián Usacamea (1799-1804) and José María Usacamea (1800).³⁰

Although extensive, Yaqui enlistees were far exceeded in numbers and length of service by Cochimí. By year of enlistment the following Baja California Indians were incorporated into the muster at the Real Presidio of Loreto: Josef Bernardo (1781-1782), Francisco Borja (1781), Ignacio Borjino (1781), Borja Candelaria (1781-1787), Andrés Careaga (1781-1800), Juan Carpio (1781-1783), Luis Carpio (1781), Miguel Cisneros (1781), Tomás Cortés (1781-1808), Juan Francisco (1781), Juan Ignacio Hipólito (1781-1785), José Ignacio Mosén (1781-1800), Josef Manuel Orozco (1781-1784), Antonio Vallarta (1781), Ignacio María Vallarta (1781-1787), Matías Covarrubias (1782-1784), Rafael Cisneros (1782), Cornelio Salesio Guaycuro (1784-1789), Marcos Morán (1787-1790), José Ignacio Careaga (1788-1799), José María Romero (1788-1790), Agustín Flaco (1791), Cayetano Flores (1791), José Guiro (1791-1795), Juan Luis Iligüí (1791), Manuel Matatrés (1791), José de la Luz Orozco (1791-1800), Salvador Aguacero (1795-1800), Ignacio Alipaz (1795), José Ignacio Cienfuegos (1795), José María Cumichí (1795-1820), Marcos Cumichí (1795), Diego Guiro (1795), José Antonio Morán (1795), José Norberto Villamil (1795), José Loreto Sara (1798), Juan Pablo Policán (1799-1800), Ambrosio Garabato (enlisted 1 April, deserted 5 July 1800), Raimundo Mena (1800), Juan Rubio (1800-1814), Francisco Gregorio (1803-1810), Lucas José (1803-1804), José Manuel Morán (1803-1810), Baltasar Yubay (1803), José María Orozco (1805-1814), Juan Pedro Carpio (1806-1822), Vicente Fernandino (1807)³¹, José María Rubio (1808), Diego Cumichí (1809), Juan Tomás Cortés (1809-1810), Joaquín Rubio (1810), Euleterio Cortés (1813-1820), Ignacio Cumichí (1813-1820), Juan Careaga (1813-1820), Miguel Pajuncio (1813), Romualdo Mulegino (1816) and Simón Mulegino (1815-1820). Of these seamen, only Cornelio Salesio Guaycuro was clearly not Cochimí.³²

Longevity of service and family maritime tradition was noteworthy among the Cochimí. While the majority of enlistees served

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as mariners, Matías Félix, Tomás Cortés, Rafael Cisneros and Juan Rubio achieved the rank of *arráez*, with Juan Francisco, Andrés Careaga, Tomás Cortés and Antonio Vallarta elevated to that of *guardián*.³³ Service of five years or more was completed by Salvador Aguacero (5), Borja Candelaria (6), Ignacio María Vallarta (6), Francisco Gregorio (7), and José Ignacio Mosén, the latter's nineteen years equalled or exceeded only by Andrés Careaga with nineteen years and Tomás Cortés with twenty-seven years of service.³⁴ Family tradition or attraction to service was notable in the case of the Guiro (2), Mulegino (2), Orozco (2 with 9 years service by each), Morán (3; 1 with 7 years service), Rubio (3; 1 with 14 years service), Carpio (5; 1 with 16 years service) and the particularly unique case of the Cumichí, José María (15 years), Marcos (1 year), Diego (1 year), Ignacio (7 years) and Gerónimo who entered the service on the *Goleta Nacional Matamoros* in 1827.³⁵

While the number of Baja California Indians employed in the maritime service was an insignificant percentage of the some 7,100 to 3,300 neophytes in the peninsular missions between 1769 and 1800, acculturation brought about by maritime service accomplished the goals of the mission system in a relatively short time. Theoretically, the mission was to Christianize and Hispanicize the Indian neophytes within ten years, however, in practice, generation after generation of Baja California Indians remained neophytes protected from realistic contact with the secular world by their ministers and subject to decimation by epidemics resulting from confinement, increasing civil settlement and promiscuity. Free from the restrictive regimentation and patronage of mission life, the mariner became a part of the independent, salaried labor force of New Spain. Contact with the secular world gave him a realistic view of life and its problems; the necessity of working for a living, providing for one's sustenance and clothing as well as that of one's family, and the adversities arising from conflict with the law and civil authority, encounters with other persons of different cultural background, and the prevailing caste system. Travel outside of the immediate locale of the mission to other regions of the peninsula as well as to the mainland of New Spain brought the mariners into contact with persons of diverse cultures, Yaqui, Mestizo, Mulato, Filipino, Spanish and other Baja

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California Indians, not only expanding their geographical "world concept", but also necessitating their adaptation to a more universal culture with Spanish as the common language. While opposed by mission superiors, secular service by neophytes was evidently even a determining factor for advancement within the mission system as reflected by the selection of Baja California Indians for positions of responsibility in expansion to Alta California.³⁶

Although many mariners retained indigenous family names, the majority, upon baptism, adopted an Hispanic name, generally that of their Godfather who was often a soldier stationed at the mission. As a result of this practice several family branches were established, one Spanish and the others Indian, which, with the passage of one generation usually caused the adjective "indio" to be removed from the individual's name in official documentation, thus making him "español" by caste.³⁷ Certain Hispanic names adopted by Indian families predominated at specific missions as follows: Nuestra Señora de Loreto: Careaga, Carpio, Cisneros, Covarrubias, Morán, Orozco, Vallarta, Villamil; San Francisco Javier Viggé: Cortés, Morán; San José de Comondú: Careaga, Rubio, Villamil; Santa Rosalía de Mulegé: Cisneros; La Purísima Concepción de Cadegomó: Cienfuegos; Todos Santos: Orozco; San Luis Gonzaga: Salesio; Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Huasinapí: Careaga, Romero; Santa Gertrudis: Cisneros, Yubay; San Francisco Borja: Borjino, Mena; and, San Fernando Velicatá: Fernandino Garabato.³⁸

This total Hispanization brought about through maritime service and its subsequent transmittal to other family members and friends prepared many Baja California Indians for integration into national society following the secularization of missions in the nineteenth century. Thus, while admittedly few in number, Baja California Indians tended to "disappear" as Indians and become identified with the Mestizo population of the peninsula. Furthermore, the success of the service clearly dispells the myth of the ineptitude of the indigenous peoples of Baja California and places them on a level with the Tlaxcalteca allies of the sixteenth and New Mexican Pueblo auxiliaries of the eighteenth centuries.

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NOTES

¹ Juan Jacobo Baegert, *Noticias de la Península Americana de California* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, 1942); Miguel del Barco, *Historia Natural y Crónica de la Antigua California*. Miguel León-Portilla, ed. (México: UNAM, 1973); Francisco Xavier Clavijero, *Historia de la Antigua o Baja California* (México: Porrúa Hnos., 1970); Miguel Venegas, *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual*, W. Michael Mathes, Vivian C. Fisher, E. Moisés Coronado, eds. (La Paz: UABCS, 1979-80).

² Baegert, *Noticias*, pp. 74-75; Barco, *Historia*, pp. 69-70; Edward Cooke, *A Voyage to the South Sea and Round the World* (London: B. Lintot and R. Gosling, 1712), I, 316; W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Californiana I: Documentos para la historia de la demarcación comercial de California, 1583-1632* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1965), I, 270, 295, 319; II, 1182; W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Californiana II: Documentos para la historia de la explotación comercial de California, 1611-1679* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1970), I, 258, 272-74, 417-21, 438, 448-49; II, 826-28; Woodes Rogers, *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (London: Bernard Lintot, 1726), p. 317; George Shelvoche, *A Voyage Round the World by Way of the Great South Sea* (London: J. Senex, 1726), pp. 405, 410.

³ Barco, *Historia*, pp. 69-70; *Californiana I*, I, 270; Cooke, *Voyage I*, 316; Rogers, *Cruising*, p. 317; Shelvoche, *Voyage*, pp. 405, 410; *Californiana II*, I, 258; Homer Aschmann, *The Central Desert of Baja California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 71-72.

⁴ Baegert, *Noticias*, pp. 74-75; Barco, *Historia*, pp. 69-70; *Californiana II*, I, 417-21, 438, 448, 449; II, 826-28.

⁵ W. Michael Mathes, ed., *Californiana III: Documentos para la historia de la transformación colonizadora de California, 1679-1686* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1974); W. Michael Mathes, ed., *The Conquistador in California, 1535* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1973); Peter Masten Dunne, *Black Robes in Lower California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 5, 43, 56-57, 73-81, 83-100, 128.

⁶ Dunne, *Black Robes*, pp. 73-81, 107-08; Paul M. Roca, *Paths of the Padres through Sonora* (Tucson: Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1967), pp. 309, 312, 315-18, 322, 342. To maintain the flow of supplies to California, missionaries were detached from service there for temporary service in the Sonora missions. Juan de Ugarte (December 1702), Francisco María Piccolo (1704) and Juan Manuel de Basaldua (1709-1714) served at Cuaymas which was abandoned in 1714 to be restored between 1751 and 1760; Basaldua (1717) and Ignacio María Nápoli (1736) served at Rahún.

⁷ Biblioteca Nacional, México. Archivo Franciscano, 3/48.4, 3/50.1, 4/53.1; Roberto Ramos, ed., *Tres Documentos Sobre el Descubrimiento y Exploración de Baja California por Francisco María Piccolo, Juan de Ugarte y Guillermo Stratford* (México: Jus, 1958), pp. 20-21; Dunne, *Black Robes*, pp. 171-76, 182, 207-18, 255.

⁸ Dunne, *Black Robes*, pp. 367-70. Between 1697 and 1767 twenty ships were employed in the trans-gulf supply, six at royal expense and fourteen at the expense of the missions.

⁹ Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas de Nayarit* (México: Secretaría de Marina, 1968), II; Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1967), pp. 54-55, 68.

¹⁰ Archivo General de la Nación, México. (AGN) Californias 76. José Francisco Ortega a Matías Armona, Loreto, 10-X-1770; Thomas Workman Temple, "Three Early California Letters," *Historical Society of Southern California Annual Publication*, XV (1933), 56-64; AGN, Californias 66. Bernardo Rubio, José Carlos Rubio, Pedro Cortés, Juan Antonio Rubio, Diego Guainamota, José Manuel Orozco from Loreto, José Bona and Bernardo de Alcántara from Santa Gertrudis, and José María Borjinó, Esteban María Bucareli, Antonio María Lisboa, Everardo

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Mendoza, Jorge María Mendoza and Nicolás María Torres from San Borja accompanied the Portolá expedition. Rudecinda Lo Buglio, Bartolomé T. Sepúlveda, Nadine Marcía Vásquez. "Lista de los individuos que sirvieron (*sic*) en los nuevos establecimientos," *Antepasados II* (1977), I, 5-17.

¹¹ Archivo Histórico de Baja California Sur Pablo L. Martínez, La Paz. (AHPLM). legajo 9, aspecto económico documento 21. Recibo, Loreto, 2-VII-1769.

¹² AGN Californias 76. Gaspar de Portolá al Virrey Carlos Francisco de Croix, Loreto, 3-II-1768; AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 8, Orden de José de Gálvez, 30-IV-1769.

¹³ AGN Misiones 12. Inventario de las Misiones de Baja California, 1773.

¹⁴ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 62; legajo 4, aspecto político documento 308; legajo 5, aspecto político documento 479; legajo 6, aspecto político documento 539; legajo 7, aspecto político documento 651.

¹⁵ Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas*, I, 55; II.

¹⁶ Francisco Palóu, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, Herbert E. Bolton, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926), I, 101.

¹⁷ AGN Misiones 12. Inventario de las Misiones de Baja California, 1773.

¹⁸ AGN Provincias Internas 166. Inventario de las Misiones de Baja California, 1774.

¹⁹ AGN Californias 66. Distribution was as follows: From San Borja, Esteban María Bucareli and Clara María Brígida, Joseph María Zeballos and Simphorosa María, Nicolás María Torres and Gertrudis María, Joseph María Borjino and Gertrudis María and son Esteban to San Gabriel; Antonio María Lisboa and María Salomé, Everardo María Mendoza and María Antonia, José María Mendoza and Petra María, orphans Joseph, Saturnino, Gaspar, Fabián to San Luis Obispo; From Santa Gertrudis, Bernardo de Alcántara and Loreta, Joseph Bona and Rosa, Pablo Ojeda and Rosa, orphans Agustín Jiménez and Juan Jiménez to San Luis Obispo; From San José de Comondú, orphans Pedro and Raymundo and from San Ignacio, orphans Cosme, María, Plácido to San Gabriel.

²⁰ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 20.

²¹ AGN Californias 36, expediente 5.

²² Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas*, I, 99-240.

²³ *Ibid.*, II.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 107.

²⁵ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 67.

²⁶ AHPLM, legajo 2, aspecto político documento 180. Pedro Fagés a Joaquín Arrillaga, Monterey, 6-III-1790; AGN Californias 6, expediente 7. Sueldos, Loreto, 1-III-1795.

²⁷ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 62; legajo 6, aspecto político documento 479; legajo 6, aspecto político documentos 501, 539; legajo 7, aspecto político documento 651.

²⁸ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 71. Extracto de Revista, 1-V-1782.

²⁹ Diego Pérez served as patrón until 1807 when he was retired from duty. AHPLM, legajo 6, aspecto político documento 501. Sueldos, Loreto, 31-XII-1807. His daughter, Eulalia Pérez de Guillén, reputedly born between 1735 and 1739 at Loreto, removed to San Diego with her husband Miguel Antonio Guillén; in 1814 her last daughter was born at San Gabriel; she died at San Gabriel in 1878. Her incredible longevity is the subject of an uncritical article: Nelly Ván de Griff Sánchez, ed., "Keeper of the Keys," *Touring Topics* (January, 1929), 24-27, 52-53.

³⁰ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documentos 83, 95; legajo 2, aspecto político documentos 102, 158, 169, 176, 187, 189; legajo 3, aspecto político documento 261; legajo 4, aspecto político documentos 353, 391, 392; legajo 5, aspecto político documentos 404, 405, 416, 430, 433, 439; legajo 6, aspecto político documentos 501, 533, 539, 594; legajo 7, aspecto político documentos 612, 651, 654,

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693, 720, 758. Extractos de Revista, Loreto, 1783, 1784, 1787-1791, 1795, 1798-1801, 1803, 1804, 1807, 1809, 1810, 1813, 1814, 1816, 1818-1820.

³¹ Vicente Fernandino was born in 1787; in 1802, while serving as a voluntary paje to Lieutenant José Pérez Fernández, he was severely flogged and placed in irons for asking to be returned to his mission; on 15 July 1807 he enlisted in the maritime service. Libro de Bautismos, San Fernando Velicatá, partida 1837. St. Albert's College, Oakland. AHPLM, legajo 12, aspecto religioso documento 54. Rafael Arviña a José Pérez, San Ignacio, 21-IX-1802. AHPLM, legajo 6, aspecto político documento 501.

³² AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documentos 49, 71, 83, 95; legajo 2, aspecto político documentos 102, 123, 149, 158, 166, 169, 176, 180, 187, 189; legajo 3, aspecto político documento 261; legajo 4, aspecto político documentos 391, 392, 399; legajo 5, aspecto político documentos 403, 405, 408, 426, 430, 432, 433, 438, 439, 456, 459, 464, 479, 485, 491; legajo 6, aspecto político documentos 501, 507, 519, 533, 537, 576, 594; legajo 7, aspecto político documentos 612, 651, 654, 673, 693, 720, 723, 758, 802. Extractos de Revista y Filiaciones, Loreto, 1781-1791, 1795, 1799-1801, 1803-1810, 1813, 1814, 1816-1820. AGN, Californias 61, 74. Revistas, Loreto, 1790, 1796, 1797.

³³ AHPLM, legajo 9, aspecto económico documento 21. Recibo, Loreto, 2-VII-1769. Legajo 1, aspecto político documentos 49, 71; legajo 2, aspecto político documento 169; legajo 6, aspecto político documento 533. Extractos de Revista, Loreto, 1781, 1782, 1788, 1809.

³⁴ AHPLM, legajo 1, aspecto político documento 49; legajo 6, aspecto político documento 533. Extractos de Revista, Loreto, 1781, 1809. Legajo 5, aspecto político documento 405. Extracto de Revista, Loreto, 1800.

³⁵ AHPLM, legajo 12, documento 2100. Hoja de Servicio, 11-XII-1827.

³⁶ Population estimates are from W. Michael Mathes, *Las Misiones de Baja California* (La Paz: Gobierno del Estado, 1977). For details on service in San Diego see: Bill Mason, "The Garrisons of San Diego Presidio: 1770-1794," *The Journal of San Diego History*, XXIV (Fall, 1978), 399-424. Salvador Carriaga, Indian from Loreto, appears on the muster roll as a soldier in 1790.

³⁷ Libros de Bautismos, Santa Rosalía de Mulegé (University of San Francisco), Santa Gertrudis (Museo Paralelo 28, Guerrero Negro, B.C.S.), San Francisco Borja (Archivo Episcopal, La Paz), San Fernando Velicatá (St. Albert's College, Oakland).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, AGN, Misiones 12. Inventario de las Misiones de Baja California, 1773. AGN, Provincias Internas 166. Inventario de las Misiones de Baja California, 1774.