
California, Training Ground for Spanish Naval Heroes

By DONALD C. CUTTER

THERE IS A TENDENCY among many California history writers to imagine that local events were more important than they really were, and particularly to suppose that the personages involved were all heroic. Perspective is frequently lost. On the other hand, there are those who feel that local events and individuals were of only local and antiquarian significance. This article intends to demonstrate that among the people who were of importance to the early Spanish period development of California there were a number who became quite notable. Their names are unfamiliar to some; others will recognize them in some sort of local historical context; but a goodly number will find them here presented in a new and different light. They are men who, having played some role in local development of California, went elsewhere to become persons of importance. All were connected with the Spanish naval service, and played their role in California's early story as a result of their connection with the Naval Department of San Blas.

Though enumeration is not intended to rank the men in order of their subsequent importance, perhaps the most interesting was Francisco Antonio Mourelle de la Rua (sometimes erroneously spelled Maurelle). This Galician navigator was active in California and along the west coast of North America during his youth, while serving as a pilot and as a junior officer. At age twenty, after seven years of service in pilotage school in Sevilla and aboard ship, Mourelle arrived in California waters in 1775 as first pilot and second-in-command of the tiny vessel *Sonora*.¹

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With its commander, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, and in consort with the *Santiago* commanded by Lieutenant Bruno de Hezeta, the descendant of the Barons of Mourelle explored the west coast. The tale of Mourelle's activity is found in his journal and in that of Bodega.² Among several interesting stops was that at Trinidad Bay in northern California, where the group took formal possession of the area in the name of the King of Spain, Charles III.³ Continuing northward, in the present state of Washington, seven of the *Sonora* crew members were killed by hostile Indians. This loss of one half of the crew was partially replenished by men from the consort vessel. With ill-fortune prevailing, the senior commander of the exploratory enterprise, Hezeta, wanted to turn back to the south. During a foggy night Bodega and Mourelle premeditatedly allowed their vessel to drift away from the consort so they could continue northward independently. Successful in their aims, the men of the *Sonora* struggled north against prevailing winds and current in an effort to achieve the latitude of 60° required by their orders. The mariners fell two degrees short of the aspired goal, but they strengthened Spain's claim by symbolic acts of sovereignty in present day Canadian and Alaskan waters.⁴ The intrepidity of these men is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the epic exploration was carried out with a somewhat reduced and undertrained crew.

From this first experience in Pacific waters a pattern of Mourelle's future activity could be seen. He kept a complete journal in which he demonstrated a keen interest in natural history and particularly in that phase that we now call anthropology. Though his writings demonstrate a lack of formal training, Mourelle made many notes on native customs, and was particularly interested in compiling vocabularies of aboriginal peoples. These interests he would maintain and expand during his subsequent career as a trans-Pacific explorer.⁵ Also aboard the *Sonora* Mourelle "carried out the first of the daring feats that brought him immortal fame." For it was Mourelle who was responsible for the scheme of drifting away from the *Santiago* and its cautious commander, "asserting that he would rather throw himself into the sea than to return to port without fulfilling his mission."⁶ Subsisting on rice, beans, bread, and lard for a period of ten months, and almost foundering in a storm on September 1, 1775, the brave young mariners wrote a brilliant

chapter in Spanish maritime history. It is the more remarkable when one considers that it was done aboard a vessel of thirty tons burden, one so small that they could not stand below decks but merely crawled in for shelter. After they had been given up as lost, the tiny vessel returned with its officers and men to Monterey.⁷ Mourelle's diary of this trip found an interested English translator in the Honorable Daines Barrington, whose publication of the journal in his *Miscellanies* gave the story currency even during Mourelle's lifetime.⁸

In March of 1776 Mourelle received his first assignment to command in the Pacific when he was entrusted with the packet ship *Príncipe*. He sailed the vessel with supplies from San Blas to the Presidio of San Diego.⁹ In this interval between his exploration and this journey, he had been permitted to join the Royal Navy with a commission as ensign, whereas previously he had been in the corps of pilots, a less prestigious position. His new status made him a full-fledged naval officer, and his first assignment found him engaged in that activity that kept California on a solid footing during its precarious years—the San Blas supply activity.

In 1779 Mourelle again sailed as second-in-command to Bodega,¹⁰ and on this occasion the pair went north as far as 61° north latitude. Again Mourelle kept a diary which clearly demonstrates his continued interest in natural history. He also drew a series of maps, a specialty for which he would later have considerable fame.

Mourelle's California interest was temporarily interrupted by a trip to Manila in the Philippine Islands. Upon his return he visited a number of the islands of the South Pacific. His journal and maps of this expedition should rank him along with Captains Cook, Bougainville, Malaspina, and La Pérouse in Pacific exploration. Particularly interesting are his ethnographic and linguistic compilations from Vita Levu in the Tonga Islands group. A great deal of Mourelle's historical prominence rests upon this extended exploratory endeavor of 1780-81.¹¹ It was asserted that "he had undertaken no campaign nor gone out on any expedition in which his merit has not shone forth, as is testified to by the reports of Viceroy Bucareli and Mayorga."¹²

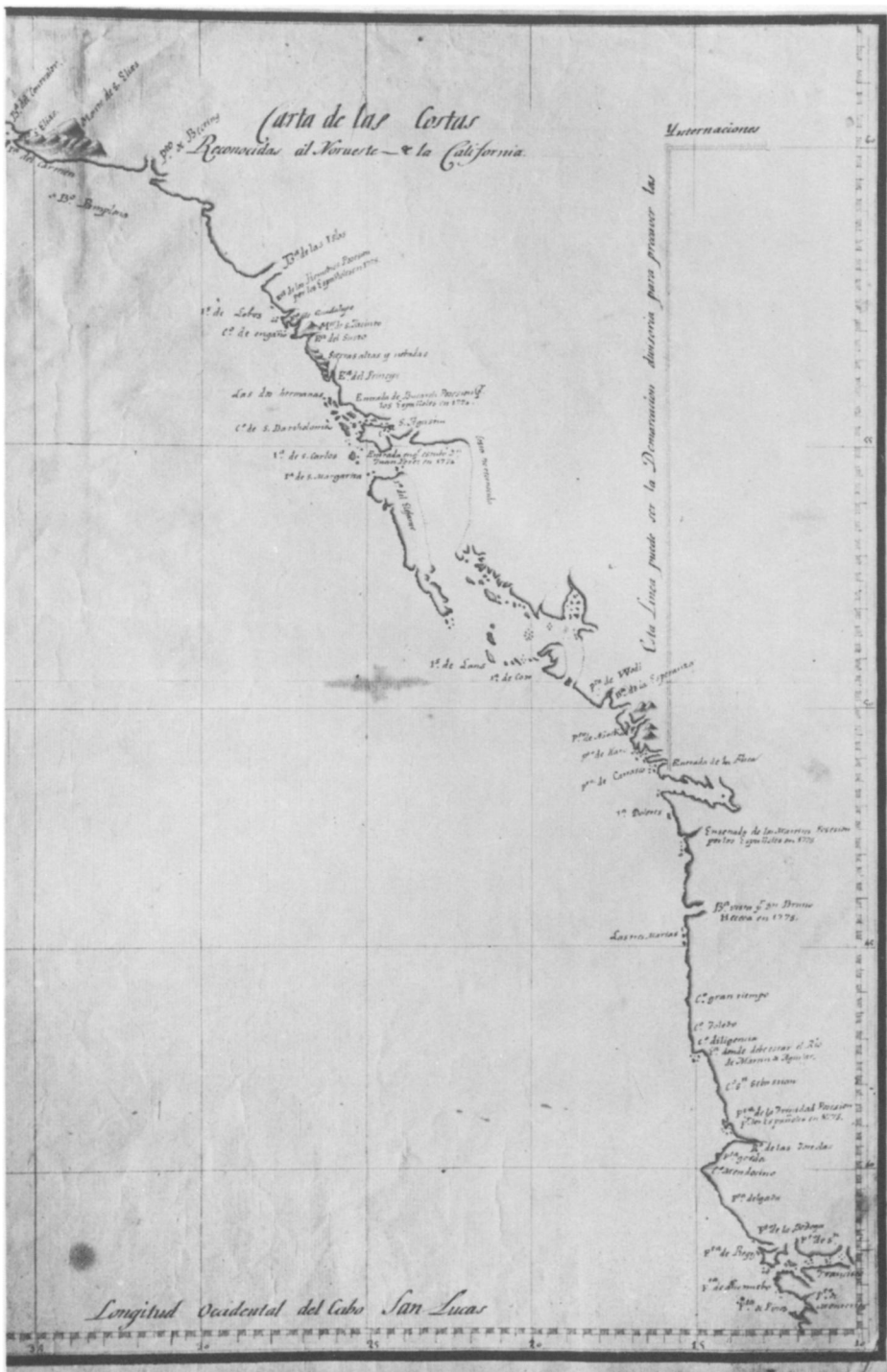
Several additional trips to Manila and to Canton, and a short tour of duty as Commandant of the Department of San Blas followed. In

September, 1791, Mourelle was commissioned by order of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo to command an exploratory ship, with plans for an extended reconnaissance of the area north of California. At the last minute, due in part to the illness of Mourelle, and also to the insistence of world-explorer Alejandro Malaspina that command of the sortie go to one of his own men, the intrepid Galician was reassigned.

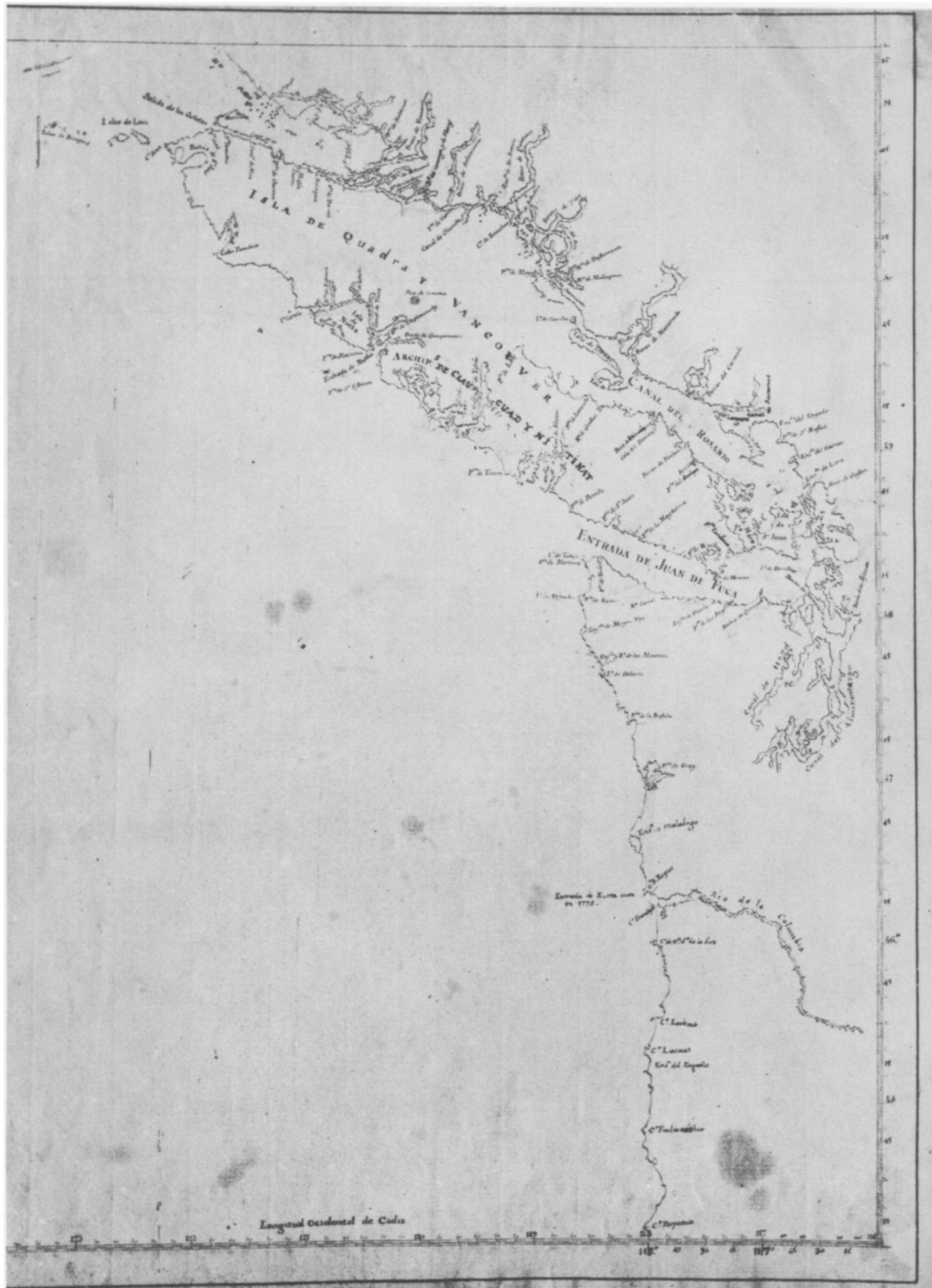
In his new billet Mourelle was close to Pacific Coast activity, for he was appointed as special secretary to the Viceroy and was given the duty of collecting and editing materials relating to Spanish penetration to the area of California and northward. This special assignment resulted from concern over the conflict of interests between Spain and England over sovereignty in the Pacific Northwest, which came to a head in the Nootka Sound Controversy. Mourelle's unpublished literary activity, stemming from this duty, included a work "Diarios de los descubrimientos hechos por los españoles en la costa de América" and a description of "Las minas de Guanajuato." His advice was also asked concerning ship building, since he was considered an authority in that branch of naval activity.

In 1792, upon the death of California Governor José Antonio Roméu, Francisco Antonio Mourelle, at the age of thirty-seven, applied to the Viceroy for the position of Governor of California. Mourelle supported his application with an outline of services rendered; he advanced as qualifications the experience of a nautical nature which would lead to the exploration of California's interior valley by means of small boats, and the advantage of a naval governor in cleaning the coasts of the illegal fur traders, this being the first notice that we have of this clandestine activity.¹³ The two other candidates for the post were Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Alberni, of the Catalonian Volunteers, and Diego Joseph Borica y Retegui, with the latter being the preferred candidate. Since Mourelle's request was not granted, he soon asked for reassignment, and a year later he was sent home to Galicia, arriving at La Coruña in July, 1793.¹⁴

In succeeding years Mourelle served aboard ships of the line under such famous admirals as Lángara and Mazarredo, and in battle against both the French and English. In combat with the latter he won special commendation for gallantry while aboard the *Trinidad*.



Compendium of Spanish Discoveries Compiled for the Negotiations of the Nootka Sound Controversy. It Was Probably Made by Mourelle. Courtesy of Museo Naval, Madrid.



Manuscript Map of the Explorations by Alcalá Galiano and Valdés during their Expedition of 1792 aboard the *Sutil* and *Mexicana*.
Courtesy of the Museo Naval, Madrid.

In April, 1797, Mourelle rejoined his old commander of California days, Don Bruno de Hezeta, at the naval base at Cádiz, where the latter was one of the top officers. Mourelle was next assigned to command the gunboats of Algeciras, and for three years was kept fully busy engaging in forty combats against the British, even scaling the walls of Gibraltar. A half dozen feats of great valor were credited to Mourelle during this period, and he was advanced to *capitán de navío* (four stripes).

Mourelle later served in Málaga, then fought against the French, and in 1809 was made Commandant of the Cádiz Naval Base. Both there and aboard ship he directed things well and was soon made a flag officer in 1811. His next glory was that of repulsing an invasion of the French at Puerto de Santa María; but with the war concluded Mourelle took a semi-retired position as *vocal* of the Council of Generals of the Port of Santa María.

The times would admit of no permanent retirement, and Mourelle was soon called back into active service. This time he was put in charge as commanding general of the *Gran expedición de ultramar*. He made ready an army of 25,000 men and prepared the convoy to transport his forces overseas to Argentina in an effort to stifle the Greater American Revolution. The expedition to put down the insurgents never sailed; internal problems, coupled with continued resistance, was bringing an end to the vast Spanish Empire. Francisco Antonio Mourelle did not see the end; he was taken by death while serving as chief of squadron. He had come a long way from the place of his birth in the humble village of San Adrián de Corme "on the solitary and stormy coast of the ancient province of Santiago where the ocean's roar drowns the murmur of the famous Allones River," a long way from the coasts of California; he was the much decorated naval hero—Knight of the Order of Santiago, recipient of the Great Cross of Hermenegildo, decorated with the marine laurel wreath.

Mourelle's final days had been unhappy because of the necessity of surrendering his command to revolutionaries. But today he is one of the most featured figures in the Spanish Naval Museum. His remains are in the Pantheon of Illustrious Mariners in San Fernando, near Cádiz, where his body lies under the epitaph:

Here lies the Most Excellent Francisco Antonio Mourelle, Chief of Squadron of

the Royal Armada, skilled mariner, valorous soldier; he made voyages of discovery, travelled and charted new courses; he died the 24th of May, 1820 at the age of 65 years.¹⁵

Truly, this was a notable "Californian."

Bruno de Hezeta y Dudagoitia,¹⁶ commander of the *Santiago* on the previously related journey of exploration to the Northwest Coast in 1775, is another early California figure who went elsewhere and became a man of note. Hezeta's role in California development concerns itself with the early period. In 1774 he was given command of the Spanish naval base at San Blas, Nayarit, where he placed that institution on a solid footing for the naval support of the newly-born colony of Alta California. Hezeta established the arsenal, trained men, and made equipment available. Among his tasks was that of acquiring data concerning the northern waters, of collecting sailing information, and of drafting maps. His northern trip in 1775 has already been mentioned. He was not as daring as Mourelle and Bodega, but his acts of possession along the Pacific Coast of North America were the basis for Spanish claim to the area as far north as the State of Washington. Hezeta was the initial discoverer of the mouth of the Columbia River, which was called the *Entrada de Hezeta* until Grey's entrance altered the name.

Upon his return from the north in 1775, Hezeta attempted an entry into San Francisco Bay through the Golden Gate, but failed. Instead, setting out from Monterey overland, Hezeta and his small party viewed the mighty bay from the San Francisco Peninsula. Historical markers commemorate Hezeta's activity, as do several prominent geographical place names.

Bruno de Hezeta was born in Bilbao about 1744, and entered service as a midshipman in 1758. His California years of service saw him elevated to lieutenant in 1774, and to commander in 1776. With Francisco Antonio Mourelle as second-in-command, Hezeta made a trip to the Philippines in 1780-81,¹⁷ but his constant complaint was that away from Spain there was no opportunity for advancement "so far from the honors of the service and of promotion."¹⁸ After repeated petition he was elevated to captain and finally transferred to Havana. Shortly thereafter he returned to Spain.

The war with France brought action and promotion, as Hezeta

became brigadier in 1794, chief of squadron in 1795,¹⁹ and finally lieutenant general in 1802. His commands included the naval base at Rozas, the naval base at Algeciras, and that of Cádiz during the French war. He had fifty-two battles to his credit when he was retired. But the English war brought him back into action at his old post at Algeciras, but the effort was too much. He was soon transferred to Málaga where he died in 1807 at the age of 56.²⁰ In his promotion he succeeded in passing his brother, Vicente de Hezeta, who was some nine years his senior. Both the Hezeta brothers reached the rank of lieutenant general.²¹

Another of the early participants in California's Spanish period history was Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra Mollinedo, a lesser noble who was born in Lima, Perú.²² Though the Quadra portion of his name was much used by Bodega, and almost exclusively employed by the British, it is perhaps not technically correct that it should be used. Juan Francisco's parents were Tomás de la Bodega y de las Llanas, and Francisca de Mollinedo y Losada, but by arrangement with a maternal relative who was his sponsor in Perú, Tomás de la Bodega assumed a second last name in honor of Antonio de la Quadra. Thus, correctly speaking, one should refer to the early California mariner as Bodega y Quadra, and if one or the other of the names is to be underplayed, it ought to be Quadra.

Juan de la Bodega y Quadra's family was of Basque origin, the Quadra strain being of the Marquisate of Villarias. The family, having come to the Americas, made Lima their home, and during his naval career Juan Francisco was known to have maintained connection with his Peruvian home. Bodega's father was Alcalde *in absentia* of the Valley of Somorrostro in northern Spain, and also served as *Diputado* of the Consulado de Cuzco. He was a minor noble (hidalgo) of Vizcaya in Spain. Bodega had several brothers, Tomás Aniceto, *Doctoral* of the Lima cathedral; José Antonio, a priest; Alberto, resident of Lima, and Manuel Antonio, Doctor of the University of Alcalá of Perú and councillor of the Supreme Council of the Indies.

Juan Francisco was the second son, and at the age of 19 he became a midshipman in the naval service. Though the naval service sheet of Bodega y Quadra has not come to light, it is known that he advanced

in the scale of promotion quite rapidly for a man who had been born in the New World. When he joined the Department of San Blas in 1774 he was an ensign. Later that year he was promoted to sub-lieutenant, and in 1776 to lieutenant. By 1780 he was a commander, and four years later he was captain. At the time of his rather early death at the age of fifty-one in 1794 Bodega y Quadra was Commandant of the Department of San Blas, which post he had held since 1789.

Bodega y Quadra was one of six officers assigned to the Department of San Blas upon its foundation. All were sent from Spain, arriving aboard the storeship *Santa Rita* in August, 1774. The others were the aforementioned Bruno de Hezeta, senior commander, Manuel Manrique, Fernando Quirós, Juan de Ayala, and Diego Choquet de Islas.

As a final phase of the epic exploration to the Northwest Coast in 1775, Bodega y Quadra and Mourelle discovered and took possession of Bodega Bay, north of San Francisco, which was named in honor of the commanding officer of the *Sonora*. Praise was heaped upon Bodega y Quadra, a promotion was in order, and his name was preserved for posterity on the California landscape.

Bodega y Quadra was soon sent to Peru, accompanied by José Cañizares, to acquire additional tonnage for the Department of San Blas. En route, and while in Peru, Bodega and his aide made military and nautical investigations of various places. Bodega y Quadra purchased and careened the 189-ton frigate *Princesa*, making it ready for use in the northern explorations and in the California supply service. Fourteen months were consumed by this official business in the southern hemisphere.²³

In 1779 Bodega y Quadra, with Mourelle and Cañizares, made another epic exploration to the north.²⁴ In 1780 Bodega took temporary command of the Department of San Blas, but eventually was transferred to Havana in readiness for action in the war with England. By the time Bodega y Quadra got to Havana hostilities were over and he was sent to Spain where he spent the subsequent five years. In the interim he was rewarded with the Cross of the (knighthood) Order of Santiago.²⁵

Returning to San Blas in 1789, Bodega y Quadra was placed in charge of the Naval Department. In that position, which took on added importance due to Spanish plans for expansion into the Pacific Northwest,

Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra reached the height of his political and military responsibility. As naval captain and as Commandant of the Department, he directed the activities of an increasing number of officers and pilots assigned to his command. In the difficulties that arose with England over Spanish claims to ownership of the Northwest Coast, he became the official representative of his nation, charged with the resolution of difficulties at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. On two occasions Bodega y Quadra and the English commissioner, Captain George Vancouver, met and found no common ground for solution of the matters of sovereignty and territorial claims to the area. The two naval officers were commissioners of a gentlemanly sort: They agreed to disagree and refer the problem back for further instructions from their respective governments. During these negotiations, rather than suffer through the rigorous winter of the west coast of Vancouver Island, the commissioners spent their time at Monterey, where they enjoyed the advantages and pleasures of California. Off and on, from 1790 to 1794, Bodega was at Nootka, either in charge of the Spanish garrison there, or treating with Vancouver, or engaged in his famous *Expedición de los límites al norte de California*. Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra did not live to see the final settlement of the Nootka Controversy, which went in favor of England and resulted in international recognition of non-Spanish interests in the Pacific Ocean area. In 1794 Bodega died while still commanding the Naval Department of San Blas. Thus, though he was only occasionally in California waters, a great deal of Bodega's naval career was in rather close association with the California picture; but it was elsewhere than in California that he achieved his lasting fame. During his lifetime he was honored by his name being associated with Vancouver and Quadra's Island, but time shortened the term to simply Vancouver Island. He is still commemorated by one of Victoria's main streets—Cuadra [sic] Street. Of noble birth, Bodega y Quadra's advancement was doubtless cut short by his New World birth and his rather premature death.

In briefer manner several other important Spanish maritime figures who played a small role in California will be treated, but whose names are less familiar. Among these are Commander Gonzalo López de Haro, Brigadier Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, and Captain General Cayetano

Valdés, visitors on more than one occasion to the shores of California.²⁶ Among those who visited but once were Brigadier Alejandro Malaspina, Brigadier Juan Gutiérrez de la Concha,²⁷ Captain Felipe Bauzá Cañas,²⁸ Lieutenant General of the Fleet José Bustamante y Guerra,²⁹ Captain Ciriaco Ceballos,³⁰ and Lieutenant General José de Espinosa y Tello,³¹ all connected with the visit of the Spanish scientific exploring expedition commanded by Malaspina and Bustamante which visited California in 1791.³²

Of the former group, those of multiple visits to California, Gonzalo López de Haro is known for his cartography of the Pacific Coast and for his several visits as commander of one of the San Blas supply vessels.³³ Though apparently of humble birth, and having entered the service as a common sailor, he rose from the ranks to attain relatively high position and to die a martyr's death in Mexico. His home appears to have been Cádiz in Andalusia. After several years of deck service he entered the pilotage school and remained in the category of pilot for two decades. It was in this employment that his early California service was performed. He was also instrumental in Pacific Northwest Coast exploration, and had a hand in the Spanish foundation at Nootka Sound.³⁴ In 1797 and in 1801 he carried supplies to California as an officer, his first naval commission dating from June, 1794, when he was appointed ensign. Promotions in 1804, 1805, 1814, and 1818 brought him to the rank of commander. During this period he spent some time doing a topographical map of Louisiana. His later career was crowded with geographic and hydrographic assignments until finally he was taken prisoner by the Mexican insurgents. His death occurred from illness contracted in prison, and was complicated by his advanced age and the rigors of his incarceration in a Puebla prison.

Both Dionisio Alcalá Galiano³⁵ and Cayetano Valdés y Flores Bazán were members of the Malaspina expedition, which first visited California in 1791. They returned to the scene in 1792 as commanders of the exploratory vessels *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, and spent some time in Monterey. Both later became famous.

Alcalá Galiano was born in Cabra, Córdoba, in 1760. Seventeen years later he became a midshipman and was soon engaged in cartographical work, for which he later gained considerable fame. He spent some time

in reconnaissance of the Strait of Magellan, then joined the Malaspina expedition in 1789. His California experience in its totality dates from this visit and that of the following year. Military campaigns and naval commands followed, and fortune favored Alcalá Galiano until the Battle of Trafalgar, in which the mariner gave the last full measure of devotion for his country. In that battle, unsuccessful from the Spanish point of view, while commanding the *Bahama* as Brigadier of the Navy, the career of another "Californian" was cut short at the age of forty-six.⁸⁶

Cayetano Valdés⁸⁷ followed in the footsteps of his famous uncle, Minister of Marine Antonio Valdés. Son of an important and well-situated family, Cayetano was born in Sevilla in 1767. At the age of thirteen the youthful Valdés entered service as a midshipman. At the age of twenty-five he was given co-command with Alcalá Galiano of an important exploring expedition, that of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* to the Northwest Coast as mentioned previously. Success and promotion followed in the wake of European hostilities which kept Spain at war: for by the time he was thirty-eight years old Valdés was chief of squadron; four years later he was lieutenant general; and in 1812 he was appointed Governor, Captain General, and *Gefe-Político* of Cádiz. The Napoleonic invasion of Spain resulted in ten years of exile for Valdés in England, but his return was rewarded by successive appointments as Captain General of Cádiz and as Captain General of the Spanish Navy, the highest possible naval post. His honors included those of the Great Crosses of San Fernando and San Hermenegildo and that of *Justicia* of the Order of San Juan. In 1835 he died, with burial given to him in the Pantheon of Illustrious Mariners.

In comparison, the Spanish military figures who were assigned to California customarily served out their days there, and a few went on to become famous in other portions of the empire.⁸⁸ The other elements of California society seldom rose above the level of the common rank and file. In the Spanish Navy, however, there were a number of men who served in California and who went from there to win additional laurels. Though none of these distinguished mariners would lay claim to being full-time Californians, it is not out of place that California should recognize the merit of these illustrious navigators who sailed its coasts, visited its harbors, and profited from their California experiences.

NOTES

1. "Relación de los méritos y servicios del Capitán de Navío Francisco Maurelle [sic]" in Museo Naval, Tomo 999, entitled *Notas de Don Francisco Mourelle*. Museo Naval hereinafter cited as MN. Mourelle was *pilotín* to 1773, 2nd pilot to 1775, 1st pilot to 1776, at which time he entered commissioned ranks. He served aboard the vessels *Catalina*, *Dolores*, and *Santa Rita*. During this early period he made trips to Brazil, Caracas, Havana, Puerto Rico, Cumuná, Trinidad, and Vera Cruz. See also *Primera relación de los meritos y servicios que el Teniente de Navío . . . Francisco Antonio Mourelle . . .* in *Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico)*, Californias 47. Hereinafter this archive will be cited A.G.N.

2. Various copies of both journals exist. Mourelle, *Navegación hecha por el piloto segundo de la armada Dn. Franco Antonio Maurelle en la Goleta de S.M. nombrada la Sonora . . . año de 1775* in *Archivo General de Indias, Estado* 38. Hereinafter this archive will be cited A.G.I.

3. The activity at Trinidad Bay is treated in Robert F. Heizer and John E. Mills, *The Four Ages of Tsurai* (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 19-60.

4. Copies of the acts of possession and of corresponding maps are to be found in A.G.I., Estado 38.

5. Mourelle, *Navegación hecha por el Alférez de Navío de la Real Armada, y Comandante de la del Rey nombrada la Princesa Dn. Francisco Antonio Mourelle . . . años de 1780 y 1781* in A.G.I., Guadalajara 521 and in A.G.I., Estado 38.

6. Teodosio Vesteiro Torres, *Galería de Gallegos Ilustres* (5 vols., Madrid, 1874), III (Marinos), 69-85, contains a brief biography of Mourelle.

7. Vesteiro Torres, *op cit.*, p. 69. For Mourelle's part in this incident, and much of his other activity see: *Biografía del Excelentísimo Señor D. Francisco Antonio Mourelle, Gefe de Escuadra de la Armada* (Madrid, 1856), pp. 1-33; José María Mourelle, *Biografía de . . . Francisco Antonio Mourelle* (Madrid, 1877); and Francisco de Paula Pavia, *Galería Biográfica de los Generales de Marina, jefes y personajes notables que figuraron en la misma corporación desde 1700 a 1868* (4 vols., Madrid, 1873-74), II, 475-81. The latter work will be hereinafter cited as Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*.

8. (London, 1781), pp. 471-534.

9. Mourelle's diary is in A.G.N., Californias 35.

10. Juan Francisco de la Bodega, *Navegación y descubrimientos hechos . . . en la costa septentrional de California . . . 1779* in A.G.I., Estado 38.

11. *Navegación hecha por el Alférez de Navío . . . Dn. Francisco Antonio Mourelle desde el Puerto de Manila . . .* in A.G.I., Estado 38 and Guadalajara 521, and in A.G.N., Californias 47.

12. Governing Audiencia of New Spain to José de Gálvez, Mexico, December 20, 1784, in A.G.I., Mexico 1414. In 1783 Mourelle had applied to have his com-

mission changed to the Spanish army as a captain, Francisco Antonio Mourelle to King, San Blas, June 30, in A.G.I., Guadalajara 520.

13. Francisco Antonio Mourelle to the Viceroy, Mexico, June 30, 1792, in A.G.N., Californias 16. Concerning Mourelle's return to Spain *see* A.G.I., Guadalajara 500.

14. Revilla Gigedo Collection, Vol. X, doc. 639, originals in Bancroft Library.

15. Vesteiro Torres, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

16. Hezeta's name was spelled variously, even by himself: Heceta, Heçeta, Ezeta, Eceta.

17. Diario de la navegación que debe hacer con el Divino auxilio el Teniente de Navío Dn. Bruno de Hezeta en la Fragata . . . Santiago in A.G.I., Estado 38.

18. Bruno de Hezeta to the King, Madrid, December 15, 1789, and Bruno de Hezeta to King, Madrid, April (no date given), 1790, in A.G.I., Guadalajara 500.

19. *Estado General de la Armada*, 1797.

20. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, contains a brief biography of Hezeta.

21. Bruno de Hezeta had a second brother, Mariano, a resident of Guatemala.

22. The career of Bodega y Quadra is treated in Marcial Gutiérrez Camarena, *San Blas y las Californias* (Mexico, 1956), p. 28 *passim*.

23. The diary of Bodega y Quadra's return trip is found in A.G.N., Californias 8.

24. The diaries of the 1779 expedition are found in A.G.N., Historia 64.

25. During this period Bodega y Quadra solicited transfer to become Governor of the Province of Callao, Peru, but failed. Revilla Gigedo Collection, Vol. XVII, doc. 879.

26. Juan Vernacci, with the exploring expeditions of 1791 and 1792 as a lieutenant, later became a commander.

27. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, Appendix Vol., 131-45.

28. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, I, 143-52.

29. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, I, 195-200.

30. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, I, 301-13.

31. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, I, 531-36.

32. Salvador Fidalgo, occasional visitor in California, became commander in 1799. *See* Miguel José Aranza to Juan Manuel Alvarez, Mexico, November 26, 1799, in A.G.I., Mexico 1456.

33. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, Appendix Vol., 183-87.

34. For activities on the Northwest Coast *see* A.G.N., Californias 47, including his map of Nootka.

35. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, I, 47-58.

36. Also losing his life at Trafalgar was Juan Matute, frequent commander of San Blas supply vessels and leader of an unsuccessful colonization attempt at Bodega Bay in 1793. He was lieutenant aboard the *Trinidad*. Also in the action in

1805 were Brigadier Cayetano Valdés aboard the *Neptuno* and Captain Secundino Salamanca commanding the *Rayo*, Papeles Diversos, MN, Tomo 200.

37. Pavia, *Galería Biográfica*, III, 697-712.

38. Exceptions to this are Miguel Costansó and Gaspar de Portolá. Costansó, early arrival in California as a young engineer, later became Mariscal de Campo and Director of Engineers of New Spain. He had arrived in New Spain in 1764 with the expedition of Lieutenant General Juan de Villalva, Revilla Gigedo Collection, Vol. II, doc. 347. Portolá became Governor of Puebla, Mexico. A third exception was Felipe de Neve, who became commanding officer of the Internal Provinces of New Spain.