

# Gaspar de Portolá: Disenchanted Conquistador of Spanish Upper California

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During the year 1969 Californians celebrated the bicentennial of the origin of their state's modern period—the birth of Spanish Upper California. Those familiar with that historic event know that delivery came only after a prolonged period of severe labor pains; for over two years the Spanish midwives of the colonizing expedition experienced extended voyages over unfriendly seas, lengthy marches over unfamiliar and difficult terrain, and agonizingly long vigils for overdue supply vessels. And through it all they had as their constant companions the twin scourges of hunger and disease. Credit for the enterprise's ultimate success despite such adversity has been generously distributed, and this is as it should be, for all of its participants displayed extraordinary courage and shared the common sacrifice. It generally is conceded, however, that a major factor in the preservation of Spain's precarious hold on Upper California during that crisis period was the capable and courageous leadership of the expedition's military-commander—Captain Gaspar de Portolá.

Recognition of Portolá's contribution as Upper California colonizer rests upon a broad and solid base. A grateful Spain promptly promoted him to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Historians invariably have lauded him both as a man and as a leader. Modern California has honored his name in a variety of ways. Portolá himself proudly noted his California achievements in subsequent service records and petitions to the crown.

When named commander of the Upper California colonizing expedition by Visitor-General José de Galvez in 1768, Portolá was a veteran of almost thirty-five years in the royal service. In the course of thirty years of European duty he had been wounded while campaigning in Italy during the War of the Austrian Succession, and he had also participated in Spain's abortive invasion of Portugal during the Seven Years War. He had come to New Spain as a captain in the Regiment of

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Dragoons of Spain in 1764, and since late 1767 had been in Lower California, where he had carried out the expulsion of the Jesuit Order and was serving as governor.<sup>1</sup> Following his return from Upper California, Portolá would serve the crown for an additional sixteen years, half of them as governor of Puebla. Portolá's Upper California duty was, therefore, but a brief episode in a distinguished fifty-year military career. Evidence indicates, however, that it very probably was the most distasteful period of his life.

Father Francisco Palóu tells us that Portolá volunteered to lead the Upper California expedition,<sup>2</sup> and this may well be true. Gálvez doubtless impressed the veteran soldier with the importance and urgency of saving the northern lands from the grasping Russian bear. Portolá, moreover, probably welcomed the new assignment. Difficulties inherent in such an undertaking could be anticipated, but, on the other hand, he would be free of both "this miserable peninsula," as he once called Lower California,<sup>3</sup> and of its governorship, an office he had found most onerous.<sup>4</sup> Time and circumstance, however, would reveal that Portolá had struck an extremely bad bargain, and by the time I have completed my account of his experiences as leader of the Upper California enterprise I feel that you will agree with my view that we are dealing with a most disenchanting *conquistador*.

Various difficulties both delayed the expedition's departure and disrupted Gálvez' original plans for coordination of its sea and land branches. Portolá, nonetheless, could not have foreseen the problems which lay before him when he departed from Loreto on March 9, 1769, and began the first leg of his long journey—to Mission Santa María, the northernmost of the peninsular chain, about 400 miles distant.<sup>5</sup> The trip was made with relative ease, for as he later wrote: "We were fortunate enough to be able to sleep under roofs and make the march with some comfort."<sup>6</sup> Portolá, however, was not as comfortable in mind as in body, for his conscience was troubled by expropriations of supplies he was forced to make at the missions visited en route. Displaying considerable contrition, he later commented that:

In consideration of the great deserts into which I was going, and of the Russian danger with which I foresaw we were going to contend, I was obliged to seize everything I saw as I passed through those poor missions, leaving them, to my regret, as scantily provided for as I knew the three southern ones had been left in consequence of the orders given by the visitor for dispatching the packetboats *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* to the port of Monterey.<sup>7</sup>

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On May 11 Portolá broke camp at Mission Santa María and began the 300 mile march to San Diego, and before long his concern for the Lower California missions was replaced by more immediate problems. Although he followed a trail recently blazed by the expedition's first land-party under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, the terrain was still unfamiliar and often difficult to traverse. Moreover, Portolá's food supply soon ran low and had to be supplemented by hunting and fishing, which often brought scant or no reward. Consequently, many Christian Indians in the party died and others deserted. Lack of water also caused frequent suffering among both men and animals.<sup>8</sup>

In late June, Portolá's ordeal ended, when, as he later wrote: "Overcoming these and other innumerable hardships, natural results of such unhappy fortunes, we arrived at the port of San Diego."<sup>9</sup>

Portolá doubtless anticipated that the worst part of his undertaking would be behind him when he reached San Diego, for it was, as he later observed, "the spot at which the expeditionaries by land and sea were to meet in accordance with the visitor-general's instructions to recount the great events which had happened to us and the discoveries incident to our journeys."<sup>10</sup> And had Gálvez' plans been on schedule, Portolá would have found the mission and presidio in San Diego well on their way to completion and preparations for founding the Monterey settlements already made.<sup>11</sup>

Portolá, however, suffered the first major discouragement of his Upper California experience when he viewed conditions in San Diego. The packetboats *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, which comprised the expedition's sea-branch, both had undergone prolonged voyages to the port, and by the time of their arrivals in April the crews, as well as the Catalan Volunteers carried by the *San Carlos*, were largely incapacitated by scurvy. Consequently, Captains Vicente Vila and Juan Pérez had been able to do no more than erect a crude settlement ashore, where Doctor Pedro Prat, the expedition's physician, could minister to the ill. After his arrival with his land-party on May 14, Captain Rivera y Moncada had moved the camp to a more desirable site but otherwise had confined his efforts to giving what aid he could to the stricken. Portolá, therefore, found neither mission nor presidio in San Diego but rather a general hospital filled to capacity and a cemetery already possessing thirty-four occupants. And the planned advance to Monterey Bay had, of course, been impossible.<sup>12</sup>

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Portolá resolutely resolved to make the best of a poor situation. The *San Antonio*, manned by a meager crew, promptly was dispatched southward to the port of San Blas with news of the expedition's plight and requests for additional seamen and supplies. Since the members of the land-parties were reasonably healthy, and available provisions adequate, if not abundant, for the trip, Portolá then made preparations for a march to Monterey Bay, the expedition's primary objective. An early departure was considered imperative, for winter snows in the mountains might soon cut off the route, and, as in the recent moon contest, time was of the essence if the race with the Russians to Monterey Bay was to be won.<sup>13</sup>

Leaving a few soldiers in San Diego to protect the Spaniards remaining in the land-settlement and on the *San Carlos*, Portolá began his journey to Monterey Bay on July 14.<sup>14</sup> His party was comprised of sixty-some men, or, as he later described them, "skeletons, who had been spared by scurvy, hunger and thirst."<sup>15</sup>

Portolá had no reason to believe that the location and identification of Monterey Bay would be particularly difficult tasks. He carried with him two written guides: Admiral José González Cabrera Bueno's *Navegación Especulativa y Práctica*, a navigator's handbook; and Miguel Venega's *Noticia de la California*, which contains Torquemada's account of Sebastián Vizcaíno's California voyage of 1602-1603. The party also possessed instruments with which to measure latitudes. Portolá planned to hug the coast as much as possible; this would permit him to take maximum advantage of the written guides and would also facilitate contact with the returning *San Antonio* or other possible supply ship arrivals.<sup>16</sup>

During the next few weeks, the Spaniards traveled slowly northward over unfamiliar and often hostile terrain, which frequently forced them to abandon the coast. Crossing the Santa Lucía Range was a particularly trying experience. They struggled, wrote Portolá, "against the greatest hardships and difficulties; for, aside from the fact that there was in all that ungracious country . . . no object to greet either the hand or the eye save rocks, brushwood, and rugged mountains . . . , we were also without food and did not know where we were."<sup>17</sup> On September 30, seventy-eight days after leaving San Diego, the Spaniards completed their descent of the Salinas Valley and encamped within earshot of the ocean. They were then confident that their long march was over, for all their calculations indicated that Monterey Bay lay before them.<sup>18</sup>

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The most incredible circumstance of the entire Upper California undertaking then transpired. "For," as Portolá later lamented, "although the signs whereby we were to recognize the port were the same as those set down by General Sebastián Vizcaíno in his log, the fact is that, without being able to give the reason, we were all under hallucination, and none dared assert openly that the port was indeed Monterey."<sup>19</sup>

Monterey Bay was, in fact, in full view of the Spaniards. Moreover, they recognized the Point of Pines, Point Año Nuevo, and other landmarks described by Vizcaíno and Cabrera Bueno. Yet, amazingly, they could not recognize the bay as such.<sup>20</sup> Many reasons have been put forth in efforts to explain the Spanish confusion. Most frequently, the somewhat exaggerated descriptions of the bay's excellence as a harbor by Vizcaíno and Cabrera Bueno have been cited. Hubert Howe Bancroft, however, probably hit closer to the truth when he wrote:

Monterey had been much talked and written about during the past century and a half in connection with the fables of the Northern Mystery, and . . . its importance as a harbor had been constantly growing in the minds of Spanish officials and missionaries. It was not the *piloto's* comparatively modest descriptions as much as the grand popular ideal which supported the expectations of the governor and his companions, and of which the reality fell so short.<sup>21</sup>

Regardless of its cause, the Spanish perplexity was a reality, and Portolá, on October 4, held a council of his officers to consider a future course of action. Several difficulties then confronted the expedition: eleven soldiers were suffering from scurvy, eight of whom were incapacitated; provisions were running low; and winter was approaching. It was unanimously decided, however, to continue northward in search of the elusive bay.<sup>22</sup>

After three days of rest, the Spaniards turned their backs on their objective and resumed their march. Progress was slow, for scurvy continued to spread among the soldiers, and several had to be carried on litters. Six were given the last rites at various times but fortunately none died.<sup>23</sup>

Spanish morale reached its lowest point on October 28. The party was then well above the reported latitude of Monterey Bay, but it was nowhere to be found. Its food supply was dangerously low, making rationing necessary. A form of diarrhea had afflicted all of its members, including Portolá. And heavy rains had begun to fall. The expedition's plight was such that Miguel Costansó, its cosmographer and engineer, feared it had reached its end.<sup>24</sup> Miraculously, however, those suffering

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from diarrhea and scurvy soon began to recover, and the party was able to continue.<sup>25</sup>

On October 30 the Spaniards reached a point from which they viewed and recognized Point Reyes, the Farallon Islands, and other landmarks of Sebastián Cermeño's Bay of San Francisco (present Drake's Bay). Three days later they made their historic discovery of present San Francisco Bay. After spending about a week exploring the Contra Costa region, the Spaniards realized that Monterey Bay had been bypassed. They therefore determined to return to the Point of Pines and make a more extensive search for that port.<sup>26</sup>

On November 28 the expedition encamped near the Carmel River, and shortly afterward Captain Rivera y Moncada led a party southward to seek the bay which lay just to the north. His efforts, of course, proved fruitless.<sup>27</sup>

Portolá, on December 7, convened another council of his officers to consider the expedition's plight. Proposals that all or a portion of the party remain in the area and await the arrival of a ship were rejected, since supplies were critically low and mountain snows might soon cut off all possibility of retreat.<sup>28</sup> "In this confusion and distress," Portolá subsequently reported, "not under compulsion from the Russians, but from keen hunger which was wearing us out, we decided to return to San Diego, for the purpose of regaining our strength by means of the provisions which we judged would soon arrive on the *San Antonio*."<sup>29</sup>

Delayed for three days by torrential rains, the Spaniards began their return to San Diego on December 10. With some minor modifications, they generally retraced the route which had brought them northward. Difficulties continued to be their lot: they suffered from cold in the Santa Lucias, were misguided and lost in the Santa Monica range by two elderly Indians, and several were again afflicted with diarrhea.<sup>30</sup> The most serious problem, however, was exhaustion of the meat supply during the latter part of the trip, a circumstance which compelled Portolá to resort to a measure so distasteful that he had reserved it as a desperate and last extremity. He later described it most graphically:

In order that we might not die meanwhile [he wrote], I ordered that at the end of each day's march, one of the weakest of the old mules which carried our baggage and ourselves, should be killed. The flesh we roasted or half-fried in a fire made in a hole in the ground. The mule being thus prepared without a grain of salt or other seasoning—for we had none—we shut our eyes and fell to on that scally mule (what misery!) like hungry lions. We ate twelve in as many days, obtaining from them perforce all our sustenance, all our appetite, all our delectation.<sup>31</sup>

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"Smelling frightfully of mules," in Portolá's words, the unhappy Spaniards reached San Diego on January 24, 1770.<sup>32</sup> One bit of good news greeted their arrival: Father Junípero Serra had formally founded Mission San Diego de Alcalá on July 16, 1769, which thus marks the generally recognized birthdate of Spanish Upper California. It was overshadowed, however, by the gloom of all other reports: on August 15 the Indians had attacked the Spanish settlement, killing Father Serra's boy servant and wounding Father Juan Vizcaíno and several soldiers; the scurvy had continued to take its toll, leaving only about twenty survivors to welcome Portolá's return; and, most critically, no supply vessel had reached the port.<sup>33</sup>

Portolá, under the circumstances, certainly would have been justified in abandoning the entire enterprise and returning southward, for the more than eighty men under his command were then confronted with the distinct possibility of starvation. The conscientious veteran was reluctant to concede failure, however. He therefore formulated a plan which might still bring success and, at the same time, minimize the chances of disaster.

An inventory revealed that the food supply would last approximately three months. On February 12 Captain Rivera y Moncada with twenty-five men departed for Lower California, thus lessening the number drawing on the meager supplies. The remaining Spaniards were to stay in San Diego until March 19 (the day of San José, patron saint of the expedition) to await the arrival of the *San Antonio*. Should the *San Antonio* reach the port by that date, a second march to Monterey would be made, paralleled by the ship, which, it was believed, would facilitate the location and identification of the bay. Should it fail to do so, the rest of the expedition would begin its southward retreat on March 20. Barely enough food would remain for the trip if extreme economy was meanwhile practiced.<sup>34</sup>

Portolá later described the Spanish ordeal which followed:

We remained in San Diego [he wrote] . . . waiting for the *San Antonio*, subsisting . . . on geese and fish and the other food which the Indians brought us in exchange for clothing. Some of the soldiers were left with hardly enough clothing to cover their backs, having given up the rest to avoid perishing from want.<sup>35</sup>

Even California's avifauna conspired to add to the misery of the foreign intruders, for as Portolá continued:

We had planted a small quantity of corn in the best soil, but although it grew well, the birds ate the best of it while it was yet soft, leaving us disappointed

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and bereft of the hope we had cherished of eating the grain which our hands had sown.<sup>36</sup>

As the designated day of departure approached, Portolá agreed to Father Serra's suggestion that a *novena* of daily prayers to San José be held, but March 19 arrived with no vessel in sight, and final preparations for leaving were made. That afternoon, however, the *San Antonio* was spotted off the coast, and although Captain Pérez continued northward towards Monterey as his orders called for, circumstances prompted him to return to San Diego a few days later.<sup>37</sup> Abandonment of Upper California had been averted.

Portolá promptly began preparations for the combined land-sea expedition to Monterey Bay. On April 16 the *San Antonio* lifted anchor and set sail for that destination. Portolá began his northward march the following day.<sup>38</sup>

Portolá's land-party reached Monterey Bay on May 23. Immediately recognizing the port on this occasion, the Spaniards encamped in the Carmel region and awaited the *San Antonio*. The ship arrived and dropped anchor in the harbor on May 31.<sup>39</sup>

On June 3 the assembled Spaniards celebrated the formal ceremonies required to claim the territory for Spain and to found Mission San Carlos Borromeo.<sup>40</sup> Portolá later expressed disgust at having been required to perform the former, when he wrote:

I was not ignorant of the fact that the king of Spain had for centuries been owner and legitimate lord of those lands, but . . . as article eight of the visitor-general's instructions gave me to understand to the contrary, I repeated the formalities of taking legal possession which was therein ordered.<sup>41</sup>

"In fulfillment of other orders," he continued with a touch of irony, "I proceeded to erect a fort to occupy and defend the port from the atrocities of the Russians who were about to invade us, as was to be inferred from the terms of the instructions."<sup>42</sup> The fort referred to was a single palisade enclosing both presidio and mission. Designed by Costansó, it was constructed by the soldiers, under the supervision of Lieutenant Pedro Fages of the Catalan Volunteers, who was to remain in Upper California as military-commandant of the new establishments.<sup>43</sup>

Portolá impatiently awaited the time when he could take leave of California. His original orders had called for him to return to Loreto by land, so that he might seek out mission sites en route, but he meanwhile had requested and received permission to travel directly to New Spain proper.<sup>44</sup> With work on the Monterey settlement having progressed sufficiently, he departed on the *San Antonio* on July 9.<sup>45</sup>



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The *San Antonio's* voyage to San Blas was rapid, and it dropped anchor in that port on August 1.<sup>46</sup> The brevity of the trip obviously was pleasing to Portolá, for he later reported that, "I soon embarked for San Blas . . . , where happily I shortly arrived, for on the return voyage one travels as fast as Sancho Panza would have liked."<sup>47</sup>

In his Panzanian haste, however, Portolá was guilty of his only reprehensible act in Upper California. He had promised Captain Vila that the *San Antonio* would stop in San Diego on its return voyage, so that the *San Carlos* might be given sufficient seamen to permit its sailing to San Blas. Stranded in San Diego for fifteen months, the *San Carlos* was threatened with ruin. Reportedly, because the winds were not favorable, however, the *San Antonio* bypassed the port, and only by acquiring a makeshift crew from Captain Rivera y Moncada was Vila able to make his return some time later.<sup>48</sup>

Portolá was not only anxious to abandon the child he had fathered but was also critical of its character and skeptical of its chances for survival:

You must be weary . . . of listening to all the plagues I encountered on my journey [he shortly wrote], but believe me also when I say that the unhappy Spaniards whom I left in those new establishments are at present enduring the same discomforts. I reported them all to the viceroy and the visitor-general in official and confidential letters; without reserve I explained to them that it will be impossible to send aid to Monterey by sea, and still more so by land, unless it was proposed to sacrifice thousands of men and huge sums of money.<sup>49</sup>

While overly pessimistic with regard to Upper California's future, Portolá was correct in his assessment of another matter. "Even if Monterey is at last fairly well fortified," he wrote, "and California should through an extravagant desire be coveted by the Russians, there are still many other ports which, being undefended by troops and fortifications, could not oppose them, and where they may freely establish themselves if they desire."<sup>50</sup> Fort Ross proved Portolá to be an able prophet.

Portolá remained in the royal service for sixteen years after his return from Upper California. Rejoining the Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, he promptly requested promotion to the rank of lieutenant colonel, which was granted him in January, 1771.<sup>51</sup> In March, 1773, Portolá departed for Spain, having received a two year leave of absence so that he might resolve a legal case which involved him there.<sup>52</sup> After his return to New Spain he was appointed governor of Puebla, and he assumed office in February, 1777.<sup>53</sup> His promotion to colonel was forthcoming in July of that same year.<sup>54</sup> Portolá apparently enjoyed a relatively tranquil governorship. The only Puebla disturbance which may have approached

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his California experience was the *Vida Comun* controversy; the result of governmental efforts to impose a more austere life upon the worldly nuns of the city, it placed Portolá, an elderly bachelor, in the midst of a highly irate group of women.<sup>55</sup> In August, 1781, Portolá requested that he be relieved of his office and be given a similar position in Veracruz, Campeche or Caracas.<sup>56</sup> For some unexplained reason, his petition was denied, and it was not until June, 1784 that he was permitted to resign.<sup>57</sup> Returning to Spain, he was appointed colonel of the Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia on September 7, 1785.<sup>58</sup> And on February 7, 1786, he was named Teniente de Rey de la Plaza y Castillos de la Ciudad to Lérída.<sup>59</sup> Already in failing health when he assumed the latter position, Portolá, at approximately sixty-eight years of age, died on October 10, 1786.<sup>60</sup>

Don Gaspar de Portolá's fifty-two years of distinguished service to the Spanish crown would be little noted today were it not for his contribution to California's development from March, 1769 to July, 1770. Indeed, there are few who would be familiar with his name but for his accomplishments of that brief sixteen month period. Modern California, however, is fully cognizant of his significance to the area, and it has recognized him in many ways: festivals have been held in his honor; a city, a state park, and numerous streets bear his name, all destined to be frequent victims of mispronunciation; the recent celebration of California's bicentennial was, in a very real sense, a recognition of his achievement.

California historians have likewise been generous in their treatment of Portolá. Characterizations such as "good professional soldier,"<sup>61</sup> "dutiful soldier,"<sup>62</sup> "steadfast soldier,"<sup>63</sup> "gallant captain,"<sup>64</sup> and "an easy going, popular man, but brave and honest withal,"<sup>65</sup> are invariably found. His "wise and courageous leadership"<sup>66</sup> has been cited. Even Father Omer Engelbert, who is not particularly known for his generosity toward the military of Spanish California, referred to Portolá as an "admirable man."<sup>67</sup> Perhaps most eulogistic was Nellie V. Sanchez when she wrote:

In the history of California he must always be a prominent figure, as the first of her governors, the leader of the first party of settlers over the long trail from Velicatá, and the discoverer of San Francisco Bay. . . . He was a brave, capable, humane, and conscientious soldier, worthy in every respect of all the honor that California can give him.<sup>68</sup>

The purpose of all such honors and statements is, of course, to congratulate Portolá on a job well done. But one can almost hear a discouraged and tired voice, muted by two hundred years of time passed, replying: "Many thanks, my friends, but in my mind it simply is well that the job indeed is done."

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, 1770, in Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 3 (Croix, 1769-1773) (archive hereinafter cited as AGN); Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, 1771, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A; Villalba to Cruillas, Veracruz, November 1, 1764, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 304A.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California* by Fray Francisco Palóu, O.F.M. (4 vols.; New York, 1966), II, 8 (hereinafter cited as Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*).

<sup>3</sup> Portolá to Croix, Loreto, February 3, 1768, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed account of Portolá's difficulties as governor of Lower California, see Mary Margaret Downey, R.S.C.J., "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja California" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1940), Chapters V and VI.

<sup>5</sup> Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 25.

<sup>6</sup> Document by Juan Manuel de Viniegra, dated Madrid, September 4, 1773. Based upon an *informe* given him by Portolá, this account is included in Viniegra's general report on José de Gálvez' acts as visitor-general to New Spain, which is entitled "Sobre Gálvez en America," and dated Madrid, June 10, 1771. The original is in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Estado, legajo 2845. It is in transcript form in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, and it is printed in translation in Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), pp. 225-228. Since the document is comprised basically of direct quotes from Portolá, it will hereinafter be cited as "Portolá *Informe*."

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> For details of Portolá's march from Mission Santa María to San Diego, see Donald E. Smith and Frederick J. Teggart, eds., "Diary of Gaspar de Portolá during the California Expedition of 1769-1770," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (4 vols.; Berkeley, 1909-1919), I, 1-49 (hereinafter cited as Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I); and "Diary by Serra of the Expedition from Loreto to San Diego, March 28 to July 1, 1769," in Antonine Tibesar, ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington D.C., 1955-1966), I, 38-123 (hereinafter cited as Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*).

<sup>9</sup> "Portolá *Informe*."

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> For an account of the plans of the Upper California expedition, based upon Gálvez' instructions to the officers participating in the enterprise, see Donald Andrew Nuttall, "Pedro Fages and the Advance of the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1767-1782" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 14-17.

<sup>12</sup> Details of the voyages of the *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* and of the experiences of the Spaniards in San Diego prior to Portolá's arrival may be found in Adolph van Hemert-Engert and Frederick J. Teggart, eds., "The Narrative of the Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770 by Miguel Costansó," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (4 vols.; Berkeley, 1909-1919), Volume 1, Number 4, pp. 117-127 (hereinafter cited as Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I); Robert S. Rose, ed., "The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770: Diary of Vicente Vila," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (4 vols.; Berkeley, 1909-1919), Volume 2, Number 1, pp. 13-105; Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., trans. & annot., *Palóu's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington D.C., 1955), pp. 72-73 (hereinafter cited as Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*); Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 16-24; Crespi to Fray Juan Andrés, San Diego, June 22, 1769, in Herbert E. Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi: Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774* (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 14-17 (hereinafter cited as Bolton, *Crespi*); Sucinta relación de lo acaecido en la navegación del Paquebot San Carlos desde el día 11 de enero salió del Puerto de La Paz, hasta el 29 de abril que ancló en el Puerto San Diego, como tambien de lo sucedido hasta el día de la fecha, signed by Vicente Vila, San Diego, July 6, 1769, in Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Guadalajara, legajo 417 (archive hereinafter cited as AGI); Costansó to Gálvez, San Diego, June 28, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Fages to Croix,

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San Diego, June 26, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Vila to Croix, San Diego, July 6, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Portolá to Croix, San Diego, February 8, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76.

<sup>18</sup> Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 127-129; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 105-106; Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, p. 73; Portolá to Croix, San Diego, July 4, 1769, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76; Vila to Croix, San Diego, July 6, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Fages and Costansó to Croix, San Diego, July 4, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Costansó to Gálvez, San Diego, June 28, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Fages to Gálvez, San Diego, June 26, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417.

<sup>14</sup> Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, pp. 73-74; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 129; Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 49; Frederick J. Teggart, ed., "The Portolá Expedition of 1769-1770: Diary of Miguel Costansó," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (4 vols.: Berkeley, 1909-1919), Volume 2, Number 4, p. 165 (hereinafter cited as Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II); "Diary of the Land Expedition to Monterey by Juan Crespi," in Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 109 (hereinafter cited as "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II).

<sup>15</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>16</sup> Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 129-133. During this entire period the Spaniards in Upper California had been anticipating the arrival of the *San Jose*, which Gálvez had ordered northward with supplies for the expedition. After many difficulties in getting underway, the *San Jose* finally set sail in May, 1770 and was not heard of again. Its fate is still a matter for speculation today. For an account of its difficulties and departure for Upper California, see Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 36-39.

<sup>17</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>18</sup> For details of the expedition's march up to this point, see Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 49-65; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 165-239; and "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 109-201.

<sup>19</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>20</sup> For details on the Spanish explorations of the area, and their failure to recognize Monterey Bay, see Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 65; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 239-243; and "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 201-205.

<sup>21</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco, 1884-1890), I, 152 (hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *California*).

<sup>22</sup> "Number 1—First Council of War of the Land-Expedition which went in search of the port of Monterey. Held on the 4th of October, 1769." Discovered with Portolá's diary, this document is included in Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I. Both Costansó and Crespi differed with Portolá on the number of soldiers suffering from scurvy at this time. They indicated that seventeen were ill, half of whom were crippled and unable to work. See, Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 243; and "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 205.

<sup>23</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 65-67; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 243-251; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 206-213.

<sup>24</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 67; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 261; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 223-224; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 145.

<sup>25</sup> Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 261-263; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 224-225; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 145.

<sup>26</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 69; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 263-273; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 226-236; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 145-147.

<sup>27</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 69-73; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 273-285; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 235-245; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 147.

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<sup>28</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 73; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 285-289; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 245-248; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 147.

<sup>29</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>30</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 73-81; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 289-323; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 249-272; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 147.

<sup>31</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>32</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 81; Teggart, "Diary of Costansó," PAPCH, II, 323-325; "Diary of Crespi," Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 272-273; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 147. Direct quote from "Portolá Informe."

<sup>33</sup> For details of the founding of Mission San Diego de Alcalá and other events which took place in San Diego during Portolá's absence, see Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, pp. 75-79; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 265-271; and Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (2 vols.; Washington D.C., 1959), I, 232-237 (hereinafter cited as Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*).

<sup>34</sup> Smith and Teggart, "Diary of Portolá," PAPCH, I, 81; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 149; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 272; Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, I, 239-244; Geiger *Palóu's Life of Serra*, p. 81; Noticia total de Grano y Arina, signed by Portolá, San Diego, January 28, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76; Fages and Costansó to Gálvez, San Diego, February 7, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Fages and Costansó to Croix, San Diego, February 7, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Fages to Gálvez, San Diego, February 8, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Serra to Palóu, San Diego, February 10, 1770, in in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, I, 157-161.

<sup>35</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, p. 87; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 273-277. Pérez' orders called for him to take the *San Antonio* directly to Monterey, since it was believed that the bay had been discovered and the settlements established there. Upon reaching the Santa Barbara Channel, he was informed by the Indians that the Spanish land party had returned southward, and since he had lost an anchor he decided to go to San Diego and obtain a replacement from the *San Carlos* before proceeding on the Monterey. The *San Antonio* entered the port of San Diego on March 24.

<sup>38</sup> Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 151-153; Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, p. 90; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 278-281; Crespi to Andres, Monterey, June 11, 1770, in Bolton, *Crespi*, pp. 49-56.

<sup>39</sup> For details of Portolá's second land-journey to Monterey Bay and his activities prior to the *San Antonio's* arrival, see Charles J. G. Maximin Piette, O.F.M., "An Unpublished Diary of Fray Juan Crespi, O.F.M., from San Diego to Monterey, April 17 to November 11, 1770," in *The Americas*, III (July-October, 1946, and January, 1947), pp. 102-114, 224-243, 368-381 (hereinafter cited as Piette, "Crespi Diary of 1770, *Americas*, III); Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, pp. 90-91; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 281-288; Crespi to Andres, Monterey, June 11, 1770, in Bolton, *Crespi*, pp. 49-56.

<sup>40</sup> Piette, "Crespi Diary of 1770," *Americas*, III; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 290-292; Serra to Andrés, Monterey, June 12, 1770, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, I, 169-171; Serra to Palóu, Monterey, June 13, 1770, in *ibid.*, I, 176-179.

<sup>41</sup> "Portolá Informe."

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Piette, "Crespi Diary of 1770," *Americas*, III; Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 157; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 292-296; Crespi to Andres, Monterey, June 11, 1770, in Bolton, *Crespi*, pp. 49-56; Serra to Andrés, Monterey, June 12, 1770, in Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*, I, 169-171; Serra to Gálvez, Monterey, July 2, 1770, in *ibid.*, I, 182-191; Costansó to Croix, San Blas, August 2, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Fages to Croix, Monterey, July 13, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Fages and Costansó to Croix, Monterey, June 13, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66; Fages to Croix, Monterey, July 1, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66.

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<sup>44</sup> Gálvez' Instructions to Portolá, Cabo de San Lucas, February 20, 1769, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Portolá to Croix, San Blas, August 1, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76.

<sup>45</sup> Hemert-Engert and Teggart, "Costansó Narrative," PAPCH, I, 157; Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 298-299; Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, p. 94.

<sup>46</sup> Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 300; Geiger, *Palóu's Life of Serra*, p. 94; Portolá to Croix, San Blas, August 1, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76; Costansó to Croix, San Blas, August 2, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66.

<sup>47</sup> "Informe of Portolá."

<sup>48</sup> Bolton, *Palóu's Memoirs*, II, 300, 306-307; Ortega to Armona, Loreto, October 10, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 76.

<sup>49</sup> "Informe of Portolá."

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 28, 1770, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 13 (Croix, 1769-1770); Juan G. Muniain to Arriaga, Palacio, January 5, 1771, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 417; Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, April 29, 1771, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 14 (Croix, 1770-1771).

<sup>52</sup> Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 19, 1771, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 14 (Croix, 1770-1771); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, September 26, 1772, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 30 (Bucareli, 1772).

<sup>53</sup> Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, 1777).

<sup>54</sup> Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, 1777).

<sup>55</sup> For details on the *Vida Comun* controversy, see Bernard E. Bobb, *The Vice-Regency of Antonio Marta Bucareli in New Spain, 1771-1779* (Austin, 1962), Chapter 3.

<sup>56</sup> Mayorga to Gálvez, Mexico, August 1, 1781, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 129 (Mayorga, July 3-December 25, 1781).

<sup>57</sup> Matías de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, Mexico, January 24, 1784, in AGN, Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 134 (Matías de Gálvez, 1784).

<sup>58</sup> Fernando Boneu Companys, *Don Gaspar de Portola: El Noble Militar Leridano Descubridor y Primer Gobernador de California* (Madrid, 1970), p. 26.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, I, 253.

<sup>61</sup> Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), p. 32.

<sup>62</sup> Andrew F. Rolle, *California: A History* (New York, 1963), p. 60.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>64</sup> Rockwell D. Hunt, *California Firsts* (San Francisco, 1957), p. 163.

<sup>65</sup> Bancroft, *California*, I, 115.

<sup>66</sup> John W. Caughey, *California* (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1953), p. 111.

<sup>67</sup> Omer Engelbert, O.F.M., *The Last of the Conquistadores: Junípero Serra (1713-1784)* (New York, 1956), p. 92.

<sup>68</sup> Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *The Spanish Period*, volume 1 of Rockwell D. Hunt, ed., *California and Californians* (4 vols.; Chicago, 1930), p. 176.